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THE

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,

AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MANY HUNDRED WOODCUTS.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., 22, LUDGATE STREET.

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OF

MONUMENTAL RECORDS; COINS; CIVIL AND MILITARY COSTUME; DOMESTIC BUILDINGS, FURNITURE, AND ORNAMENTS; CATHEDRALS AND OTHER GREAT WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE; SPORTS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF MANNERS; MECHANICAL INVENTIONS; PORTRAITS OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS; THEIR SIGNATURES AND GREAT SEALS; AND REMARKABLE HISTORICAL SCENES.

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LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., 22, LUDGATE STREET.

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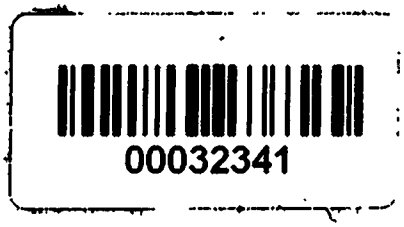

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND is now brought down to the accession of George III., after having been in course of publication for four years all but two months, during which time there has appeared every month a portion of the Work containing nearly as much letterpress and pictorial illustration together as would fill an ordinary octavo volume of three hundred and fifty pages. The whole, if printed, for example, in the manner of the Oxford edition of Burnet's History of his Own Time, would make thirty-five such octavo volumes as those of that work, containing about four hundred and fifty pages each.

Notwithstanding a previously announced intention of carrying on the narrative, without a break, to a date a few years later, it has, on a consideration of all circumstances, been determined to bring the Original Work to a close now, as the course which will best fulfil the spirit of the engagements that have been made with the subscribers. It could not have been extended, as was at one time designed, to the commencement of the French Revolution, without the addition of a fifth volume, which, besides, would probably not have corresponded in bulk with the others; while, after all, the point of time at which the narrative was broken off would scarcely have been so much of an epoch, in English history, as that at which it actually terminates.

But, to make the Work as complete as possible, a Continuation of it has been commenced under the title of THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., in which the progress of Legislation,

Institutions, Arts, Literature, and the Condition of Society in all its departments, as well as the progress of events, will be pursued as far as possible after the same plan as in the History now before the reader. This will, in fact, be the History of the American and French Revolutions, and of the long and eventful war, produced by the latter, in which, although it involved all Europe, our own country on the one side bore the principal part, as France did on the other, blended with the history of a contest of parties and principles at home also the most fiercely waged, and the most ennobled by brilliant displays, of any recorded in the annals of the constitution, and accompanied, moreover, by the history of an activity and advancement in commerce, manufactures, and every other field of peaceful industry and enterprise, making the social aspect of the subject vie in interest with the military and the political. Altogether, it will be the history of the greatest movement in human affairs that has happened since the Reformation—in some respects the greatest that has taken place since the establishment of the existing commonwealth of Europe; it will be the history of that movement complete in its beginning, its middle, and its end,—in so far as any such movement can be said to have an end:—it will be the history of it, at least, to its first general subsidence and pause.

This New Work, which will be abundantly illustrated with Wood Engravings, will be published in Monthly Parts of the same number of pages with those of the present; and will be completed, it is expected, in about twenty such Parts. But it will be divided into three, instead of two, volumes; and new Title-pages are now issued for the present Work, in order that it also may be bound in less bulky volumes than those in which it originally appeared.

Upon the new Title-pages it has been thought proper to place the names of myself and Mr. Mac Farlane, by whom five-sixths of the book have been written. But if it had not been that the editing of the Work has been all along in my hands, the authorship might with more propriety have

been assumed by Mr. Mac Farlane alone, who has written by far the greater portion of it,—the whole of the Narrative of Civil and Military Transactions, constituting the First Chapter of each Book, and extending in all to nearly two thousand two hundred pages, having been furnished by him, with the exception of little more than a hundred pages. The other portions of the Work have been contributed by the following gentlemen:—The History of Religion for the first three Books (with the exception of the sketch of Druidism in the First Book) by Mr. Thomas Thomson; the Third Chapter of each Book (with the exception of the account of the British nations in Book First, the accounts of the revenue, and various insertions, especially in Books Second, Third, and Eighth) by Mr. A. Bisset, barrister-at-law; the History of the Useful Arts, at the end of the Fourth Chapter of each Book, by Mr. J. C. Platt (except that in Book First, which is by Mr. Planché); the account of Saxon literature in the Fifth Chapter of Book Second, and the arranged specimens of language and style in the same chapter of Books Third, Fifth, and Sixth, by Sir Henry Ellis; the History of Architecture in the Fifth Chapter of the Second and following Books, by Mr. Poynter; the History of Music in the same Chapter of Books Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth, by Mr. Ayrton; the accounts of Costume and Furniture in the Sixth Chapter of each Book by Mr. Planché; and the History of Manners and Customs, forming the remainder of that Chapter, by Mr. Thomson.

GEORGE L. CRAIK.

December 10, 1840.

*** The Pictorial History of England forms Four thick Volumes; but to meet the wishes of some Subscribers, the Publishers have printed Title-pages and Cancels, so that it may be Bound, according to the following directions, in Six Volumes:—

With new Title-page of Volume I. bind up to page 668 of Volume I. inclusive, and the annexed page 669: omit from page 669.

With new Title-page of Volume II. bind up new page 670. remainder of Volume I., and to page 278 inclusive of Volume II., and the annexed new page 279: omit former page 279.

With new Title-page of Volume III. bind up new page 280, and remainder of Volume II.

With new Title-page of Volume IV. bind up the first 660 pages of Volume III.

With new Title-page of Volume V. bind up remainder of Volume III. to page 392 of Volume IV. inclusive, and new pages 393 and 394: omit former pages 393 and 394.

With new Title-page of Volume VI. bind up new pages 395 and 396 (omitting former pages so numbered) and remainder of the Work.

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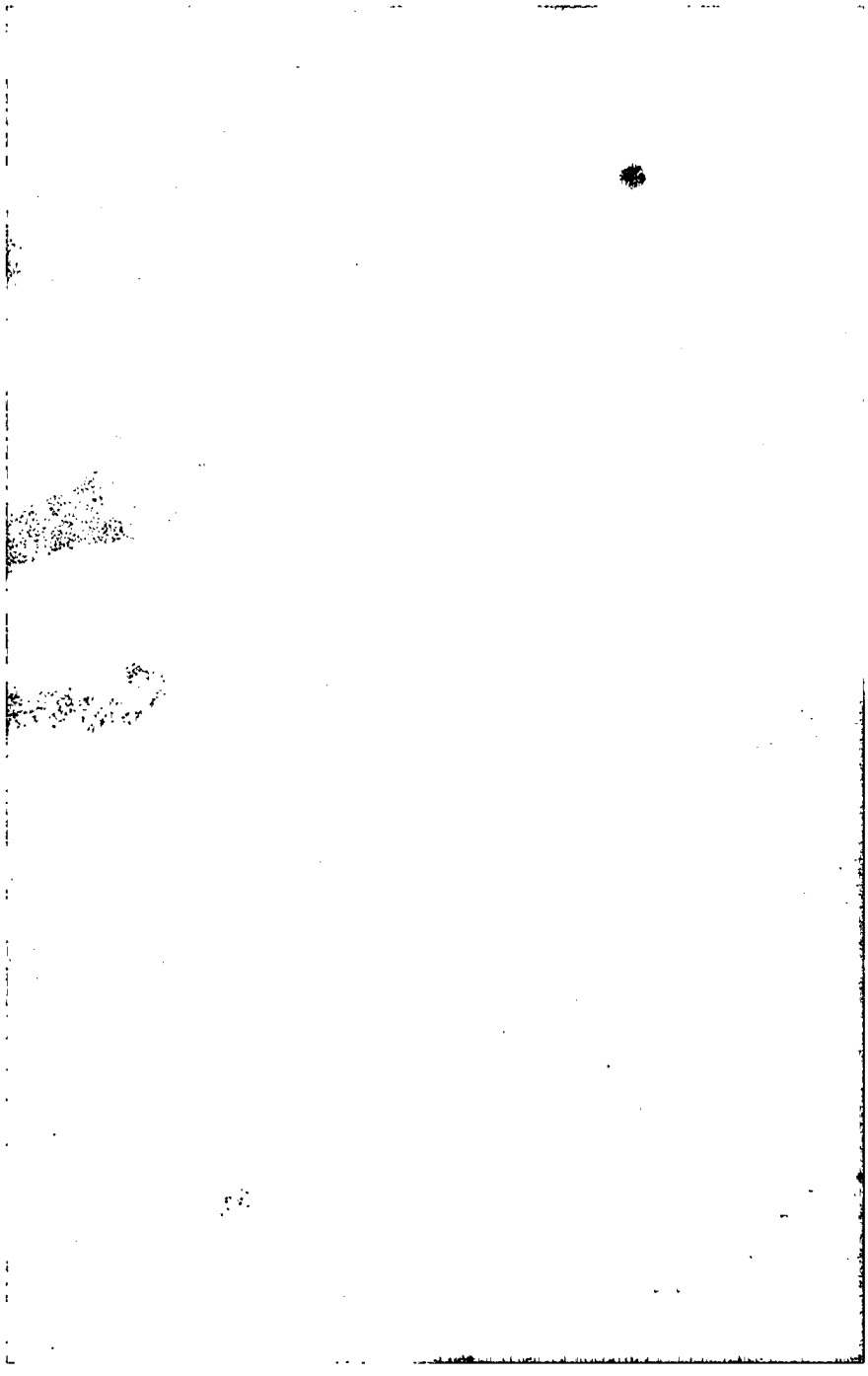

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BOOK IX.

THE PERIOD FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

A.D. 1688—1760.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

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1689 William and Mary.
1694 William.
1702 Anne.
1714 George I.
1727 George II.

France.
1715 Louis XV.

Spain.
1700 Philip V.
1746 Ferdinand VI.
1759 Charles III.

Portugal.
1706 John V.
1750 Joseph.

Germany.
1705 Joseph I.
1711 Charles VI.
1742 Charles VII.
1745 Francis I.

Russia.
1682 John III. and Peter I.
1696 Peter I. (the Great.)
1725 Catherine I.
1727 Peter II.
1730 Anne.
1740 John IV.
1741 Elizabeth.

Denmark.
1699 Frederic IV.
1730 Christian VI.
1746 Frederic V.

Sweden.
1697 Charles XII.
1719 Ulrica Eleonora.
1720 Frederic I.
1751 Adolphus Frederic.

Prussia.
1709 Frederic I.
1713 Frederic William I.
1740 Frederic II. (the Great.)

Poland.
1674 John III. (Sobieski.)
1697 Augustus II.
1704 Stanislaus I.
1709 Augustus II. *restored.*
1734 Augustus III.

Turkey.
1687 Soliman III.
1691 Achmet II.
1695 Mustapha II.
1703 Achmet III.
1730 Mohamed V.
1754 Othman III.
1757 Mustapha III.

Popes.
1689 Alexander VIII.
1691 Innocent XII.
1700 Clement XI.
1721 Innocent XIII.
1724 Benedict XIII.
1730 Clement XII.
1740 Benedict XIV.
1758 Clement XIII.

CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

A.D. 1688.—INTERREGNUM.

THE work of the Revolution was not completed by the flight of James; the crown was in a state of abeyance for nearly two months, or from the 23rd of December, 1688, to the 13th of February, 1689, during which time the Whigs were brought to the enunciation or admission of principles which were equally new to the people, bold, and wise. Up to a certain point all parties seemed to agree (the papists were too inconsiderable to merit the name of a party); but the Tories and high churchmen soon hung back, and left the danger and the honour of settling the problem to the Whigs, who proceeded, not by the stated rules of the English government and laws, but by the general rights of mankind, looking not so much to Magna Charta as to the original compact between the *governors* and the governed conceived to be involved in the idea of a political society;* the notion of which had hitherto been considered as a republican chimera, though it had been entertained by the wisest and best of the Commonwealth men. The Prince of Orange, who had taken up his residence, not at Whitehall, but at St. James's,† seemed to leave the nation to settle the business in their own way, most scrupulously avoiding any assumption of right and any symptom of eagerness. On the 25th of December the lords spiritual and temporal to the number of about ninety, who had taken their places in the House of Lords, requested William to take upon him the administration of affairs and the disposal of the public revenue, and to issue writs for a "Convention" to meet on the 22nd of January; and on the following day an assembly of such persons as had sat in parliament in the reign of Charles II., to the number of about a hundred and fifty, together with the aldermen of London and fifty of the common council, having met at St. James's, in pursuant to the expressed desire of the prince, immediately proceeded to the Commons' House, and there, after some debate, agreed upon an address similar to that of the Lords. The prince dispatched circular letters, accordingly, to the several counties, universities, cities, and boroughs; and in the mean time the country, the fleet, and all that remained of James's army, submitted quietly to his authority. In Ireland it was very different; but in Scotland men were as prompt in their obedience as in England.* Under the dextrous management of the Duke of Hamilton, Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Dalrymple, and other Whig leaders, about thirty Scottish peers, and eighty commoners, intrusted William to take upon him the administration of Scotland until the convention of the estates to be summoned by him should be assembled. But the Earl of Arran, the eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton, expressed himself very boldly for the recall of the fugitive king; the Duke of Gordon, a Catholic, held the castle of Edinburgh for James; and apprehensions were entertained of the furious loyalty of Graham of Claverhouse, who had lately been created by King James II. Viscount Dundee.

A. D. 1689.—On the appointed day—the 22nd of January—the English convention, or parliament as it was afterwards declared to be, assembled in the Houses of Parliament, and proceeded vigorously to their important business. The Marquis of Halifax was elected to the presidency in the Lords, and Mr. Poole, one of the patriots of Charles II.'s parliaments who had taken refuge from France, was chosen Speaker in the Commons. A letter from William was read in both Houses. His highness told them that he had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to perform what had been desired of him, in order to the maintenance of the public peace and safety; that it now rested with themselves to lay the foundations of a firm security for their religion, their laws, and their liberties; that he did not

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

† "All the world," says Evelyn, "go to see the prince at St. James's, where there is a great court. There I saw him, and several of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious, and reserved."—*Diary.*

* Subsequently, however, two Scottish regiments in England revolted because William ordered them to serve in Holland and not under the command of them from Lord Dumbarton, who was their colonel commander, but a determined Jacobite. General Ginckel overtook these Scots as they were marching from the coast of Suffolk towards the borders with drums beating and colours flying, and very easily put down the mutiny. William pardoned all the mutineers, officers as well as men.

that, by such a full and free representation of the nation as was now met, all the ends of the declaration which he had put forth on landing might be peaceably attained; "and since it had pleased God hitherto to bless his good intentions with so great success, he trusted in him, that he would complete his own work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence their counsels, so that no interruption might be given to a happy and lasting settlement." William next alluded to the dangerous condition of the Protestants in Ireland, and then passed on to the affairs of Holland and the Continent, which he had still more at heart. He told them that the present state of things abroad obliged him to warn them that, next to the danger of unseasonable divisions among themselves, nothing could be so fatal as too great delays in their consultations; that the States of Holland, by whom he had been enabled to rescue this nation, might suddenly want the troops which he had brought over, as the old and powerful enemy of both countries (Louis XIV.) had declared war against the States. And he further intimated, that as England was already bound by treaty to help the Dutch in such exigencies, so he felt confident that the cheerful concurrence of the Dutch in preserving this kingdom, with so much hazard to themselves, would meet with all the returns of friendship from Protestants and Englishmen whenever their own condition should require assistance.*

In the Commons, Poole, the Speaker, embraced all the prince's views with a most ardent zeal, and carried some of them much farther than William had done, artfully striking a key-note to which he knew the old national feeling, and pride, and prejudice would respond. He reminded his hearers of the dangerous state England was still in, and of the fatal consequences that must follow any disagreement; he spoke vehemently of the papists in Ireland, and of the loss England might sustain by the disseverment of that kingdom; and lastly, he dwelt upon the growth of the exorbitant power of the king of France, and the vast designs of that turbulent and aspiring monarch, the persecutor of the Protestant religion everywhere, and the sworn enemy of England,† exciting the House to put the nation in such a warlike attitude as might not only secure it from any affront, but also enable it to subdue France a second time, or at least to recover the provinces of Normandy and Aquitain, which were the indisputable inheritance of the kings of England. This speech threw the House into a sort of transport; the old walls rang with warlike shouts, and everything was agreed to that William or his party desired. Nor was the Upper House either cold or critical. In a very full meeting, from which scarcely any were absent even among the bishops, except Sancroft, the primate, they appointed a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for having made his highness the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power; and they joined the Commons in an address of thanks to the prince, to whom, "next under God," this happy deliverance was owing. The Lords and Commons in a united body presented the address, which, besides thanks and enthusiastic expressions of gratitude, contained the following important clause, designed to give a constitutional and fully legal sanction to the authority the prince had been exercising ever since the flight of his uncle and father-in-law, the miserable James:—"And we do most humbly desire your highness to take upon you the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of our religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties, and of the peace of the nation; and that your highness will take into your particular care the present state of Ireland, and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual means, to prevent the dangers threatening that kingdom." The phlegmatic William delayed giving any answer till the next day, and then he coldly and laconically said, "My lords and gentlemen, I am glad that what I have done hath pleased you; and since you desire me to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept it." He added, however, and with more warmth, "I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your business, not only for making a settlement at home on a good foundation, but for the safety of Europe." The two Houses then adjourned to the 28th, on which day the Commons, having re-assembled, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the state of the nation. Mr. Hampden was in the chair. Dolben, son of the late Archbishop of York, "was the bold man who first broke the ice, and made a long speech tending to prove that the king's deserting his kingdom without appointing any person to administer the government, amounted, in reason and judgment of law, to a demise." This opinion was taken up and defended by several other members; and Sir Robert Howard went a step farther, and not only asserted that the throne was vacant, but also undertook to prove, that the whole reign of his *late* majesty was one continued breach of the original contract between the king and people. "I have heard," said Howard, "that the king has his crown by divine right; but we, the people, have a divine right too." The Tories, including Sir Edward Seymour, who had been one of the first to join the Prince of Orange, made a vain effort to procure an adjournment; and the committee, after a stormy debate of many hours, voted the resolution—"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons,

* Ralph.—Roger Coke.—Narcissus Luttrell, Diary.

† Louis had already avowed his intention of reinstating James by force of arms, and his fleet and privateers had already begun to make prizes of all the English shipping that fell in their way.

having violated the fundamental laws, and with drawn himself out of the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Mr. Hampden was ordered to carry up this resolution to the Lords, and to request their concurrence. On the morrow the Commons, still in committee, voted, "That it hath been found, by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince";—a principle which was certainly held by the vast majority of the people of England and Scotland. The Whigs, in their anxiety to settle the Protestant William upon the throne, were too much disposed to overlook the restrictions proper to be put upon his power; and the Tories, in their eagerness to keep the question open, stood forward in the new light of champions for the liberties of the people. The lawyers engaged seemed to desire nothing, to care for nothing but the instant filling of the vacant throne. When Mr. Hampden carried the resolution to the Upper House, their lordships, also going into committee, subjected it to a long and critical examination, being evidently averse to any acknowledgment of the divine right of the people to judge and choose their chief magistrate. Lord Clarendon, uncle to the Princess of Orange, led the opposition, and proposed that the fugitive king should be nominally left on the throne, and a Protestant regent appointed during his life.* It was argued on the other side by Halifax, Danby, and other lords, that, having begun the work of revolution, it was necessary to complete it; that while the appointing a regent and expelling the king was almost as extreme a measure as choosing a new king, a regency would be insufficient and dangerous; that, by this proposition of a regent, there would be two kings at the same time—one with the title, and another with the power—one, a Protestant at home, another, a Papist abroad; that the law of England had settled the point of the subject's security in obeying a *king* in possession or *de facto* by the statute of Henry VII., so every man knew he would be safe under a king, and would act with zeal and courage, but all such as should act under a prince-regent, created by a convention, would find themselves without the necessary forms of law to support them; that all that would be done would be thought null and void in law; that if the oaths to King James were held to be still binding, the subjects were bound by them to maintain, not merely his title to the crown or to the name of king, but also all his prerogative and power; that it would be absurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths to him, when all power was taken out of his hands; that a mixed, confused, and unnatural sort of government must result from the establishment of any such regency; that if it should be carried on in King James's name, but in other hands, the body of the nation would still consider James as the person that was truly their sovereign, and if any should plot or act for him, they could not be proceeded against for high treason, as conspiring against the king's person or government, since it would be visible that they were only designing to preserve his person, and to restore him to his government. These and other weighty reasons prevailed, and the project of a regency was rejected, but only by a majority of two—fifty-one to forty-nine. On the 30th of January the Lords resolved, by a majority of fifty-five to forty-six, that there was an original contract between the king and people, by which theoretical position they got rid of the doctrine of divine right; and after this they voted that the original contract had been broken by James. On the next day, however, they voted an amendment in the clause of the resolution in which the Commons averred that James had *abdicated*, substituting the word *deserted;* and they next struck out the important clause, that the throne was thereby vacant, by a majority of fifty-five to forty-one. This, it is said, was owing to the party and the exertions of Danby, who maintained that the crown had devolved upon William's wife, who would have been heiress to it but for her infant half-brother. A motion was made for an inquiry into the birth of the *pretended* Prince of Wales. It was rejected; but it seems to have been tacitly understood by both sides that that child was to be presumed spurious;* and, without that deep-rooted belief in the minds of the people, this revolution would certainly not have been so easy of accomplishment. While these debates were in progress a London populace were shouting for King William or Queen Mary, and expressing a most eager and alarming anxiety for an immediate settlement of the great question. On the 1st of February the Lords sent down their amendments to the Commons, taking care, however, on the same day to concur unanimously with the Commons' vote, which declared popery to be inconsistent with the English constitution and excluded for ever all Roman Catholics from the throne. They also ordered that the anniversary of James's accession should no longer be observed. As far as James was concerned this seemed decisive; but still the suspicion was not removed that a large portion of the Tory peers were intent upon bringing back that unfit king. The Commons rejected the amendments of the Lords; and this led to a conference between committees of the two Houses. After long arguments about the propriety of substituting the word *deserted* for *abdicated*, and upholding the hereditary character of the succession, which would allow of no vacancy, the Lords withdrew to debate among themselves,

* "*Some*," says Burnet, "intended to bring King James back; and went into this as the most probable way for laying the nation asleep, and for overcoming the present aversion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, *with the help of some time*, to compass the other."

* "This, at least," says Mr. Hallam, "was a necessary supposition for the Tories, who sought in the idle rumours of the time an excuse for abandoning his right. As to the Whigs, though they were active in discrediting the unfortunate boy's legitimacy, their own broad principle of changing the line of succession rendered it, in point of argument, a superfluous inquiry."—*Const. Hist.*

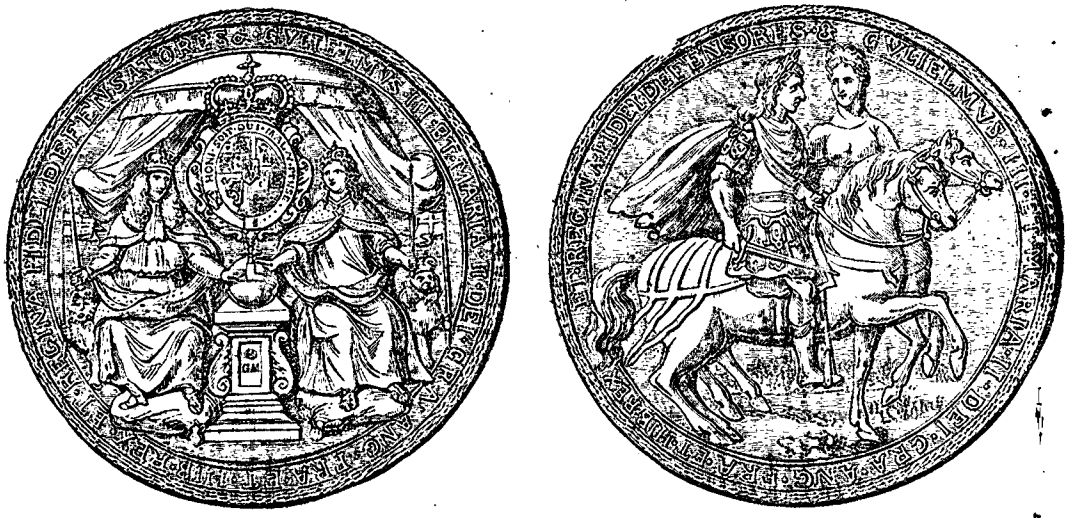
and the Commons adjourned to the next day. The capital was in a ferment; and a declaration which William had made to Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury, and some others, was industriously made public in all directions. The prince had told those noblemen that he had been hitherto silent, because he would not say or do anything that might seem to interfere with the freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of such importance; that he was resolved neither to court nor threaten any one. Some, he said, were for putting the government into the hands of a regent;—he would say nothing against that, if they thought it the best manner of settling their affairs; only he thought it necessary to tell them that he would not be the regent, and that if they continued in that design they must look out for some other person, as he saw what would be the consequences, and would never accept of that office. Others, he said, were for putting the princess, his wife, singly on the throne, and to have him to reign by her courtesy. "No man," he added, "can esteem a woman more than I do the princess; but I am so made, that I cannot think of holding anything by apron-strings; nor can I think it reasonable to have any share in the government unless it be put in my own person, and that for the term of my life. If you think it fit to settle it otherwise, I will not oppose you, but will go back to Holland, and meddle no more in your affairs." He assured them that, whatever others might think of a crown, it was no such great thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleased without it. In the end, he repeated that he could not accept a dignity that was only to be held during the life of another (his wife); admitting, however, that he thought the issue of the Princess Anne, James's second daughter, should be preferred in the succession to any children that he might have by any other wife than the Princess Mary.

William was neither a very faithful nor a very tender husband, but Mary was a very submissive wife: she was ready to do his will in all things; and at the present crisis this facility of disposition contributed not only to her own comfort, but also to the happiness of her native country. Danby, who had judged incorrectly of her disposition from reflecting upon the general character of princes and princesses, and who had privately warned her that, if she chose, he would place her alone upon the throne, had received from her a very sharp answer—in which she stated that she was the prince's wife, and would never be anything except with him and under him; that she would take it most unkindly if any persons, under a pretence of their care of her, should set up a divided interest between her and her husband; and, not content with this declaration, she sent over both Danby's tempting letter and her answer to it to William.* Yielding to the force of circumstances, and the steadiness of the Commons, the Lords gave up their amendments, and adopted in full and without change the resolution as it had been sent up to them; and then, by a majority of sixty-two to forty-seven, they resolved that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging. This vote, passed on the 6th of February, was sent down to the Commons on the 7th: but, some days before this, a declaration of the reasons why King James had vacated the throne, and asserting the ancient rights and liberties of the nation, had been agreed to by that House; and they now delayed concurring in the resolution of the Lords till the latter consented to adopt that declaration, which, after some debate, they did; and it was accordingly incorporated, in the form of a preamble, with the final resolution to which both Houses, after several conferences, came on the 12th of February,—"That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said Prince and Princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and, after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; for default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange."

* Burnet.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

ON the same busy day, Mary, the new queen, arrived from Holland at Whitehall; and, on the morrow, the prince and she being seated on two armed chairs under a canopy in the Banqueting House, both Houses of the Convention waited upon them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read the declaration and resolution of the two Houses, and the Marquess of Halifax, in their name, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses. On the same day, being Ash Wednesday, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, at the usual places in the cities of London and Westminster, "with great acclamation and general good re-



Great Seal of William and Mary.

William III. From a Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

ception, with bonfires, bells, great guns, &c."* "It was believed," says Evelyn, "that both, especially the princess, would have showed some seeming reluctance of assuming her father's crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the nation to so extraordinary a proceeding; which would have shown very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety —consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the king, but of succouring the nation: but nothing of all this appeared. She came into Whitehall, laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite

* "She seems," says Evelyn, "to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs: Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care."

transported. She rose early the next morning, and, in her undress, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from room to room to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late queen lay; and, within a night or two, sat down to play at basset, as the queen her predecessor used to do. She smiled upon and talked to everybody, so that no change seemed to have taken place at court since her last going away, save that infinite crowds of people thronged to see her, and that she went to *our* prayers. This carriage was censured by many."*

The Scottish Convention of Estates met on the 14th of March; and, through the ingenious management of Sir James Dalrymple (afterwards Lord Stair), hardly any were returned to it except Whigs and Presbyterians. The Duke of Hamilton was appointed president: the waverers were fixed by the success of the revolution in England, and everything proceeded with rapidity and spirit. A letter was presented from King James. A similar letter had been rejected by the English Convention without reading; but the Scots, after passing a resolution that nothing contained in the letter should dissolve their assembly, or stop their proceeding to the settlement of the crown, gave the royal epistle a respectful reading. It was written in the terms "of a conqueror and a priest; threatening the Convention with punishment in this world and damnation in the next;" and it was countersigned by James's Secretary of State, Lord Melfort, a furious Papist, who was abhorred by the Presbyterians.† The Convention returned no answer, but hastened to reply with gratitude to a letter from King William which was presented at the same time. They issued a proclamation, calling upon all men from sixteen to sixty to be ready to take up arms for their country and their faith: they arrayed the militia of the south, levied troops, and sent arms and ammunition to their brethren settled in the north of Ireland, who were apprehending a massacre at the hands of the Irish Papists.‡ The sheriffs were ordered to seize all persons found in arms without the authority of the Convention; and the Duke of Hamilton was invested with a dictatorial power of securing all *suspected* persons. The fiery Dundee did what he could to dissolve the Convention by cannon-balls. He urged the Duke of Gordon, who held out in Edinburgh Castle, and who had been proclaimed a traitor under the walls of that fortress, to fire upon the city. Gordon refused, or hesitated, and then Dundee attempted to get up a counter-convention at Stirling; but he was ill seconded by his friends, the Marquess of Athol and the Lords Balcarras and Marr. Dundee was eager to be in the field; but James had instructed him to remain quiet until assistance should be sent over from Ireland, where that wretched outcast had landed on the 12th of March, two days before the opening of the Scottish Convention. Urged on, however, by his natural impetuosity, or fearing for his life, which he said was threatened by some of the Covenanters, upon whom he had practised infamous severities "a-foretime," he mounted his horse, and galloped through Edinburgh with a troop of cavalry, consisting of some fifty men, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England. It is said that a friend asked him whither he was going, and that Dundee, waving his hat, replied—"Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me." He had made that daring partisan his model, and his proudest boast was that the blood of Montrose ran in his veins.* In passing under the outer walls of the castle, on the road that leads to Dalkeith, he dismounted, scrambled up the precipice at a place where it is almost perpendicular, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, whom he vainly pressed to retire with him into the Highlands, raise his brave vassals there, and leave his command of Edinburgh Castle to his loyal and faithful lieutenant.† While the conference lasted, a crowd collected at the foot of the precipice. A rumour reached the Convention, which was then sitting, that Dundee was at the gates with an army, and that Gordon was going to bombard the town. The Duke of Hamilton, who was better informed, turned the panic to the advantage of his party. He ordered the doors of the house to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table—exclaiming, that there was danger within as well as without doors—that traitors must be held in confinement until the danger was over—but that the friends of liberty had nothing to fear, as thousands were ready to start up in their defence at the stamp of his foot. At his order, drums beat and trumpets sounded, and swarms of west-country Covenanters, who had been brought into Edinburgh by Hamilton and Sir John Dalrymple, started from their hiding-places in garrets and cellars and showed themselves in the streets with arms in their hands. When the doors of the Convention were thrown open for the members to retire, the few Tories present were assailed with threats and curses; which had such an effect that some of the adher-

* Diary.—The Duchess of Marlborough more than confirms what Evelyn says:—"And here I cannot forbear saying, that, whatever good qualities Queen Mary had to make her popular, it is too evident by many instances *that she wanted bowels*. Of this she seemed to me to give an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. I was one of those who had the honour to wait on her in her own apartment. She ran about it, looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance but such as they express; a behaviour which, though at that time I was extremely caressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For, whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber and from that bed; and, if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should at least have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune."—*An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager-Duchess of Marlborough from her first coming to Court*, &c.

† Dalrymple.

‡ These seasonable supplies were of vast importance to the men of Londonderry and Inniskillen, upon whom the first weight of the war in Ireland fell.

* The relationship, however, was very distant—Dundee being the eighth and the great Marquess the ninth in descent from the same common ancestor, Sir William Graham, who died early in the fifteenth century.

† This strange conference on the edge of the rock was held at a postern gate, the marks of which are still to be seen, though the gate itself is built up.—*Dalrymple.*

Queen Mary. From a Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

ents of James fled at once into the country, and still more adapted themselves to circumstances and changed sides. With the field left to themselves, the Whigs were relieved from the necessity of those fine lines of policy, and those compromises between Whigism and Toryism, which had embarrassed the English Convention, and given to its proceedings an appearance of a want of decision and straightforwardness, but which, at the same time, had produced more moderation and a greater attention to the feelings or the rights of opposite parties. But there was a project which had long been entertained by some eminent Scottish statesmen, and which had been recommended by William in his letter to the Convention—a project which roused the national and religious feelings of the people, and which might have ruined everything if it had not been given up in time. This was the scheme of the union of the two kingdoms; and Lord Stair, and his son—Sir J. Dalrymple—who at a better period renewed it with success, and Lord Tarbet, recommended that the settlement of the crown and the union should go hand in hand. But the keen Presbyterians, who formed the majority of the Convention, refused to listen to the project of an incorporation with the prelatical English; and for this and other weighty reasons the plan was abandoned at once.*

On the 4th of April the Convention came to the resolution that King James had, by his evil deeds, "forfaulted" (forfeited) his right to the crown—a term which, in the law language of Scotland, implied the exclusion of all James's posterity. But as this would have comprehended William's wife and the Princess Anne, as well as the disputed male child, and as it was intended that Mary should be admitted to the throne, they agreed upon the following explanation of the legal term:—"That the word *forfault*, in the resolution, should imply no other alteration in the succession to the crown than the seclusion of King James, the pretended Prince of Wales, and the children that shall be procreated of either of their bodies." Only five voices spoke against the sentence of forfeiture—which, *per se* was more logical and correct than the *abdication* or the *desertion* put forward by the Convention of England. Upon this sentence of forfeiture they grounded the offer of the crown to William and Mary; and they accompanied the offer by a declaration of rights, which went farther than the English one, exposing all the inroads upon liberty made not only by the late king, but by his brother and predecessor, Charles II., and defining with more nicety the power of the prerogative and the rights of the nation. The Duke of Hamilton himself read the Act of the Convention at the Market Cross; and the Earl of Argyle, the son of the unfortunate nobleman who had been executed under James, Sir John Dalrymple, and Sir James Montgomery, were appointed to repair to London with the offer of the crown. Such visitors were pretty sure of a kind reception: they were admitted to

* Burnet—Dalrymple—Ralph.

the presence of William and Mary, and Argyle read aloud the Scottish coronation oath, the king rising each clause, and holding up his right hand whilst he swore. Persecution had not yet taught the Covenanters and Presbyterians the blessed creed of toleration; and the Convention had not revised a clause which bound the king by oath "to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God"—by which was meant, the old Presbyterian form of worship, to the exclusion of all others. When Argyll came to these words, William, who *did* know the advantages of toleration, stopped him, and declared that he would not oblige himself to become a persecutor. The commissioners assured him that it was not so meant. "Then," said William, "I take the oath in that sense only."*

The revolution was now accomplished, and the Prince of Orange was King of England and Scotland, to the consternation and disgust of those theorists who had favoured his invasion and progress in the credulous and almost insane hope that he would content himself by being the head of a British republic; and equally to the mortification of many of the Tories and high-churchmen, who, with equal credulity, had believed (or so they pretended) that William, after correcting the abuses of the government and putting down Popery, would restore his father-in-law to the throne and return quietly to Holland.

William's first measure was to announce that all Protestants found in office on the 1st of December last should continue in their places until further notice. On the 17th of February he published a list of the privy councillors, at the head of whom was *Est il possible*, who was considerable in nothing except in being the husband of the Princess Anne.† The number of disinterested patriots was exceedingly small: every man of any consequence that had assisted in making the revolution put in his claim for reward; and there was a general scramble for pensions and places and court distinctions. If England had been El Dorado, and William the most giving and liberal of princes, there would have been no satisfying all those claimants; and, of the dissatisfied, too many were prone to extend their dissatisfaction to the whole revolution, with the principles it established, and were soon ready to undo what they had done. Under almost any other sovereign the effect would soon have been seen in the worst of all revolutions —a restoration; but William, whose vices no less than his virtues—whose strange, imperturbable, cold manners, no less than his extraordinary abilities, fitted him for the crisis—conjured the worst part of the storm, and turned some of its conflicting elements to the advantage of himself and of the nation, which, perhaps, never more than at this moment depended upon the character and talent of a single individual. On the 18th of February he made his first speech from the throne to the two Houses. It was short and cogent. He told them that he was come to assure them that he should never do anything to lessen their good opinion of him; that the condition of affairs abroad, particularly in Holland, was such that, unless some speedy care was taken of them, they would run a greater hazard than the English would have them exposed to; that they themselves must be sensible that the posture of affairs at home would require their serious consideration, and that a good settlement was necessary for peace and for the support of the Protestant interest both here and abroad; and, particularly, that the state of Ireland was such as could not be remedied by any slow or weak measures. The Commons returned a solemn vote of thanks, which passed *nemine contradicente*; but on the next day the Lords brought in a bill to remove and prevent all questions and disputes concerning the legality of the assembling and sitting of this present parliament. This bill was read twice on the same day, and a third time on the day following, when it was sent down to the Commons. Both Whigs and Tories—the members of the cabinet as well as the members of parliament—had been struck by the very obvious necessity of legalising the Convention in some way or other; and, before the Lords' bill came down, the Commons were debating in committee upon a question put by their chairman, Mr. Hampden—"Whether a king, elected and declared by the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, January 22, 1688-9, coming to and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a parliament and legislative power and authority, to all intents and purposes, as if the said king should cause new summons to be given and new elections to be made by writ?" The Tories and Jacobites, who were anxious for a new election, answered this proposition in the negative, and insisted that the king's writs should be issued for the calling of a new parliament, which might confirm, or—as they hoped—rescind or modify what had been done by the Convention actually sitting. But, in the end, a bill was passed declaring the Convention to be, to all intents and purposes, a legal parliament. On the 1st of March the new oath of allegiance was tendered. It was conceived in the simplest form: the words "rightful and lawful sovereigns" being, upon mature deliberation, omitted. But, notwithstanding this modification, several lords and several members of the House of Commons withdrew without permission; and the Earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, and Exeter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the

* Burnet.—Dalrymple.

† See vol. iii. p. 799. This is the list:—The Prince of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquesses of Halifax and Winchester; the Earls of Danby, Lindsay, Devonshire, Dorset and Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Falconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, and Lumley; the Bishop of London; the Lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, and Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Boscawen. The majority were men who had ventured farthest in the revolution; and as for the archbishop and that sturdy Tory, Nottingham, they were named "by way of sweetener to the church," it being thought advisable to do something to conciliate that great body.—*Burnet.—Ralph.*

bishops refused the oath. Among these spiritual lords were five of the seven who had been sent to the Tower for refusing obedience to the mandates of James. Above four hundred of the clergy, including some of the highest distinction, followed the example set by the primate and these seven bishops; and thus began the schism of the *Nonjurors*—a term which now becomes as prominent as that of *Nonconformists* had been under the two last Stuarts.*

The first parliament of Charles II. in the heat of their loyalty had settled upon him a revenue *for life* of 1,200,000*l.*, and this precedent was followed on the accession of James. William, it appears, expected to have the same kind of grant for life; but the Commons had learned a good lesson, and both Whigs and Tories opposed the vote. "We may date our misery," said Sir Edward Seymour, "from our bounty here. If King Charles II. had not had that bounty from you, he had never attempted what he did." During the debate, William informed the House by message that the late king had sailed from Brest with a French armament for Ireland. The Commons then agreed to a temporary vote for 420,000*l.* per month, and engaged, together with the Upper House, to support his majesty with their lives and fortunes. The government and even the life of William were already threatened by conspirators: caution was necessary, and a certain stretch of the law, perhaps, justifiable; but the Commons suspended at once the Habeas Corpus Act—thus establishing a dangerous precedent; and the Lords, going still farther, "humbly advised and desired his majesty to take extraordinary care of the government in this conjuncture, *by securing all disaffected persons whatsoever*"—thus laying the personal liberty of the subject open to every attack of suspicion, fear, and animosity. And, in subsequent periods, timid or arbitrary ministers have not failed to follow the example in seasons of excitement. At this first suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, however, very few persons were arrested, for William was neither timid nor arbitrary. The hearth-tax, by which the sum of two shillings a-year was levied on every house in the kingdom, had always been particularly odious to the people, and it was now abolished at the recommendation of William, who received thereupon the thanks of both Houses. Proceeding with the great question of supply, the Commons bore in mind that, though a standing army had just been declared illegal, there could be no such security against it as the want of money in the crown to maintain one; and that the civil list ought to be clearly fixed and separated from the funds provided for the public defence and contingent expenditure. Upon a careful examination of accounts, they had discovered that the real value of the late king's revenue was far above its nominal amount: that James had been in the receipt, altogether, of 2,000,000*l.* per annum, and that in the expenditure nearly 90,000*l.* per annum was set down under the suspicious head of secret-service money.* They now voted 1,200,000*l.* for the current year, only one-half to be appropriated to the civil list, the other half to the public defence, &c.; but they soon improved upon their original scheme of a definite revenue, by taking a close and constant superintendence of the navy, army, and ordnance, having estimates regularly laid before them, and seeing, as far as was possible, that the supply granted was appropriated to the services to which it was voted. This great and fundamental principle became henceforward an invariable usage, and by means of it the House of Commons acquired that controlling position which it now maintains; and this alone will make Englishmen grateful for the Revolution of 1688.† For the current year the Commons fixed the allowance for the navy at 700,000*l.* instead of at 1,100,000*l.*, as proposed by ministers; and they made only provision for six months for the army which was to defend, or rather recover Ireland. They voted 600,000*l.* as compensation to the Dutch for the services rendered in ships and men at the Revolution. William had only demanded 700,000*l.*, but the reduction displeased him much, and generally he complained of parsimony and a want of confidence. He had told Parliament that the Dutch had neglected their own safety to relieve England in her extremity; that by this service they had drawn the French upon them; and that now the ruin of Holland would be but a step to the ruin of England.

William had been bred a Calvinist, a circumstance which did not endear him to the Church of England; but in Holland he had witnessed the agreeable prospect of all sects and religions living peaceably together, and he was both by heart and head disposed to toleration. He proposed a repeal of the Test Act, trusting that the great dread of the Papists would be removed with the removal of a Roman Catholic king, and that the professions of good-will which had passed between the established church and the dissenters, when threatened by James, would lead to some amicable and lasting agreement. But the Lords rejected the repeal by a great majority, and took no notice of a petition from the City of London, praying that the king might be at liberty to use indiscriminately the services of all his Protestant subjects, without any imposition of the sacramental oath, which offended the consciences of so many.‡ At the same time, the church party in the House of Lords eagerly grasped at a clause—also recommended by the tolerant king—which went to dispense with the oaths of the bishops and established clergy to the new government. But the dissenters in the House

* Coke.—Ralph.—Burnet.—Luttrell's Diary.—Evelyn.—Life of King James II.—Hallam.

* Hallam.—Parl. Hist. † See vol. iii. p. 843.

‡ During the discussion William told the Lords,—"As I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against the Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to unite you among yourselves, and to strengthen you against your common enemies."

of Commons resolved to show as little regard to the consciences of churchmen as the churchmen had shown to theirs; and they moved for an amendment to oblige the established clergy to take the oaths of allegiance before the 1st of August, without any excuse, and under pain of suspension, to be followed, in six months, by deprivation. The Lords, in their turn, rejected the amendment. Conferences ensued; but all that the Commons would allow was, that the king should have power to grant, during his pleasure, a moiety of their benefices to any twelve clergymen who should incur deprivation by refusing to take the oath. William was never easily turned from any serious project. Though surprised at the religious animosities of his new subjects, he attempted to carry a bill of comprehension, by which he flattered himself that the established church, the kirk, and the conventicle might by degrees be amalgamated. The Commons united with the Lords in oversetting the project; but, in the end, they agreed upon a free toleration to all Christian sects except the Roman Catholic.* William, who had no notion of being merely the king of one party, recommended an act of indemnity which should include the Tories who had made such an abuse of power in the two preceding reigns. The Whigs, who certainly aimed at engrossing all favour, all power and trust, represented that all kings were fond of prerogative, and that William wanted a pardon for the ministers of the late reigns *only* with a view to employ servants who would be as obsequious to him as they had been to James and Charles. In both Houses numerous exceptions were proposed, which would have changed the indemnity into something very like a sweeping proclamation of treason and misdemeanor against the Tory chiefs; and that liberal project also fell to the ground. The Declaration of Rights was embodied in a bill, which, however, was not passed until the following year, when it became an invaluable portion of the law of the land. After a pretty full examination of witnesses and of written evidence, parliament reversed the attainders of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, declaring their sentence to be iniquitous—their execution, murder.†

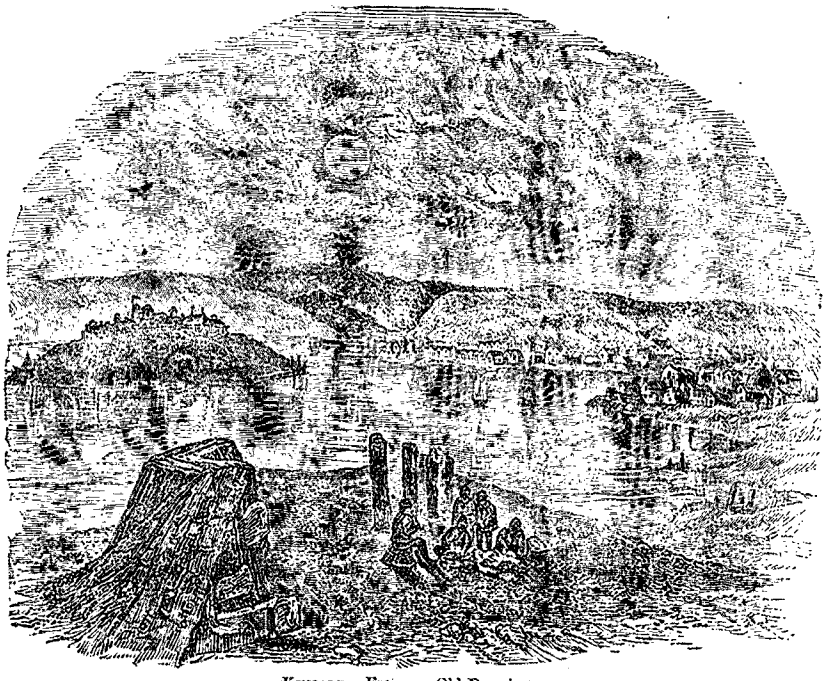
* By this toleration bill the penal laws were suspended in favour of all dissenting Protestants, provided they took the oaths to the present government, and did not meet in any place for religious worship with barred and bolted doors. "This bill," says Bishop Burnet, "gave the king great content. He, in his own opinion, always thought that conscience was God's province, and that it ought not to be imposed on; and his experience in Holland made him look on toleration as one of the wisest measures of government. He was much troubled to see so much ill humour spreading among the clergy, and, by their means, over a great part of the nation. He was true to his principles herein, that he restrained the heat of those who were for proposing severe acts against the Papists. He made them apprehend the advantage which that would give the French to alienate all the Papists of Europe from us; who, from them, might hope to set on foot a new Catholic league, and make a war or quarrel of religion, which might have very bad effects. He would pretend to protect the Protestants in many places of Germany and Hungary unless he could cover the Papists in England from severities on account of their religion. This was so carefully laid out into many, and so well understood by them, that the whole spread the real effects of the toleration, though they were not expressly included within the statute."

† Subsequently the same resolutions were passed concerning Scotland, and Cornish.

Louis XIV., by the act of sending troops into Ireland, had made a war with France unavoidable; and, besides, if it had *not* been for his darling project, the one great thought of his whole life,—to check French aggrandizement,—it may be doubted whether William would have taken upon himself the weight of the crown of England, or have put himself in a position to be tempted by the offer of it. If he had been somewhat oversanguine as to the virtues of tolerance, moderation, and magnanimity among parties, he had certainly not miscalculated the inveterate feeling of the nation against the French. Both Houses pledged themselves, and gave their "solemn and hearty promise and engagement, to support his majesty in a war against the French king." "This," said William, with unusual emotion, "is the first day of my reign."

The fugitive James had met with a very kind, and what was called a very honourable, reception at the court of Versailles; for Louis, who was menaced by a vast coalition, was sensible of the great use that might be made of him; and the "*grand monarque*," though exceedingly *little* in many essentials, had a kingly bearing, and a disposition which sometimes looked like magnanimity. It was universally known that Ireland was our vulnerable part: Tyrconnel informed his proscribed master that all the Roman Catholics there would take up arms for him; and it was forthwith resolved that James should be landed in Ireland with a French army.* Louis drove on the preparations for the expedition with uncommon earnestness, and appointed d'Avaux to accompany "his Britannic majesty," with the title of ambassador-extraordinary. Tyrconnel had played his part with rare vigour and success. He amused the friends of the English revolution with half-promises and delusive assurances, and seems to have made even the cautious and incredulous William believe that he would submit quietly to his government. On the 12th of January James dispatched Captain Ruth, from St. Germain, to assure him that he was coming speedily with a French fleet and army. Tyrconnel then pretended to the chiefs of the Protestant party that Ireland ought to recognise and submit to the new government, but that he, as a soldier, was bound in honour to ask the sanction of his old master. He then summoned to Dublin Lord Mountjoy, who was the man most trusted by his party, and whose power and influence over the Protestants of the North were boundless; and charged that nobleman and the lord chief justice Rice with a mission to St. Germain. Mountjoy was told that he was to assure King James that the defence of Ireland was an impossibility, and that the loyalty of the lord-deputy yielded only to an absolute necessity; and James was told to make the dangerous Mountjoy fast; and as soon as his credulous lordship got to Paris he was

* Life of James, &c., collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand. Published from the Original Stuart MSS. in Carlton House, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke.



Kinsale. From an Old Drawing.

safely lodged in the Bastille.* Having thus adroitly deprived the Irish Protestants of their great chief, Tyrconnel soon proceeded to disarm them, and to recruit his Catholic army, which was already considerable, and which was raised in the course of two months to forty or fifty thousand men, all Papists, all eager to establish their religion and to recover their ancient possessions. Everything seemed to promise success; but the presence of James was in itself sufficient to defeat all their hopes. That fatal blunderer left St. Germain on the 1st of February. At parting Louis gave him his own cuirasse,—a thing which was as likely to be kept out of the reach of bullet and pike on the person of James as it had been when worn by the donor,—saying, as he embraced him, "The best wish I can give you is, that I may never see you again." He arrived at Brest on the 5th of February. There he found a crowd of English and Irish exiles, about 2500 soldiers under the command of the French general De Rosen, and a fleet of fifteen sail manned and commanded by some of the best sailors and marine officers of France. He was detained by contrary winds in the Brest Roads, or upon other parts of the French coast, during which time he ought to have been intercepted by the English fleet; but at last, on the 12th of March, he landed at Kinsale, where he was received with enthusiasm by the native Irish. From Kinsale he proceeded to Cork, where all was jubilee, and from Cork he went to Dublin, where his public entry was magnificent, in the midst of Catholic bishops, priests, and monks, who hailed him as their deliverer and the champion of the only true church. Except in the most Protestant province of Ulster his authority seemed to be recognised everywhere; and even on the frontier of Ulster the Protestants had been defeated,* and were in an attitude of strength and defiance only at Londonderry and Inniskillen. The English fleet, under Admiral Herbert, having missed the enemy on the French coast, found them greatly reinforced in Bantry Bay: for, while they had been beating about, Château Renaud had got over from Brest with a second squadron; and that admiral, relying on his superiority of force, and on the improvement which the French mariners had made, while the English were losing their qualities under the inglorious reigns of Charles and James, now came boldly out of Bantry Bay, with twenty-eight ships of the line, and gave Herbert battle. The engagement lasted the whole day; but in the evening the English sheered off for the Scilly Islands, while the French returned with a great show of triumph to the anchorage they had left in the morning. James, though a bad sailor, had been fond of the sea, and had taken a pride in the English navy, which he had helped to deteriorate.† It is said that, when

* Lord Mountjoy had been warned by many of his Protestant friends that Tyrconnel intended a trick of this kind; but he had yielded to the solemn asseverations of Tyrconnel, who swore that he was sincere,—that he earnestly wished for submission and peace, but knew that the court of France, which "would not care if Ireland were sunk to the pit of hell, so it gave the Prince of Orange three months' diversion," would oppose his purpose to the utmost; and that, if he saw that James would ruin Ireland merely to serve France, he should consider himself released from all his engagements to him.

* At the famed "rout of Dromore."

† See ante, vol. iii. p. 698, and note.

d'Avaux, the ambassador-extraordinary, exulting to him how the French sailors had beaten the English, James said, sadly, "It is the first time!" This story may be true, though it rests upon indifferent authority;* but there is good evidence to show that the English exiles in France, who had not forgotten their nationality in their loyalty, grieved at the success of the French navy though fighting for their master.† James formed a council of government, consisting of his natural son the Duke of Berwick, the Duke of Powis, the earls of Abercorn, Melfort, Dover, Carlingford, and Clanricard, Lord Thomas Howard, the lords Kilmallack, Merrion, Kenure, the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, the Bishop of Chester, Colonel Dorrington the French ambassador d'Avaux, the Marquis d'Eveille, Count Sarsfield, and one or two other foreigners. When the Protestant bishop of Meath, at the head of his clergy, implored the royal protection and permission to lay before him an account of the injuries they had received, James replied, "I will protect all men in their religion and properties; and as for the wrongs that have lately been suffered by several, it is impossible, in these times of commotion, but such will happen; but I shall, as far as I can, prevent and redress them. However, if I am invaded in this kingdom as I have been in England, I must secure myself as well as I can." When the Popish bishops and priests, who had welcomed him into Dublin, and who had sung *Te Deum* on his arrival, waited upon him, they were received in a very different manner; and these demonstrations, [illegible] which they might please the Irish Catholics, did but serve to ruin all hopes of his return to England. In a series of proclamations that were issued he commanded all Irish subjects who had lately abandoned that kingdom to return home, under assurance of protection, and on pain of outlawry and confiscation (there had been a general flight of Protestants, and of English and Scottish settlers, who apprehended nothing less than a massacre); he required all persons, of what degree or persuasion whatsoever, to join with him against the Prince of Orange; he expressed his gratitude to the Roman Catholics of Ireland for having with such readiness and cheerfulness put themselves in arms; but he required such as were not in actual pay and under regular commanders, not to surrender their arms, but to lay them up in their own houses, because, as was acknowledged, even this meritorious arming had given rise to many robberies: he called upon the country people to supply his army in the north with provisions, and he forbade the soldiery to take anything without payment: he altered the currency by declaring that twenty shillings should pass for a guinea; and, lastly, he summoned an Irish parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May.

Of the Irish Protestants who had not fled the far greater part were in arms against him. Only six Protestants were returned to the House of Commons, and only five lords and four bishops of that faith attended in the Upper House. In his opening speech to this Catholic parliament he thanked them for the exemplary loyalty which they had shown at a time when others of his subjects had "so undutifully misbehaved themselves, or so basely betrayed him;" he expressed his gratitude for their seconding his deputy, Tyrconnel, in his bold and resolute conduct; he assured them that he had come among them to venture his life with them in defence of *their* liberties and his own rights, and he praised their courage as being equal to their zeal. He continued—"I have always been for liberty of conscience, and against invading any man's right or liberty; having still in mind that saying of holy writ, 'Do as you would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets.' It was this liberty of conscience I gave, which my enemies, both at home and abroad, dreaded to have established by law in all my dominions, and made them set themselves up against me, though for different reasons; seeing that, if I had once settled it, my people, in the opinion of the one, would have been too happy, and, in the opinion of the other, too great." But the Irish were not sufficiently advanced in civilization to allow of a toleration or to modify the doctrines of the Romish church, which as yet, with a few exceptions in obscure corners, was everywhere intolerant, everywhere a persecuting power: their only notion about the law and the prophets was to do as they *had been* done by,—to avenge upon their Protestant conquerors the wrongs and oppressions they had suffered from them, and to recover possession of the lands and privileges they had lost. This latter design, this natural hungering after broad and fertile acres, which, however disguised by religious or party feeling, has been at the bottom of every Irish insurrection, was inevitable in the circumstances; and it compelled James to sanction the repeal by his parliament of the Act of Settlement, by which the majority of the Protestants and English and Scottish colonists held their estates in Ireland. There was no reconciling the rival interests and antagonist feelings;—what gratified the Irish was worse than a declaration of war to the knife to the English. "The bill," says a Protestant writer, "was received with a loud huzza, which more resembled the behaviour of a crew of rapparees over a rich booty than that of a senate assembled to rectify abuses and restore the rights of their fellow-subjects." In the House of Lords two or three of the Protestant minority of nine had the courage to oppose

* The story is copied by Dalrymple from "Short View," &c.—the composition of one Higgins, a decided Jacobite.

† This appears from a letter written by Lord Melfort (who had no such feeling) to James:—"I am extremely sorry," says his lordship, "to see, from several letters, that some of your majesty's servants of our country at St. Germains have been so indiscreet as to *show their dislike that the French should beat the English at sea.* Indeed I have pain to believe them so little concerned in your majesty's happiness, but it is written to the Cardinal de Fourbin and to the Duke de Chaulnes. If it have made no noise, then it is well. If there is anything in it, *such are most unworthy, be they who they will, of the honour of serving your majesty;* but they name nobody, nor can I guess who the persons are."—*Sir H. Ellis's Collection.*

the bill as injurious to the public good and destructive of the public faith; but the best argument was used by Dr. Dopping, the Protestant bishop of Meath, who told them that it was fit to get possession of the whole of the promised land before proceeding to divide it. The practical part of the repeal was intrusted to troops of horse and dragoons, or was taken up by the armed Catholics, who seized the property of the Protestants without any nice regard either to justice or mercy. This act was soon followed by another, attainting all who abetted or assisted the Prince of Orange, forfeiting the manors, lands, goods, and interests of all absentees, and vesting all this property in the crown, and by another destroying the spirit of Poyning's law, which had been imposed by the conquerors to make the Irish subordinate to the English parliament.* They voted 20,000*l.* a-year as a proper reward for the patriotism of Tyrconnel, to be taken out of the estates forfeited by the Protestants; and they voted 20,000*l.* per month for the king. They passed an act for liberty of conscience to all Christians; but, as the Catholics formed the immense majority, such of the Protestant clergy as had not fled were left without the means of support, the Papists being authorised to pay their tithes to their own priests, and the stipends of Protestant ministers in cities and corporate towns being stopped by law even where the followers of the reformed church were in the majority. All schools and colleges, from which the Protestants had excluded everything in the shape or likeness of a priest or monk, were now seized by the Roman clergy and monastic orders. The Protestant churches fell of course into the hands of the triumphant majority; and—which was not quite so inevitable, but which showed in a clear light the popular interpretation of religious liberty—the Protestants were forbidden to assemble in churches or elsewhere under pain of death. At the same time the Protestants were plundered about equally by the rapparees and by the officers of James's army, who sold them protections at extravagant rates, and made them renew their protections whenever they wanted more money. And, as a low price had been fixed by proclamation for all the supplies required by the army, and as this low price was paid in base money, the Papists, wherever they could, gave the preference to the Protestants as sellers. James had brought only some 400,000 crowns from France; and Louis, though often pressed, was unable to send him more money, having himself to wring from a half-starving people the means of carrying on a war against more than half of Europe. The desperate resource, in such circumstances, was sure to suggest itself to a mind like that of James. He debased the currency, and, by proclamation, ordered his brass coinage to pass for a hundred times more than it was worth. He was as impatient of all opposition to his royal will, as incapable of controlling his arbitrary temper, as ever. When this Irish House of Commons opposed him in a particular measure, he fell into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "I find all Commons are the same;" and when they preferred a complaint against his secretary of state, the rash and insolent Melfort, he said that they were using him unkindly and basely; and declared that, if he had thought they would not let him choose his own servants, he would never have come among them. At the same time his poverty-stricken court was the scene of incessant turmoil and intrigue: Melfort hated d'Avaux, and d'Avaux detested Melfort; the French affected to despise the Irish, and the Irish were jealous of the French, who, whatever had been the arrangements between King James and King Louis, certainly acted as if with a design to transfer the dependency of Ireland from England to France, or at least to render the quarrel between England and Ireland irreconcileable. When Melfort quarrelled with Tyrconnel, James was obliged to get the former out of Ireland, and his lordship was sent on a begging mission to the pope, who had no more money to spare than the French king, and less inclination to risk it in a desperate enterprise.* But the departure of that hot-headed Scot did not put an end to the jealousies and jars which raged from the arrival at Dublin down to the flight back to France. Nor could James

* They declared that the parliament of England had no power or authority over Ireland, and that no writs of error and appeal should be made from Dublin to Westminster. In a national sense this was their wisest and best enactment—it was doing what acquired fame to the Grattans and Floods in the memorable Irish parliament of 1782. It appears, however, to be a mistake to assert that Poyning's law was formally repealed. A bill to that effect was brought in by the Commons, but James sent an order to stop it, and it fell to the ground, though the Irish had it much at heart, correctly considering the old act as the greatest sign and means of their subjection to England. By Poyning's law the initiative power was reserved to the English council, and no act could be passed by the Irish parliament without being recommended or perused by the king and council of England.

* On the 5th of September, 1690, when James had been driven out of Ireland, Melfort, who was still begging, wrote thus, from Rome, to his royal master at St. Germains:—"He (the pope) said that it was perfectly well, for, that your majesty being safe, your re-establishment was certain; and that he approved extremely of your having come away, and would write so much to your majesty himself. I told his holiness, that now your majesty was come to France to demand succours from that king, the next thing I had commanded me was to beg of his holiness what assistance it was possible for his holiness to give. That the enterprise was great, and that, though France should do all they could, yet that all would not be near what was sufficient, and that therefore his holiness of necessity must see this most just cause perish, to the reproach of all the Catholics who did not assist or help to support it. That there never was a time in which the holy see had so much honour to gain or lose, and that the eyes of all Europe was upon his holiness to see if he would tamely suffer a Catholic kingdom to fall into the hands of heretics, unconcerned to see so many hundreds of thousands of Catholics under the grievousest persecution, and greatest temptation to lose their religion. That, by a timely and suitable assistance, his holiness might have had the glory in his pontificate to have advanced the Catholic religion in England and Scotland, where it was not; and, as that would have been much to his honour, I was assured he would never give occasion to the contrary, by suffering a Catholic kingdom to be dismembered from the church in his time, without giving all the assistance he could to such as were endeavouring its defence. That a timely supply might do much, and I was sure but 12,000 or 15,000 stand of arms might have prevented these mischiefs if sent in time, since your majesty wanted not men but arms to have outnumbered your enemies. That that was neglected, but that for the future I hoped his holiness would turn his thoughts more intently on a thing in which he and the church of God were so much concerned. His holiness repeated all his former compliments of what he would do and suffer for your majesty, but that he could not act against all the world, and he had not wherewithal to do as he would. That all the world was in war. That war was come into Italy. That there was scarcity at Rome. That the rents of the ecclesiastic state were not paid. That he was in thousands of straits and difficulties. That the little he had given was borrowed: he had in it given his entrails, *so difficult is it now to find money.*"—*Ellis's Letters.*

make up his mind to any fixed plan of operation. At one time he thought of repairing with his Irish army to England, where his friends flattered him with assurances that it would be no difficult matter to overturn the new and unsettled government; at another moment he entertained the project of Lord Dundee, who informed him that there were no regular troops, except four regiments, in Scotland, and that, upon his landing, all the warlike clans of the Highlands would join him and cut his way to London with their broad swords. In the end, James resolved to subdue the Protestants in Ulster, and to complete the conquest of Ireland; and Dundee was soon lost to that cause of which he was the bravest and ablest champion. Before he fell he equalled the romantic adventures of his model hero, Montrose. After his singular interview with the Duke of Gordon he withdrew into the west; and as soon as he received news of James's arrival in Ireland he hastened to Inverness, where the clans of Lochaber were quarrelling with the townspeople about some money claims. He paid the debt in dispute out of his own pocket, and prevailed upon most of the clans to enlist under the banners of King James. From Inverness he made a most rapid Montrose-like march through different parts of the Highlands, calling the fierce clans to arms, promising magnificent rewards to the chiefs, and dispersing the small bodies of militia commanded by officers appointed by the new government. His force gathered like a snow-ball—he was soon at the head of five or six thousand active and daring Highlanders. The charm of his name was so great, that in some instances clans deserted their hereditary chiefs to follow him; having, however, as of yore, the tempting prospect of plundering all the Lowlands. The Lord Murray, son of the Earl of Atholl, had got under arms about a thousand men upon his father's estate and the estate of Lord Lovat, who was married to his sister, under an assurance that they were to serve King James, though in reality Murray intended to make them serviceable to King William. While Murray was reviewing these men they quitted their ranks, ran down to a brook, filled their bonnets with water (other drink being scarce), drank a health to King James, and then, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee.* The prompter or chief manager of this dramatic scene was Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, who at the distance of fifty-eight years made his exit on Tower Hill, in a manner equally dramatic. Several of the great lords in the north either openly assisted or secretly connived with Dundee, who had friends in the Scottish privy council and even among the officers of the regiments that were sent against him. This force of the new government was commanded by General Mackay, a good officer, but who was evidently deceived and hampered on many occasions by his subalterns and other Jacobites in disguise. He, however, cooped Dundee up in the mountains, and prevented any very extensive incursions of the Highlanders. Dundee received orders from James not to risk a battle until he should be joined by reinforcements from Ireland, which were promised in abundance, but which, when they arrived, amounted only to five hundred men, miserably armed and equipped. The partisan leader was obliged continually to shift his quarters by prodigious marches, in order to avoid or harass the enemy, or to obtain provisions. Mackay's regular troops were no match in these evolutions for the light-footed, half-naked Highlanders; nor could the Lowlanders bear the privations of hunger and thirst and cold like the hardy Celts, whose ordinary life was comparatively one of privation. In these marches Dundee generally walked on foot with the men and fared as they did. He possessed a key to their hearts in a knowledge of clan history or tradition, and of the genealogies of which they were so proud. He talked with them, sang Celtic songs with them, and joked with them; it being one of his maxims that no general should fight with an irregular army unless he were personally acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet the severity of his discipline, in certain points, was dreadful, and the only punishment he inflicted was death; it being another of his maxims that any other punishment disgraced a gentleman, and all who followed him were gentlemen! Towards the enemy he was merciless whenever he obtained the advantage; even as he had been against the Covenanters and Cameronians when simply Graham of Claverhouse. And on this point his maxim was, that, if terror ended or prevented war, bloodshed was mercy. Towards the end of June he received the Irish reinforcement, and at the same time intelligence that Mackay was marching through Atholl to attack the castle of Blair, the loss of which place would tend to cut off the communication between the two divisions of the Highlands. He instantly made one of his flying marches to Blair, got there long before the heads of Mackay's columns were seen, and advanced to the pass of Killikrankie, near Dunkeld. On the morning of the 16th of July Mackay moved from Dunkeld, and, after halting two hours at the mouth of the deep and gloomy mountain-pass to ascertain by means of scouts whether there was an enemy within the gorge, he began to enter it about midday, his soldiers looking anxiously about them and to the woods and rocks which overhung the pass. But Dundee had no intention to dispute that passage, his plan being to engage in the open plain beyond it, while some Atholl clans should press on Mackay's rear, occupy the mouth of the defile on the side of Dunkeld, and make retreat impossible or dangerous in the extreme. Thus Mackay and his regulars got through the pass without seeing any living creatures except the eagles and other birds of prey that wheeled and screamed over their heads; but, a little beyond Killikrankie, they discovered Dundee and his army

* Dalrymple.

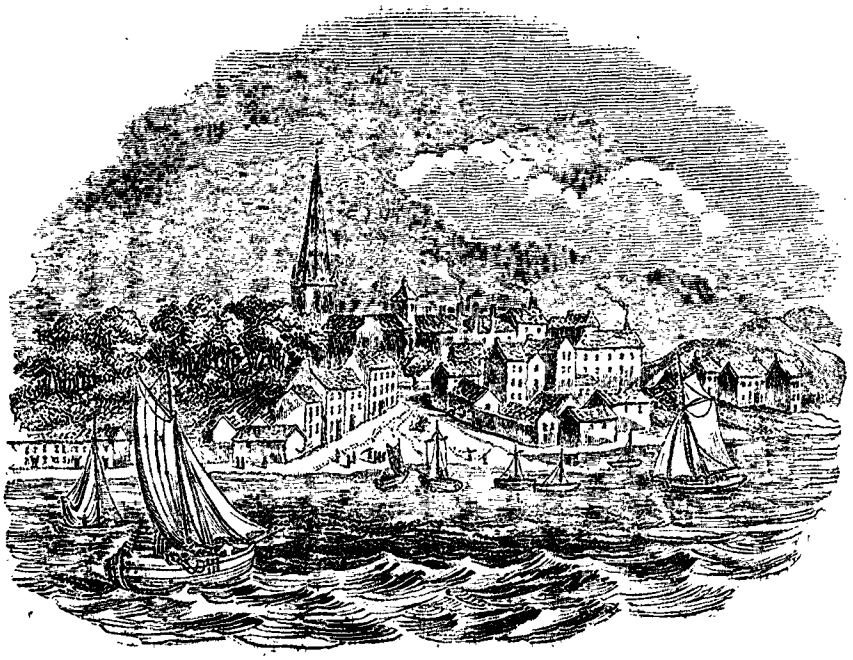
resting upon the side of a hill. At a favourable moment, when Mackay's line was thin and far extended, either from the nature of the ground or from an intention to outflank, Dundee led down his Highlanders in compact columns. They received the fire of the regulars, and then, giving one discharge, threw their guns and pistols behind them, fell on with their broadswords, and cut their way through and through Mackay's line. The English horse, who were very few, galloped off without firing a shot; the artillery was seized; some of the infantry threw down their arms; and the whole line was broken or confused. Mackay himself was driven up to some hills to the west of the pass of Killikrankie. When he halted to rally that portion of his little army which had kept near him, and looked back from the heights upon the field of battle, he saw that there was no pursuit, and said to his officers that he was sure the enemy had lost their general.* Nor was he mistaken—Dundee had fallen in the moment of victory. According to a Highland tradition, he had a charmed life, and could expose himself without chance of injury to showers of musket-balls made of lead or iron; but one of Mackay's soldiers, knowing this fact, and perceiving that their shot took no effect upon him, tore off a silver button, put it into his piece, and so gave him his death-wound. Some of the regulars that fled back through the pass were roughly handled by the Highlanders, who had met at its southern mouth; but the whole amount of slaughter appears to have been greatly exaggerated:† Mackay soon collected the fugitives; and the Highlanders, completely dispirited by the loss of their leader, retired to their homes, leaving, according to their custom, a great heap of stones to mark the spot where he had fallen. A letter was found in Dundee's pocket from Lord Melfort, importing that, notwithstanding the promises of indemnity, indulgence, and toleration, contained in a declaration lately issued, he had so worded them, that King James, who did not think himself obliged to stand to them, might break through them when he pleased! Buchan and Cannons, who had come over with the Irish troops, made one or two attempts to renew the war, but they failed entirely, and by degrees the clans accepted King William's proclamation of pardon, and laid down their arms. Some time before the battle of Killikrankie the Duke of Gordon had surrendered the castle of Edinburgh; and by the end of the year the whole of Scotland was tranquil and submissive to the new government, with the exception of the insignificant garrison of the Bass Rock, which had the doubtful honour of being the last to strike the banner of the Stuarts.‡

A few days after losing Dundee, James lost all hope of winning the city of Londonderry, upon which the fate of the north of Ireland depended. The Protestant inhabitants of that city, consisting chiefly of Scottish Presbyterian colonists and their descendants, had acted with admirable spirit. While matters were yet in doubt—before James was absolutely driven out of England, and some time before Tyrconnel had thrown off the mask—they had refused to receive a Popish garrison of 1200 men, who had been despatched by the Lord Deputy to make sure of that important place. When this force halted within sight of the town, nine Protestant youths rushed forth from the alarmed city, hauled up the drawbridge, and shut the gates in their faces. Animated by this action, others flew to the guard-room, broke open the magazine of arms and distributed the materials; and presently the walls were manned and the few miserable cannon pointed against the Irish troops. Inniskillen, where the Protestant feeling was equally strong, followed the example of Londonderry; and, by degrees, nearly the whole of the province of Ulster rose up in arms and joined in a league for the defence of their property and religion. A general council met at Hillsborough, opened a correspondence with the Prince of Orange, and raised several Protestant regiments. James had proceeded in this direction a few weeks after his arrival in Ireland; and his interests were served by Colonel Lundie, who had been appointed by William to be governor of Londonderry. A few days before James sat down before the town, two regiments arrived from England; but they did not throw themselves into the place, owing to the treacherous assurances of Lundie that it was untenable, and that there were not ten days' provisions in it. There is reason to suspect that at least one of the colonels of these two regiments was a Jacobite. But the townspeople, aware of Lundie's treachery, deposed him, and chose two better defenders in Mr. Walker, a Presbyterian minister, and Major Baker, who were appointed joint

* General Mackay's own manuscript, as cited by Dalrymple.

† According to some Scottish Jacobite accounts, Mackay lost two thousand in killed and five hundred in prisoners. William's London Gazette, however, was certainly as far from the truth. It stated that a party of Highlanders had carried off certain stores of meal which had been provided for the use of his majesty's forces; that Mackay pursued them to their main body, who were nearly all killed or taken prisoners, &c.

‡ In the Life of James the most is made of this very trifling yet curious affair. "By this means the Bass (a small fort upon a rock in Leith Road) was the only foot of land, if it may be so called, that the king remained in possession of; where a few loyal and resolute persons set all the kingdom at defiance; but, being in great necessity for want of provisions, his majesty found means by some French privateers of supplying their wants: it was a pleasant sort of independent state, consisting of about fifteen or twenty souls, and their way of subsisting a subject of great curiosity to all sort of people: they had a boat which was of great use to them for making descents in order to bring off provisions or to get intelligence from their friends: this boat they frequently changed as they found occasion, till at last they got one which was very large, and more useful on that account, but too heavy to be hoisted up by their crane, as they were used to do the others, so, being forced to leave it floating at the foot of the rock, it was taken from them in the night by surprise: this made the government think they would be more inclined to surrender, so sent a serjeant and some soldiers to offer them an indemnity if they would submit; but, instead of that, they had the dexterity to repair their loss by it, for, desiring them to come nearer under pretence of not hearing well what they said, brought them at last within reach of their fire-arms; by the terror of which they forced them in, and, disarming the soldiers, seized the boat, and made the prisoners help them up with it as far as to put it out of danger of being retaken as the other had been; and soon after a Danish ship passing within reach of their cannon, they forced her in also, and, having taken a small tribute of provisions and what else they wanted as due to their little independent state, they put their prisoners on board, that they might not help to consume what now began to be too little for themselves; and in this manner they held out till the beginning of the year 1694, when they were forced by famine to surrender at last."



LONDONDERRY. From an Old Print.

governors of Londonderry. When James summoned the place in person they fired upon him. The fortifications were rudely but effectually repaired: a few brave Scotsmen, well acquainted with the art of war, threw themselves into the beleaguered city. After eleven days of unsuccessful attacks, James drew off, and went to Dublin to open the Irish parliament, whose session has been already described. General Rosen, who was left to conduct the siege, was a savage that had improved his natural brutality in the exterminating war which Louis XIV. had waged in the Protestant and defenceless Palatinate. He ordered that all the inhabitants within ten miles round Londonderry should be driven under the walls of that place, and all the country wasted and burnt: he proclaimed that, if the town did not surrender in ten days, he would put every one within it to the sword. And, in fact, a vast crowd of men, women, and children were collected, and driven, naked and famishing, under the walls of the famishing town, wherein the defenders were reduced to eat their horses, their dogs, and their garbage. The besieged, on the other hand, erected a tall gibbet on one of the bastions to hang whatever prisoners fell into their hands, and intimated to the enemy that they had better send priests to confess these victims of a fair retaliation. James certainly neither commanded nor approved of these atrocities;* but he was away in Dublin; and many hundreds of the country people, including mothers with infants at their breasts, were left to perish outside the walls of Londonderry, while those who, at the end of two days and two nights, were permitted to go back through Rosen's lines, found their homes in ashes, and their cattle and all other property whatsoever destroyed or carried off. William's choice of officers was, at the least, singular. Kirk, who had committed such cruelties in the west of England for James, but who had contrived to recommend himself as a good soldier to the new king, was sent over to the relief of Londonderry; and, after forcing a boom which obstructed his passage, and silencing some batteries which the Irish had thrown up on the water's edge, he, on the 30th of July, succoured the heroic garrison, who had scarcely strength left to thank their deliverers. Including the townspeople, eight or nine thousand had perished by famine, disease, or the shot of the enemy. On the very next day Rosen raised the siege, which, altogether, had lasted nearly four months.* On the same day the brave Inniskilleners, who had kept their town, and caused great loss to the Papists by sallies and surprises, defeated General Mackarty and 6000 Irish at Newton-Butler,

* See his letters to Rosen, and a letter to King Louis, whom he requested to recall that General, in Macpherson's Original Papers, &c.

* The real hero of the siege of Limerick was Walker, the Presbyterian minister. He was honoured and rewarded by William; but he lost his life soon after at the passage of the Boyne. When the king was told of his fate, he said, "What business had the minister there?" For this William has been censured; yet it appears to us that he was in the right, or that he meant merely to say that Walker had done enough at Limerick, and after that siege might have put on his Geneva gown and left the war to regular soldiers.

killing, it is said, about 2000, and causing about 500 to drown themselves. Ulster was now safe; and, on the 13th of August, old Marshal Schomberg landed at Carrickfergus with 16,000 men—English, Scotch, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots;—the latter, for the most part, men who had nothing left to them but their swords, and who hoped to avenge upon the Papists and the French in Ireland some of the wrongs which they had endured in their own country on account of their religion. Of all the bands that adhered to the standard of King William, and followed him in all his extending wars on the Continent, there was none more brave, more enthusiastic, than these proscribed French Protestants. At the same time the English fleet, after some disgraceful signs of sloth or cowardice or treachery in the commanders, was assuming a respectable attitude: Brest was watched or blockaded; and the Confederates, passing the Rhine, laid siege to Bonn and Mayence, in the view of forcing a passage into France and fighting Louis on his own territory.

The life and soul of this confederacy was William, who was burning to join its armies and take the command of them; but, besides the recovery and settlement of Ireland, he had many other things to do, and also much to suffer from the factious and intriguing spirit of his new subjects, or at least that part of them who figured as public men and made politics their trade. Proof has been accumulated upon proof to show that he was continually betrayed by some of those who held office under him, but who, considering that they had not been sufficiently rewarded—that they had not gained enough by the Revolution—were willing to bring about a counter-revolution in order to have one throw more out of the dice. The wretched old king had not been gone three months from England ere Danby was heard to say, "If King James would only quit his priests, he might still retrieve his affairs;" and Halifax was of opinion that wise men ought not to venture too far. Others spake out louder, and (in convenient places) joined the cry of those who maintained that William had overturned the constitution he was invited over to preserve—had broken faith with the nation—acted most unnaturally to his uncle and father-in-law—and trampled upon the laws of God and man. Others, again, who were merely timid and selfish waverers, lauded King William at one side of the mouth and blessed King James with the other, so that, come what might, they might pass for loyal and faithful servants. To gratify as large a number as possible of the rapacious claimants for office, the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Great Seal were all put into commission.* But this told two ways; for Danby, who expected to be reappointed lord treasurer, and Admiral Herbert, who expected to be made lord high admiral, with the sole control of the Admiralty, were disgusted in the extreme. Lord Churchill, moreover, who had done as much for the Revolution as any man, and who, more than most, had been obliged to the late king, was sorely disappointed at seeing Schomberg named Master of the Ordnance instead of himself. Churchill received an appointment in the royal household, and so did the Lords Devonshire, Mordaunt, Dorset, Lovelace, Oxford, and others; but then every one of these (with the exception, *perhaps*, of Devonshire) wanted something better, and was irritated at seeing William keep three of his Dutch followers—Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuylestein—about the English court. Halifax had looked for something more than the privy seal, which was restored to him; and Shrewsbury, appointed one of the secretaries of state, was astonished and distressed (as were all the Whig party) to see that sturdy Tory, Nottingham, who had

* "The parliament-men disposed of the great offices amongst themselves. The Great Seal, Treasury, and Admiralty put into commission of many unexpected persons, *to gratify the more.* . . . . Men are minding only their present interests."—*Evelyn's Diary.*

Medal struck upon raising the Siege of Londonderry. Obverse: Advance of the English Fleet to relieve Londonderry; in front Bust of King William, crowned by Valour and Abundance. Reverse: Poverty and Slavery holding a broken Crown of Laurel over the Head of Louis XIV.

done all he could to prevent the settlement, appointed to be the other secretary. Nominally, the public ministers of the crown were Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Halifax, and Danby, who thwarted one another, and only agreed in complaining that the king did not repose sufficient confidence in them, but preferred the advice of Sidney, now created Lord Sidney, and that of his countryman, Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, who both were true to his interests. The majority of the ministers, members of the privy council, and placemen, together with all those who haunt courts for the honour of the thing, were disgusted by William's cold, stiff, retiring manners and by his hereditary taciturnity:* but if William had unbent himself with these men, they would have broken him; if he had given them his confidence, they would have made use of it to betray him. Even as it was, nearly every secret of the cabinet of St. James's was communicated to Versailles, to St. Germain, to the court of King James at Dublin.

On the 19th of October William opened the second session of his first parliament. The Bill of Rights was passed with the additional clauses about royal marriages. This bill and the Land-tax Bill received the royal assent on the 16th of November. The Princess Anne, who was completely in the hands of Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, and his bold and able wife, after agreeing to the Act of Settlement, had come to an open quarrel with the new court, and was disposed to do whatever the spirit of party might suggest in opposition to it. Anne wanted 70,000*l.* a-year to be settled upon her by parliament, and for life, wholly independent of her brother-in-law and sister. William, who had notions of economy, wondered very much how she could spend 30,000*l.* a-year; and, as most of his own revenue was voted not for life, but year by year, he wished to have her income depend upon himself, without any parliamentary debate or vote. He even sent Shrewsbury to offer her highness 50,000*l.* a-year if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by parliament. Instigated by my Lady Marlborough, she replied—"That she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her; and that the business was now gone so far, that she thought it reasonable to see what her friends could do for her."† Anne's present friends were the Tories, and they stood out in the House of Commons for the 70,000*l.* a-year; but in the end they compounded the matter for 50,000*l.* The consequence of the struggle was a complete breach between the two royal sisters, which was never made up. Even on her death-bed, Queen Mary refused to see the Princess Anne—who, however, had given offence in many other ways. Lady Marlborough says that the success of the affair was chiefly imputed to the steadiness and diligence of my Lord Marlborough and herself; and she labours to show that William's enmity to her husband arose from this circumstance, choosing to overlook some very obvious and very serious facts, which we shall give in their proper place. When the king's revenue fell under consideration, it was settled, as before, for one year. The House of Commons had gone into committee to consider the dangerous state of the na ion, the condition of the public revenue, &c.; and they had agreed in an humble address to his majesty, laying before him the ill conduct and success of affairs with respect to Ireland, the armies, and fleet; and desiring his majesty to take into consideration, and in his wisdom to find out the authors of, the late failures, and to appoint persons *unsuspected* to the management of affairs, for his own safety and better satisfaction of his subjects. This was done by the Whig majority, who wanted to drive out every residue of Toryism from court, cabinet, camp, fleet, and law courts: but it is impossible to deny that the miscarriages of which they complained were disgraceful and dangerous, and were chiefly brought about by persons that were very properly suspected by the country. On the 21st of December, Mr. Hampden, who was accused of having got up the agitation out of disappointment and out of pique to the Earl of Nottingham, who had "crossed his ambition by stepping between him and the secretary's office," reported the address to the House, but found that the humour was changed, and that the Tories, in support of their friends in office, and the Whigs in place, had come to an agreement that the address should be recommitted; and it was recommitted accordingly. On the 23d of December there was a call of the House for that day fortnight. It was found that even in the Commons the Tories already pretty nearly equalled the strength of the Whigs—in the Lords they surpassed it. Parties were so nearly balanced that the king could make either of them the stronger; and the Tories, who promised more liberality in voting supplies and less jealousy of the prerogative, won a share of his favour without acquiring much of his confidence. The Whigs made a bold attempt in a new Corporation Bill, which, by restoring the boroughs to the state in which they were in 1675, and by disqualifying every mayor, recorder, sheriff, common-councilman, town-clerk, magistrate, or officer, that had consented to, joined in, or in any way contributed to the surrender of the charters in the two last reigns, would, as they calculated, give them the complete ascendancy in a new election. By a curious coalition of parties, or party men, this bill was hampered and delayed.

A.D. 1690.—On the 27th of January, William put an end to this convention parliament. Halifax had retired from office; Mordaunt, Delamere, Godolphin, Admiral Herbert, were dismissed, and the business of government was committed to Danby, who had been created Marquess of Caer-

* "In short," says Evelyn, "things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides: add to this the morose temper of the Prince of Orange, who showed little countenance to the noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cheerful reception when they made their court."

† 'An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager-Duchess of Marlborough,' &c.

marthen, to Nottingham, and Sir John Lowther, a dependant of Danby; and it was found that this Tory ministry had a Tory majority in the new parliament, which met on the 20th of March. Sir John Trevor, a bold and dexterous Tory, who had been Speaker and Master of the Rolls under James, and who is said to have been the first to begin "the practice of *buying off men*," was elected Speaker of the Commons.* Still, however, this ministerial majority was unsteady: the voting of Whigs and Tories (and it is not always easy to distinguish the one from the other) was wavering and uncertain; and, as happens wherever parties have not been thoroughly organised and drilled in parliamentary business, it was difficult to divine from one vote or motion what they would do next. And, besides, a certain degree of honour and good faith, though it be but as "the honour among thieves," is essential to party men; and of this two-thirds of the public men of that time seem to have been utterly incapable. In some respects the Tories answered to their engagements, seeming, as usual, more free in voting money than the Whigs. In his opening speech, William told them that his presence in Ireland would be absolutely necessary, and that he continued in his resolution of going thither as soon as possible. "And," continued he, "I have called you together for your assistance to enable me to prosecute the war with speed and vigour: in which I assure myself of your cheerful concurrence, being a work so necessary for your own safeties. In order to this, I desire you will forthwith make a settlement of the revenue; and I cannot doubt but you will herein have as much regard for the honour and dignity of the monarchy in my hands, as has been lately shown to others. And I have so great a confidence in you, that, if no quicker or more convenient way can be found for the raising of ready money (without which the service cannot be performed), I shall be very well content, for the present, to have it made such a fund of credit, as may be useful to yourselves as well as to me in this conjuncture; not having the least apprehensions but that you will provide for the taking off all such *anticipations* as it shall happen to fall under." He spoke of his earnest endeavours to extinguish or compose all differences among his subjects, and of his frequently recommending an Act of Indemnity to the last parliament; and told them that, since part of it, which related to the preventing of private suits, was already enacted, and because there was now little time to spare for debate, he intended to send them an Act of Grace, with exceptions of some few persons only. (The Tories had alleged that the delay of the Whigs in passing the indemnity kept the axe suspended over their heads, and tended to alarm and alienate one-half of the nation.) "A further reason," said William, "which induceth me to send you this act at this time, is, because I am desirous to leave no colour of excuse to any of my subjects for the raising of disturbances in the government, and especially in the time of my absence; and I say this, both to inform you, and to let some ill-affected men see, that I am not unacquainted how busy they are in their present endeavours to alter it. Among other encouragements which I find they give themselves, one of the ways by which they hope to compass their designs is by creating differences and disagreements in your counsels, which, I hope, you will be very careful to prevent; for be assured that our greatest enemies can have no better instruments for their purposes than those who shall any way endeavour to disturb or delay your speedy and unanimous proceeding upon these necessary matters."* He told them that he had thought it most convenient to leave the administration of the government in the hands of the queen in his absence; and, if it should be judged necessary to have an act of parliament to confirm her power, he desired they would prepare one and present it to him. The Commons unanimously passed a vote of thanks, and pledged themselves to support the government of their present majesties, King William and Queen Mary, "both by their counsel and with their assistance to the utmost of their power." On the 27th of March (the seventh day of the session) they resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a supply be given to enable his majesty to prosecute the war against France and reduce Ireland with speed and vigour; and on the 28th they came to the following resolutions:—"1. That the hereditary revenues which the late King James was entitled to in December, 1688, became and are vested in their present majesties, in right of the crown of England, except the late revenue arising from fire-hearths and stoves. 2. That a bill be brought in to declare that the said revenues are so vested, and to make provision that they shall not be alienated from the crown, or charged with any gift or grant to be made for the future. 3. That a bill be brought in for settling for life that moiety of the excise which was granted to the late Kings Charles and James for their lives, with a clause to make the said revenue a security for raising money. 4. That a bill be brought in to grant to their majesties, for the term of four years from Christmas next, the customs which were granted

* Trevor, according to Burnet, "knew the most effectual ways of recommending himself to every government: he had been in great favour in King James's time, and was made Master of the Rolls by him; and, if Lord Jeffries had stuck at any thing, he was looked on as the man likeliest to have had the great seal: he now got himself to be chosen Speaker, and was made first commissioner of the great seal. Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, *provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes.* . . . . I took the liberty once to complain to the king of this method: he said, he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole."—For more of Trevor, see vol. iii. p. 847.

* In the next paragraph of his speech, William, who really believed that the great measure might easily be carried, and at once, spoke of the UNION. "I must recommend, also, to your consideration an union with Scotland: I do not mean it should be now entered upon; but they having proposed this to me some time since, and the parliament there having nominated commissioners for that purpose, I should be glad that commissioners might also be nominated here to treat with them, and to see if such terms could be agreed on, as might be for the benefit of both nations, so as to be ready to be presented to you in some future session."

to the late Kings Charles and James for their lives, with a clause to make the said revenue a security for raising money," &c. But though these votes were carried without a division, they did not pass without a sharp debate. Some thought the Commons were giving too much—others thought they were giving too little, and that the customs ought to be voted for life as well as the excise. Burnet says—"It was much pressed to have it all settled for life; but it was taken up as a general maxim, that a revenue for a certain and short term was the best security that the nation could have for frequent parliaments." Sir Charles Sedley, the professional wit, who had become a great patriot,* maintained that the great men in office ought to be made sensible of the burdens they were imposing upon the impoverished people by bearing their share in them. "Truly, Mr. Speaker," said he, "it is a sad reflection that some men should wallow in wealth and places, while others put away in taxes the fourth part of their revenue, for the support of the same government. We are not upon equal terms for his majesty's service: the courtiers and great officers charge, as it were, in armour; they feel not the taxes by reason of their places, while the country gentlemen are shot through and through by them. The king is pleased to lay his wants before us, and, I am confident, expects our advice upon it: we ought, therefore, to tell him what pensions are too great—what places may be extinguished, during the time of the war and public calamity. His Majesty sees nothing but coaches and six, and great tables, and therefore cannot imagine the want and misery of the rest of his subjects: he is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To say no more, some have places of 3000*l.*, some of 6000*l.*, and others of 8000*l.* per annum; and, I am told, the commissioners of the treasury have 1600*l.* per annum apiece. Certainly, public pensions, whatever they have been formerly, are much too great for the present want and calamity that reigns everywhere else; and it is a scandal that a government so sick at heart as ours is should look so well in the face. We must save the king's money wherever we can, for I am afraid the war is too great for our purses, if things be not managed with all imaginable thrift. When the people of England see all things are saved that can be saved—that there are no exorbitant pensions nor unnecessary salaries, and all this applied to the use to which they are given—we shall give, and they shall pay, whatever his majesty can want, to secure the Protestant religion, and to keep out the King of France and King James too; whom, by the way, I have not heard named this session—whether out of fear, discretion, or respect, I cannot tell. I conclude, Mr. Speaker, let us save the king what we can, and then let us proceed to give him what we are able." On the 1st of April, the amount of the supply for the public occasions, between that time and Michaelmas, was fixed at 1,200,000*l.*: on the 2nd, the sum to be raised on the credit of the bill or bills for settling the revenue as part of that supply was fixed at 1,000,000*l.*; on the 3rd, it was agreed that the remaining 200,000*l.* should be provided by another tax.

The measure which gave rise to the greatest debate in the Lords was a bill brought in by the Whigs for recognising and acknowledging that their Majesties King William and Queen Mary "were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland," &c.; and also declaring all the acts made in the late convention parliament to be, to all intents and purposes, laws and statutes of the kingdom. The first part of the bill, according to Burnet, passed with little contradiction, though some objected to the expressions attributing a rightful and lawful title to their majesties as not at all necessary.* But as to the second point, although the Tories offered to enact that the acts of the convention should be all good laws for the time to come, they opposed the declaring of them to have been such from the date of their passing. The Whigs, however, with the assistance or connivance of some of the Tories in office, carried the bill through the second reading and the committee; but they lost their point by six votes on the report; and then they recovered it, although not exactly in the same words as before, principally, it is said, through the impression made by a strong protest, signed by the Whig Lords Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Monmouth, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Delamere, and Oxford. This bill of recognition was easily passed through the Commons, who, however, made a loud and firm resistance to another bill which was also introduced, in the Lords, by the Whigs. This was "The Abjuration Bill," which provided that all persons in any employment or trust, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, should take an oath abjuring the late King James and his title to the crown. According to Lord Dartmouth, William was present during the whole of the debate in the Upper House. Of late there had been a vast deal of swearing and forswearing—those useless ceremonies which attend all revolutionary changes. Lord Wharton said that he was a very old man, and had taken a multitude of oaths in his time, and hoped God would forgive him if he had not kept them all, for truly they were more than he could pretend to remember;† and he for one should be very unwilling to charge himself with more oaths at the end of his days. Lord Maccles-

* Sedley had been very active among the drivers of the Revolution and the convention parliament, saying that, as King James had made his daughter a countess, he would help to make James's daughter (Mary) a queen.

* Burnet says, "Some excepted to the words *rightful* and *lawful*;" on which Ralph captiously remarks, "Unluckily the words *rightful* and *lawful* are not in the act." He omits to state that expressions perfectly synonymous are in it.

† The reader will remember, here, the parallel case of the late Prince Talleyrand.

field, who had come over with William from Holland, said that he was much in the same case as my Lord Wharton, though they had not always taken the same oaths; that he never knew oaths of any use but to make people declare against government that would have submitted quietly to it, if they had been let alone; that he himself had made very free with his oath of allegiance to King James, but should be loth to be under the temptation of breaking any more. "The Earl of Marlborough said he was surprised to hear that lord say what he did, for he was sure there was no man in England that had more merit in bringing the late happy revolution to effect than his lordship. The Earl of Macclesfield said he had spoken his mind with more freedom, because he was sure he should not be misrepresented; but his lordship did him too much honour in thinking he had so great a share in the Revolution: there were others that had gone much greater lengths than he either could or would have done; for he had been only a rebel,* and should always be ready to venture his head, whenever he thought the laws and liberties of his country required it. This cast so strong a damp upon the debate, that the House adjourned presently after, and the king seemed as little pleased as the Earl of Marlborough. The Bishop of London made a long speech against the multiplying of oaths, but the conclusion set them all a laughing; for he desired not to be misunderstood: he did not speak for himself; there was not, nor could not be made, an oath to the present government that he would not take."† Among the Lords nearly every Tory opposed this abjuration bill, which was lost in the Commons by a majority of 192 to 178. Hereupon the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the staunchest of the revolutionists, resigned his places, seeing that the king was driven more and more to the Tories, and that Danby, now Marquess of Caermarthen, had gained more credit in the cabinet than he could tolerate.‡ The party war of bills and counter-bills was continued with no lack of violence and vehemence. The Tories brought in a bill for restoring to the city of London all its ancient rights and privileges, which they had been instrumental in ruining and destroying when absolutism was in the ascendancy. The bill of their own framing was of course highly favourable to their own party; but the Whigs, though not without difficulty, kept the bill in suspense till the close of the session. Another bill from the same party called for payment of the fines of 500*l.* which had been incurred by those persons who had acted as magistrates or officers without duly qualifying themselves to serve by oaths, &c., as the law directed. "The main drift of this," says Ralph, "was to make the dissenters smart for their ductility in the late reign; and it was the business of their allies, the Whigs, to show these dissenters all possible countenance and protection: but then they were out of heart—the stream of the session had set against them; numbers were tired of a vain opposition, and had made their retreat to the country." It should be added, that many had been enlisted and bribed into the Tory ranks. The bill was carried by a majority of 176 to 93, together with a clause added in committee, that all the money arising from the said fines should be paid into the exchequer, and that a distinct account should be kept thereof.* The Whigs attempted a diversion by reporting that they knew there were confederacies and designs on foot to raise a rebellion, and that they would prove it before the bar of the House of Commons.† They succeeded in obtaining a vote that a bill should be brought in for the more effectual security of their majesties' government against all such persons and practices. On the 20th of May, after William had given the royal assent to the act for the exercise of the government by her majesty during the king's absence, and to the act for reversing the *quo warranto* judgment against the city of London, &c., the Lords, who had unanimously agreed in the great measure of policy and mercy so strongly recommended from the throne, sent down the following message to the Commons, by Mr. Justice Eyre and Mr. Baron Turton:—"Mr. Speaker, his majesty has been pleased to send this bill, intituled, An Act for the King and Queen's most gracious, general, and free pardon, which the Lords have passed and accepted, *nemine contradicente*, and now send it down to this House." To the honour of the Commons, the roar of opposition was hushed; not a voice was raised against the healing measure, and the bill was immediately carried through all the forms of the House. Out of this act of grace or amnesty were excepted by name *thirty-one* individuals, of whom the most noted were the Marquess of Powis, the Lords Huntingdon, Sunderland, Dover, Melfort, and Castlemaine; the Bishops of Durham and St. David's; the Judges Herbert, Withens, Jenner, and Holloway; Sir Roger l'Estrange, Colonel Lundie, the false governor of Londonderry, Father Petre, the Jesuit, and George Lord Jeffreys, *deceased*. [That firebrand had gone out like a snuff, in the Tower, where he died of disease on the 19th of April, 1689.] After they had returned the bills to the lords, the Commons took exception to the words *nemine contradicente* in their lordships' message as something that might be construed into an attempt to

* His lordship meant to hint that Marlborough had been a *traitor* and a false friend.

† Lord Dartmouth, note in Burnet.

‡ According to Burnet, this resignation troubled William very much. "He loved the Earl of Shrewsbury, and apprehended that his leaving his service at this time might alienate more entirely from him. . . . . The king sent Tillotson and all those who had most credit with the earl, to divert him from his resolution. But all was to no purpose. The agitation of mind that this gave him threw him into a fever, which almost cost him his life. The king pressed him to keep the seals till his return from Ireland, though he should not act as secretary; but he could not be prevailed on."

* This important amendment was added because it was apprehended that if the fines should be left to the king, few would be demanded by him, and still fewer paid.

† "Many discoveries," says Burnet, "were made of practices from St. Germains and Ireland: but few were taken up, and those were too inconsiderable to know more than that many were provided with arms and ammunition, and that a method was projected for bringing men together upon a call."

overawe them, it having never been usual for either House, in their intercourse with the other, to intimate by what number any bill had passed. A committee of the Commons was appointed to search precedents, and draw up reasons to be offered at a conference, by way of protest; but, on the very next day, William went down to the Lords, and, having witnessed the passing of the act of grace in the usual form,* put an end to the session.

Twelve days after the prorogation William left London for Ireland; and on the 14th of June he landed at Belfast with a force not very considerable in point of number, but perfect in discipline, appointment, spirit, and devotion to his cause. It included English, Scots, Dutch, Danes, and French; and, when it was joined to Schomberg's forces and the Protestant volunteers that flocked in from various parts of Ireland, it made up an army of 30,000 men. In the ten months that Schomberg had held the chief command little had been done towards the reduction of that unhappy island. On his first landing he took Belfast, Carrickfergus, Newry, and Dundalk; but at the latter place he was brought to a stand by De Rosen, and about the middle of September James came up in person with the remainder of his army, and obliged the old marshal to intrench himself at and round about Dundalk. The Jacobites endeavoured to force him to a battle, but they failed in their attempts. On the 27th of September Schomberg wrote to William, that the best thing he could do was, to lie there on the defensive; and on the 12th of October he says in the same spirit—"If your majesty was well informed of the state of our army and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the situation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to risk an attack. If we do not succeed, your majesty's army would be lost without resource. I make use of that term; for I do not believe, if it was once put into disorder, that it could be re-established."* On the other side, De Rosen would not venture an attack upon Schomberg's positions and entrenchments, and, as the bad weather set in, King James retired to Ardee and fortified himself there. Schomberg's forces lay for the most part out upon cold wet ground, and suffered severely.† There were two or three insignificant affairs of outposts, and Sligo was taken by the Catholics. On the 8th of November James returned to Dublin, after which Schomberg quitted his entrenchments and retired to better winter quarters. In the beginning of February James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who had some of the qualities of a good soldier, made an attack upon the advanced position of Schomberg at Belturbet, but he was worsted and nearly killed in the action, having his horse shot under him. In the month of May, Charlemont, a place of great strength, which had been bravely defended by Sir Teague O'Regan, was forced by famine to surrender to the Protestants. And by this time the English fleet, which had been so long skulking or retreating before the French, began to do something: they scoured St. George's Channel, carried provisions to Schomberg's half-famished troops, and took the only man-of-war James had out of the very road of Dublin, where it lay at anchor. "But," in the words of the Jacobite memoir of that king's life, "these misfortunes at home were nothing in comparison to the disappointment he met with from the court of France, whence all hope of succour was to come: there was no endeavours nor industry wanting in the queen to represent the necessity of transporting the Irish army into England, and making that the seat of war, where it was hoped the conjunction of the king's friends would soon so augment his force, as to make the English weary of resisting God and their duty, when they found the miseries of war brought to their own doors; besides the incapacity Ireland was in of maintaining such an army, as would be necessary to oppose the mighty force England was preparing to send over. This seemed strange to some people, considering how plentiful a country Ireland is; but the enemy was master of all Ulster,

* An act of grace or pardon is signed by the king before it is submitted to the parliament; and, having thus received the royal assent in its first stage, is passed by the clerk of the parliament saying, not from the king to the parliament, but from the parliament to the king, "Les prelats, seigneurs, et commons, en ce present parliament assemblées, au nom de touts vos autres subjects, remercient tres humblement votre majesté, et prient à Dieu vous donner en santé bone vie et longue." (The prelates, Lords, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, in the name of all your other subjects, most humbly thank your majesty, and pray to God to grant you in health and wealth long to live.) The act is not in the form of a common statute: the present, for instance, begins—"The king and queen's most excellent majesties, taking into their serious consideration, &c., are well pleased and contented that it be enacted by authority of this present parliament, and be it enacted by authority of the same," &c. It is peculiar also to such a bill that it is only read once in each House, and that, although it may be rejected, it cannot be amended. The present act of grace was far too good and mild to be the act of any faction or party. Many, both Whigs and Tories, of those who had voted for it in parliament, criticised it afterwards without mercy. That ultra-Whig, Lord Delamere (now Earl of Warrington), who had been engaged with Shaftesbury, with Russell, with Algernon Sydney, with Monmouth—who had been implicated in every movement and confederacy—complained bitterly of this "free pardon without regard to exemplary justice, for those treasons and murders, and other high crimes committed before the Revolution." He said that his majesty had been duped by the Tories, who "not only deceived the king of the great forfeitures and fines that ought in justice to have borne some part of the charge of his expedition hither; but had set all their party at least upon even ground with the most innocent sufferers for their country, to be preferred to all sorts of magistracies and authorities, and saved from making reparation to multitudes, whom they had oppressed, under colour of authority, in the two last reigns." His lordship, who, in settling this revolution, would have sown the seeds of several others, by driving one-half of the country to desperation, says that he had heard many of the Tories laugh at the weakness and credulity of the king, and at the formal exception of the thirty-one persons that were not the greatest criminals; that time showed that all those persons who did not embark in after rebellions were in fact admitted into the indemnity. "No process," says his lordship, with a horror which we cannot share with him, "has issued against any of them, not a penny of their estates, nor one hair of their heads hath been touched; and several of them have even since sat in the House of Lords as our legislators."—*Impartial Inquiry.*

On the other hand, the Jacobites complained that, while King James had been punished in the extreme, the men by whose advice and ministry he had acted were allowed to pass scot-free. "These men, I say, at least some of them, were not only suffered to escape punishment, but were highly preferred and rewarded, even by your good King William; than which I challenge any one to give an instance either of greater iniquity or deeper hypocrisy."—*Dialogue of the Times*, as quoted by Ralph.

* Dalrymple; Appendix.

† "His army was grievously afflicted with the country's disease, and so overran with lice, that vast numbers of them died: especially the English, not only common men, but officers, as Mr. Wharton, son to the lord of that name, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Henry Ingolsby, Gore Barrington. Sir George Erwin, and others; Sir George Hewitt, Lord Droghedagh, Lord Roscommons, and others, were very ill."—*Life of James.*

and the Catholics, who quitted it upon Schomberg's landing, brought such prodigious flocks of cattle with them as ate up the greatest part of the grass and meadows of the other provinces, and destroyed even a great share of the corn too: the county of Louth, the best corn country in Ireland, together with that of Meath, Leitrim, and Sligo, were ruined with incursions; the great stocks of cattle, sheep, &c., being in the hands of Protestants, and many of them flying into England, they had been embezzled, and those that stayed were ruined in great measure by the Rapparees; this brought such scarcity, that there was neither corn nor meal to feed the army any considerable time, no cloth to clothe them, nor leather for shoes or saddles, and the brass money put an absolute stop to importation; so that the army must either be transported out of Ireland, or all necessaries for its subsistence imported from France, as also an additional number of troops proportionable to the vast preparations England was making: but the court of France seemed deaf to all these representations; the French officers and ambassadors in Ireland had sent such desponding relations from thence, that, though they could not but see the great advantage of such a diversion, yet the improbability of success made them averse from venturing more succours than what was absolutely necessary to keep the war alive."

This absolute dependency upon France showed the hopelessness of James's cause, and prevented many from joining it that were otherwise well disposed towards him. The complaints, moreover, and the throwing of the whole blame upon France, are characteristic of the fallen king and his faction. Louis was, as we have seen, in the greatest difficulties himself, and to him the war in Ireland was, and could be, nothing but a temporary diversion. Yet he now sent over 6000 men, some money, and some clothes for James's army. De Rosen having retired in despair or disgust, these French troops were entrusted to the Count de Lauzun, who, on his arrival in Ireland, assumed the chief command of the whole army. Lauzun had assisted and accompanied James's queen in her flight from Whitehall, and had so recommended himself to her good graces, that Mary d'Este, "not knowing but he might be as great a general as he affected to appear," and "perhaps with a view of doing an agreeable thing to Madame de Maintenon, in whose good esteem he was at that time," got him appointed to this command.* But Lauzun was incompetent and arrogant; he was constantly quarrelling with the Irish, and he found the French officers weary of the hard service in Ireland and completely disheartened. According to the memoir, d'Avaux and these officers "generally, instead of assisting the king in that extremity, pulled each a different way: nor were they much afflicted in the bottom, to see things go so ill, because it verified their accounts, and recommended their judgment: in fine, such were the wants, disunion, and dejection, that the king's affairs looked like the primitive chaos."* Even in this situation were James's affairs when he was apprized that William had landed, and would soon be upon him. After various consultations and conflicting opinions, he resolved to advance as far as Dundalk to eat up the forage thereabout and preserve his own country behind him; and in pursuance of this plan he left Dublin on the 16th of June. Upon that day King William was at Belfast, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, Mr. Boyle, and many other persons of note, civilians as well as military, Irish as well as English. The preceding day being Sunday, Dr. Rouse had preached before him, on the text, "Through faith they have subdued kingdoms;" upon which occasion William had said, "My chaplain has begun the campaign bravely." Two or three days after, he told his officers that he did not come there to let grass grow under his feet; and, moving forward to Loughbrittan, he reviewed his whole army, and found it to consist of 36,000 men, all in good order. From that point he marched towards Newry, and was so well pleased with the prospect of the country, that he said to those about him, "It is worth fighting for."† In the mean while James had encamped behind the small river which runs into the sea at Dundalk, where he lay till the 23rd of June, when he fell back upon Ardee. William, making a compass, crossed the hills between Newry and Dundalk; and on his approach on the 27th, James retired from Ardee to Dumlane, and on the 28th to the left bank of the river Boyne. On the 29th James crossed the Boyne and took up an excellent position on the right bank. On the 30th William reached the Boyne, and found his enemies encamped along the river in two strong lines. He, however, resolved to force the passage on the morrow, and rode along the left bank to reconnoitre. While engaged in this service the enemy brought two field-pieces to bear upon him, and at the first shot they killed a man and two horses that were very near him. This ball was presently followed by another, that had like to put a period to William's own life; for this second ball, having first grazed on the bank of the river, rising *en ricochet*, slanted on the king's right shoulder, took out a piece of his coat and tore the skin and flesh, and afterwards broke the head of a gentleman's pistol. Lord Coningsby rode up to his majesty and clapped his handkerchief on the wound; but William said coolly that it needed not—that the ball should have come nearer to do him harm. But the enemy on the

* Life of James.—According to the same authority, though this pleased Louis's mistress, it displeased his great minister Louvois, who was jealous of Lauzun, and who purposely thwarted him in Ireland.

* It is added,—"The queen, on the other hand, finding her solicitations so fruitless, would have pawned the remainder of her jewels to buy necessaries, she having sent a great sum of money into Ireland already, which had been raised that way, but the king writ to her that the matter was now drawn too near a head to wait for supplies from such methods."

† Roger North.

opposite side of the river, seeing that he stooped in his saddle, and that there was some disorder among those who attended him, joyfully concluded that he was killed, and this false report was conveyed with wonderful rapidity to Dublin, from Dublin to Paris, and from Paris to every capital in Europe.* The rapturous joy felt by his enemies, and the grief and despair of his friends, were alike tributes to the merits of William, or proofs of how much was considered to depend upon his person. In the mean time, having got his flesh-wound dressed, he continued on horseback nearly the whole of that day. About nine at night he called his officers together, and declared that he would pass the river on the morrow. He gave orders that every soldier should be provided with a good stock of ammunition, that all should be ready to march at break of day, and that every man should wear a green bough or sprig in his hat, to distinguish him from the enemy, who wore pieces of white paper as cockades. The watchword of that night was "Westminster;" and at about twelve o'clock William rode with torches quite through his army. He then retired to his tent in calm expectation of the morrow. That day of slaughter soon dawned—it was the 1st of July, and the weather was beautifully clear. The *générale* was beat in the camp before day, and as soon as the sun was up Schomberg and General Douglas moved with the right wing towards Slane. The Irish, by a corresponding movement, brought their left wing to Slane, but the English dashed into the river and forded it there. The wretched James had already sent off his baggage and all his cannon but six towards Dublin; and his left wing, after a smart fight, retreated before the horse, foot, and artillery of Douglas, who, with little loss, got a firm footing on the right bank of the Boyne. Nearly at the same time William made an attack on the pass at Old Bridge, and the Dutch blue guards, beating a march till they got to the water's edge, went in eight or ten abreast, and waded across with the water above their girdles. When they got into the middle of the stream they were saluted with a terrible peal by the Irish, who had lined the houses, hedges, and breastworks on the other side; but the Dutchmen went on, got a footing on the bank, formed in two lines, and soon drove the Irish from their intrenchments. The blue guards then, advancing into the open fields, were set upon furiously by the Irish horse; but they stood close and firm, and, as other regiments came up to their assistance, the Irish retired. At another point the Irish horse, who behaved very gallantly, drove a body of Danes and of French Protestants back into the river. Old Schomberg, perceiving this disorder, and that the French Protestants were left much exposed and without a commander, passed the river himself, in order to lead them. Pointing to the French Papists in James's ranks, he exclaimed to his Huguenots, "*Allons, Messieurs, voilà vos persécuteurs;*" *but*

* In Paris, where the news of William's death arrived in the middle of the night, there was wonderful readiness in rejoicing: the church bells were instantly set ringing, and bonfires lit in the streets. The aggressions of Louis XIV. had, however, so cooled the religious zeal of the ultra-Catholic courts of Madrid and Vienna, that in those capitals they mourned for the death of the heretic. At Rome the intelligence of William being killed and that of James being defeated seem to have arrived together, and Melfort was greatly embarrassed. On the 12th of August he writes from Rome to James's queen:—"All that concern, anxiety, joy, or fear can bring being on me almost at once, at least by near succeeding fits, your majesty cannot blame me if I long to be freed of them by a full confirmation of the success in Ireland and the death of the Prince of Orange, that the king is safe, and your majesty once again happy in seeing and having so near a prospect of Whitehall. . . . . As soon as the confirmation of this new Herod, the Prince of Orange, his death shall come, all that is to be expected from this will be immediately done, and my longer stay here will be needless. . . . . It is impossible to imagine the falsehoods spread abroad by the allies' ministers here, who go through the town offering great wagers that the French had greater losses at Fleury than the allies, and that their fleet is totally defeated. But to us, who are sure of the contrary, it is some joy to see the mean shifts they are put to. Would to God we were as sure of the usurper's death and of the victory in Ireland, of which with the utmost impatience we expect the confirmation from Ireland—for from Versailles it seems to come directly enough hither. I have only the letters of the 17th July, so that I want those of the 10th of that onth, and those of the 24th, and that, notwithstanding others have got letters of that date, which brought the news of the total defeat in Ireland of the king's forces, and his flight, which had broken my heart if that of the death of Orange had not come before."—*Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.*

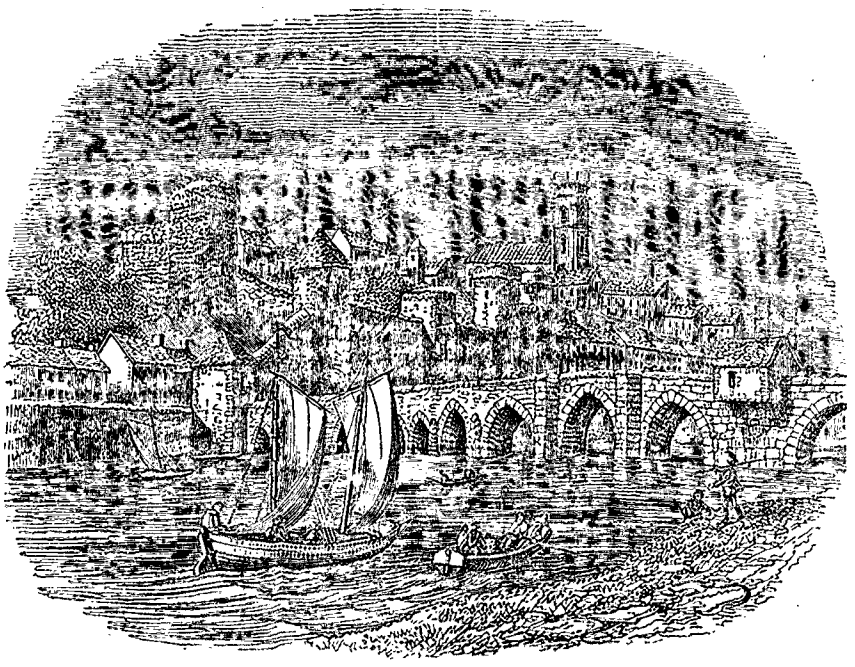
MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE. The King seen crossing the River at the head of his Troops.

he had scarcely said the words when he was slain, being shot through the neck by a flying party of James's horse-guards, or, "through a fatal mistake," by some of his own men.* When James was already edging off to the Dublin road William crossed the river, and, drawing his sword, not without pain, his arm being stiff from the wound he had received the day before, he marched at the head of the Inniskilliners and Dutch guards towards the enemy's centre, which, though somewhat confused, was as yet unbroken. Once, if not twice, William was driven back and put in imminent danger by the Irish horse and the French troops of Lauzun; but the Inniskilliners performed most manfully, Schomberg's horse came up, General Ginckel made some brilliant charges; and, in the end, James's army was beaten, right, left, and centre, and pushed off the field. James himself had got through the defile of Duleck with the van of his left wing, and was marching for Dublin without any care for his rear; but Tyrconnel and Lauzun, with some horse and the French infantry, faced about and defended that pass till five of the six pieces of artillery and the broken regiments were got through. If the conquerors had been a little more active they might have made James a prisoner in the pass. From Duleck the Jacobites retreated in pretty good order to the Neal, another defile, the enemy following without pressing upon them at all, and at nightfall giving over the pursuit. But that panic fear which had seized the new troops pursued them still; and as soon as it began to grow dark the greater part of the Irish foot dispersed, many of them having thrown down their arms and deserted before: but the French still kept in a body and retreated in good order. The flying James got to Dublin that night, but he no longer considered himself safe there, and, travelling all night, he got to Duncannon about sunrise, and there embarked for France with a very slender retinue. Attempts have been made to give a different colouring to his conduct; but a cool examination of facts enforces the impression that he really ended as a coward the enterprise which he had begun and conducted like a blockhead.†

The poor Irish, smarting under defeat, and forgetting other considerations, said, with some humour, that if the English would only change kings with them they would be glad to fight the battle of the Boyne over again. They and their French allies had lost about 1500 men in the battle and retreat, and among them some persons of note, as Lord Dungan, the Earl of Carlingford, Fitzgerald, Sir Neal O'Neal, the Marquis d'Hoquincour, Colonel Casanova, &c. Driven from the Boyne, they resolved to make a stand on the Shannon, where the standard of James still floated over the strong walls of Athlone and Limerick. Drogheda, at the mouth of the Boyne, surrendered the day after his victory, and on the 3rd of July the Duke of Ormond, with nine troops of horse, secured Dublin for King William, who on the 4th marched that way with his whole army, and on the 8th rode in a triumphant manner into that capital, where the Protestants, and for the same sort of reasons, were as joyful as the Papists had been the year before at the arrival of King James. He went directly to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, now again restored to the Protestant faith, and returned thanks for his victory. On the 9th he marched away with part of his army southward, detaching General Douglas with another body to besiege Athlone. William reduced Waterford, Dungarvon, and other places in that neighbourhood without difficulty; but Douglas was obliged to raise the siege of Athlone by the movements of the bold and skilful Sarsfield. Nor was William himself more successful when he came to Limerick, where the Jacobites had concentrated the mass of their forces, and were commanded or instructed by French officers and engineers well skilled in the art of defending places. William invested Limerick on the 9th of August, lost part of his battering train which was coming up on the 11th, got some great guns from Waterford on the 17th, and opened a breach; was repulsed from the breach on the 18th, with a narrow escape from a cannon-ball; made fresh batteries and advanced his trenches, breached the walls in other places, and carried the covered way or counterscarp on the 26th; but, after effecting a lodgement, his men were again driven back with great loss, and on the 30th he raised the siege to hasten back to England, where his presence had been several times much wanted. While he was fighting on the Boyne and Shannon, the French fleet had agreed to sail up the Thames, to give countenance and assistance to the Jacobites, who had engaged

* Another account is, that Schomberg was "said to be killed by Sir Charles O'Toule, an exempt of the guards, as he was passing the ford."—*Life of James.*

† On the 19th of August we find Melfort writing to Mary of Este: "Never was anybody so tossed with contrary passions as I have been since the time I heard of his majesty's arrival into France; for then we had the fear that all was lost in Ireland, immediately after we had an excess of joy, to hear that Orange and Schomberg were killed, and their troops beaten again. The rage to be triumphed over by the Spaniards, who affirm the Prince of Orange alive, Ireland his," &c. It appears, from these interesting letters, that the joy of King William's allies was extreme, and that a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral of Vienna for his victory on the Boyne. Melfort told the pope, "The difference of the spirit which actuates us, and that of the House of Austria! We were glad that Christianity gained, though from those that fought against our enemies: whilst they sung the *Te Deum* for the church's having lost a kingdom, and a heretic's victory. But I hoped that God, in his good time, would put a stop to these impieties. His holiness asked me if it was possible that any cathedral had sung the *Te Deum* for Orange's victory: I told him that I had their own printed news for it, at which his holiness seemed horribly scandalised. Thus ended this audience, by which your majesty will see how far the warmth which appeared at the news of the usurper's death *is cooled now they think he is alive.*"—*Sir H. Ellis's Collection.* But the plain truth is, that William all along had a strong party among the cardinals and princes of the church, who regarded him as the best ally of their allies, the emperor and the king of Spain, who had been so seriously injured and humiliated by Louis XIV. Nay, that arrogant sovereign, a few years before, had insulted the pope's predecessor, Alexander VII., in the midst of the holy city, in the very shadow of the once mighty Vatican, in consequence of some insult which had been offered by the populace of Rome to the Duke of Crequy, a French ambassador. And, besides, the great principle of the papal court was to check in Italy the progress of the French, who more than once flattered themselves with the hope of becoming masters of the entire Peninsula. There are reasons for believing that, when the Prince of Orange came over to expel his most Catholic father-in-law, he brought some of the pope's money with him to help him in that undertaking.



LIMERICK; showing a portion of the Old Walls.

to rise in London, seize Queen Mary, and re-proclaim the legitimate sovereign, who, on his part, had promised to leave the war in Ireland to be managed by his generals, and to hasten to London with a part of his forces. A squadron of French galleys was to have landed some troops at Torbay, and then the whole French fleet united was to have prevented William's return from Ireland. But though the scheme was well laid,—though some of William's naval commanders were ready to betray him,—and though the Jacobites in London plotted might and main,* the grand project fell to the ground because (among other reasons) the French fleet could not obtain or maintain the mastery of the narrow seas, and because James would not trust himself among his English subjects. But, had it not been for the Dutch fleet, the French might have ridden in triumph in the Thames and Medway, even as the Dutch themselves had done in the year 1667. On the 30th of June, the day before the battle of the Boyne, eighty-two men of war, bearing the flag of Louis, encountered an united fleet of English and Dutch off Beachy Head. The Dutch, who were in the van, fought bravely, and were as bravely seconded by some of the English; but the rest of the English shirked the action as much as they possibly could. The Dutch lost two admirals and a considerable number of men, and were obliged to sink several of their vessels, to prevent their capture. The English that engaged did not fare much better, but several ships under our flag had neither given nor received a single shot. The French, however, had suffered so much in the battle, which lasted from morning till evening, that they were glad to seek the shelter of their own coast. It was suspected that the English officer in command, Admiral Herbert,—now, through the gratitude of William for services rendered at the Revolution, Earl of Torrington,—had gone back to the interests of King James. He was afterwards brought to trial and acquitted, being even praised by some for his caution and prudence in avoiding fighting at Beachy Head, and so sparing the fleet.* But, whatever was the trim of his politics at this moment, it is proved beyond a doubt that subsequently he maintained a close correspondence with the courts of St. Germain and Versailles.

* *At this moment, according to Burnet, the militia was raised, suspected persons were secured, and the cry of the people was so much in favour of the new government, that the Jacobites, all England over, were glad to keep out of the way, lest they should be torn to pieces. On the 14th of July, a fortnight after the fight at Beachy Head, Queen Mary issued proclamations for apprehending the earls of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; the lords Montgomery, Preston, and Bellasis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Hamilton, and ten or twelve others, mostly officers. Our friend Pepys, the amusing diarist, had been sent prisoner to the Gate House on the 25th of June, upon an accusation, which we can believe was very well founded, of having sent information to the French about the state of the English navy.*

* William, however, dismissed him from his service, promoted his rival Russell, and would never again admit Herbert into his presence. Lord Nottingham, then the only secretary of state, ascribed the miscarriage at Beachy Head expressly to the treachery of Herbert, who was accused either of treachery or cowardice by the whole Dutch fleet. On the 22nd of July a French squadron got into Torbay, where they landed about a thousand men, who burnt a village and some fishing-boats, and then returned to the rest, with the conviction that the people in the West of England were not at all disposed to rise for King James.

Medal struck to commemorate the able Conduct of the Queen, after the Defeat of the English and Dutch Fleets in the Channel, in June, 1690. Obverse: Bust of the Queen. Reverse: The Tower on the one side, and the Dutch Ships careening on the other; in front, the Queen extending a Trident in her right hand.

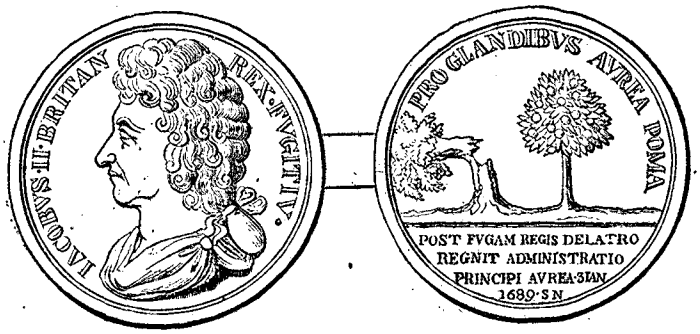
Upon the departure of William from Ireland the conduct of the war there fell to General Ginckel, who retired from before the well-defended walls of Limerick to Clonmell. The Earl of Marlborough, though allied with the Princess Anne and a disaffected party that met at Sion House, and though regarded with suspicion and dislike by William and his queen, was eager to have a share in the glory or the profits of the Irish war; and, by means which are not very clearly explained, he actually got appointed to a command, and landed at Cork on the 21st of September, with about 5000 English troops, who were presently joined by about 4000 Danes, already in the country, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemburg.* Marlborough's mission was to take Cork and Kinsale, through which principally the Irish kept up their communications with France; and this duty he performed completely and with alacrity, returning to England with triumph in little more than a month. The Duke of Grafton, one of Charles's illegitimates, who had accompanied him to Cork, was killed at the siege of that place. William, it is said, declared that he knew no man who had seen so little of war so fit to be a general as Marlborough; but the English people were much more enthusiastic in the praise of the native hero, boasting that he had achieved more in one month than the king's phlegmatic Dutch favourites had done in two campaigns.*

After the departure of the luckless James the Irish and French quarrelled worse than before; and, to make the confusion still more hopeless, the Irish themselves were split into two or three factions. Louis XIV. recalled his troops, and the Duke of Berwick went over to France in disgust and despair. On the approach of winter a great part of the wasted country was like a hell: famine and disease, violence, murder, and all the darkest crimes held a horrible jubilee. The expedition of James had produced an amount of human misery which has been rarely equalled in any other country in modern times.* The brave and active Sarsfield remained to carry on the war for James.

On the 2nd of October William again met his parliament, having previously received congratulations on the success of his arms from the city of London and from various other quarters. In his opening speech he said—"That he had used his best endeavours to reduce Ireland into such a condition that it might be no longer a charge to England; and God had blessed his endeavours with such success, that he doubted not but he should have been fully possessed of that kingdom by this time, had he been enabled to have gone into the

* Archdeacon Coxe, Life of Marlborough.

* It will be well to remark at this point the line of conduct recommended by his advisers, and which would doubtless have been followed if James had proved victorious. When Melfort was under the happy impression that his master had succeeded in Ireland, and was about transferring the war to England, he advised some of the most absolute and odious measures that had ever been suggested by a British minister. After saying that the first steps on English ground would be most dangerous, and that all the rocks they had before split upon must be minded, he adds:—"These rocks are obvious. Besides the oaths and penal laws against dissenters from the Church of England, there is the standing army of foreigners, the power of money, the exorbitant usurpations of parliament, the trial of high treason and other crimes against the crown by juries, the Habeas Corpus Act, and such like, which, if not regulated more advantageously for the crown or quite abolished, I can see no comfort the king can have of his crown, or safety the subjects can have from their own follies. There is a great consideration of forming the party the king will choose to govern by, for by a party a factious state must still be mastered; endeavouring to use all equally in it being a certain way to lose all. . . . This party ought to be of men of tried loyalty: for with our countrymen there is no trusting to new men nor to probabilities, so corrupt our blood is grown by hereditary rebellion against God and the king." The court was to be composed exclusively of those "that be of the best blood, and prudentest, honestest, and loyalist principles." "But, above all things," says Melfort, "care must be had that such as have been active in the king's service in his absence be well rewarded, and all advantages taken to punish such as have been the authors or promoters of this rebellion; and if the king be forced to pardon, let it be as few of the rogues as he can, and with a watchful eye over them, remembering that King David pardoned Shimei at his return to Jerusalem, but took care that he should sooner or later feel the smart of his wickedness the first failing he made. Such as are excepted, no pardon should ever be allowed; and amongst these should be as many of those families where father and son both are engaged, or such as have been hereditarily disloyal: for from such there is no more loyalty to be expected than religion from the devils. It is not in their nature, and rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft, neither can repent." Such were some of the precious remedies proposed, such the blessings intended for England if the counter-revolution had succeeded. And we shall soon find that neither time nor an increase of devotion made the exiled sovereign more scrupulous about promise-breaking: that, to help him in winning his way back, James issued proclamations and manifestoes, which, upon his own avowal, he never meant to respect, intending, on the contrary, to take full vengeance upon the nation which had cast him off.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II. FROM IRELAND, AND THE SUPREMACY OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE. Obverse: Bust of King James, with a Peruke in a Bag. Reverse: An Orange-tree laden with Fruit, and, opposite to it, an old Oak thrown to the ground.

field as soon as he should have done, and as was more especially necessary in Ireland, where the rains are so great and begin so early." He then extolled the bravery of the army; and, having said he had asked no revenue for himself, but what he had readily subjected to be charged to the uses of the war, he added that he would "command all the public accounts to be laid before the House of Commons; by which they would see that the real want of what was necessary beyond the funds given, and the not getting in due time that for which funds were assigned, had been the principal causes why the army was in so much arrear of their pay, and the stores both for the navy and the ordnance not supplied as they ought to be." He told them that it was too plain from what the French had done, and were doing, that if the present war were not prosecuted with vigour, England would be in the greatest danger; that he would lay before the Commons a statement of what would be necessary for the proper support of the fleet and the army; and that he must recommend to their care the clearing of his revenue, so as to enable him to subsist and maintain the charges laid on the civil list. He assured them that the support and success of the confederacy abroad, which was equally meant to defend the liberties of England and the integrity of the continental states from the encroachments of the French, would absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of the English parliament. Then, after noticing the general fidelity and affection of the people, he complained of the recent ill conduct of the fleet, which had committed the honour of the country. Knowing that some party or parties would do their utmost to limit the supplies and carry the attention of the Houses to other matters, he said, in conclusion—"Whosoever goes about to obstruct or divert your applications to these matters, preferably to all others, can neither be my friend nor the kingdom's."*

The Commons forthwith voted that a supply should be given to their majesties for the entire reduction of Ireland, for securing the peace of this kingdom, and carrying on a vigorous war against France. They proposed that 1,000,000*l.* of this money should be raised upon the credit or by the sale of the estates forfeited in Ireland by those who had taken up arms for King James. This, in effect, would have included the estates of all the Papists; and prudential and merciful objections were offered. The Commons, however, brought in a bill for attainting the persons that were or had been in rebellion either in England or Ireland, and for confiscating their estates and applying them to the use of the war; with a clause for reserving a portion of the forfeitures for his majesty's disposal. The Lords let this bill sleep; and, in spite of messages from the Commons, it was finally allowed to drop. On the 25th of November, after giving the royal assent to a bill for doubling the excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, William, in a speech to both Houses, declared his grateful sense of the readiness of the Commons in voting such large supplies, assuring them that he would see the money properly applied to the uses for which it was intended. He told them that the posture of affairs abroad required his presence at the Hague before the end of the year, and that, consequently, he must desire them to expedite their further supplies, for no funds were left available for the support of the civil government, as the excise and all other branches of the revenue had been applied to other uses. The Commons made such dispatch that, by the 20th of December, there was a bill ready for the royal assent for granting certain duties upon East India goods, wrought silks, and other merchandise; and another bill for increasing the duties upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco. Altogether the money voted for the support of the ordnance, of the army, which was to consist of 69,000 men, and of the fleet, with 28,000 seamen, amounted to 4,000,000*l.*—the greatest sum that had, as yet, been voted by an English parliament. People

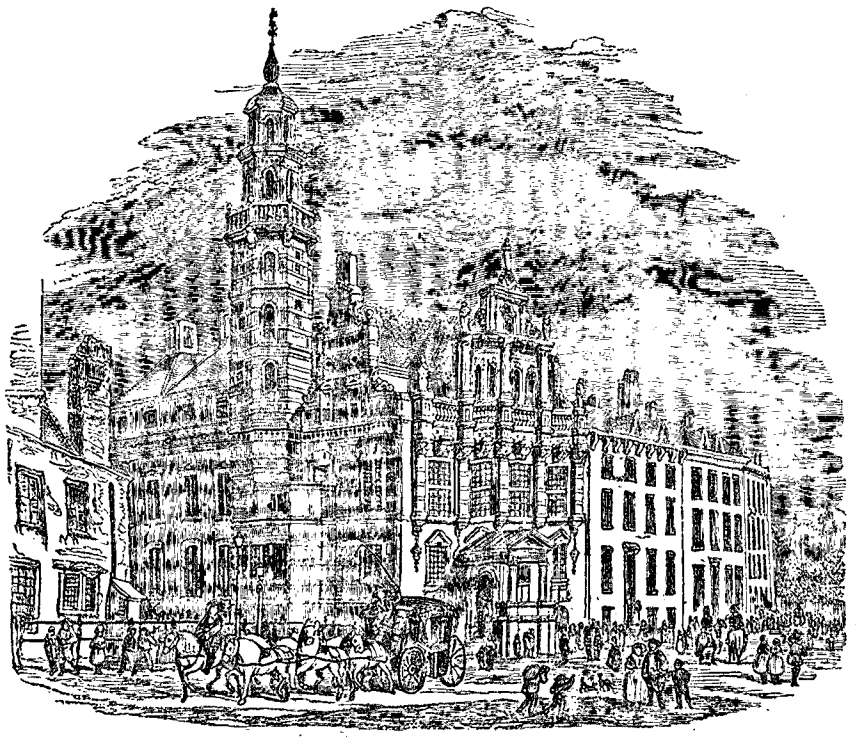
* Ralph.—Coxe.

began immediately to complain of the increase of taxation; but the inestimable benefit they were purchasing was worth the money. In passing these bills, William told them that he could not long defer his voyage; and represented to the Commons, "that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, and building some new men of war, it would be a very necessary care at that time, both for the honour and safety of the nation." The Commons presently voted 500,000*l.* more for the building of new ships of war.*

A.D. 1691.—On the 5th of January William took his leave of the parliament. In the course of his speech he said—"I think it proper to assure you that I shall not make any grants of the forfeited lands in England or Ireland till there be another opportunity of settling that matter in parliament, in such manner as shall be thought most expedient." His departure from this promise—which, however, he never broke to the extent represented by his enemies—was one of the worst steps taken by William, and one that caused him most trouble in the sequel. After the king had spoken, the Lord Chief Baron Atkins declared that it was his majesty's pleasure that both Houses should adjourn till the 31st of March. Parliament adjourned accordingly; and on the very next day, on the 6th of January, while the Londoners were enjoying the festivities of Christmas, William set off on his journey. But the weather became most inclement: a severe frost set in, with strong and contrary gales of wind, and when he had got as far as Canterbury he was obliged to return. He remained at Kensington till the 16th, when he again set out in the midst of frost and snow. On the same day he embarked at Gravesend; and on the 18th, about noon, his convoy, consisting of twelve men-of-war and seven yachts, and having on board many persons of distinction, made the Dutch coast, after a troublesome and dangerous voyage. That coast was ice-bound, and it was extremely dangerous to attempt getting into port with the large ships. But William, who always suffered exceedingly from sea-sickness, and whose affairs were most urgent, would not be delayed. He ordered a chaloupe to be got ready, stepped into it with the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Devonshire, now lord steward of the household, the Lord Chamberlain Dorset, the Earl of Monmouth, his countryman and bosom friend, Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, and his other attached followers, Messrs. Ouverquerque and Zuleystein. The sailors hesitated to put off—his men of quality advised him to stay—but William gave the word, and away they went in the open boat. They had been told by a fisherman that they were within a league and a half of Goree; but either the fisherman misinformed them, or they mistook their way in a thick fog which presently surrounded them. The fog was soon made darker by the setting of the sun; and all that cold night they pulled and beat among floating ice; and it was eight o'clock the next morning before they reached Goree, half perished with cold. On the next day, William got to the neighbourhood of the Hague, where he was waited upon by the states-general, the states of Holland, the council, the public bodies, the foreign ministers, and an immense body of princes and confederates, who looked to him as their defender and champion against the victorious and insulting French. Among these princes and potentates were the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg; the Dukes of Zell and Wolfenbuttèl; Prince Christian Louis of Brandenburg; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; Prince Waldeck; the Prince of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; the Princes of Nassau-Sarbruck, Nassau-Dillenburg, and Nassau-Idstein; the Duke-Administrator of Wirtemberg; the two Princes of Anspach; the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his brother, the Duke of Saxe-Eysenach; Prince Philip Palatine; the Duke of Zulsbach; the Prince of Wirtemberg; the Duke of Courland; the Prince of Anhalt-Zeerborst; the Landgrave of Homberg; three princes of Holstein-Beck; the Duke of Holstein; the Prince of Commerci; the Prince Palatine of Birkenfelt; the Princess of Nassau-Friesland; the Princess of Radzevill; the Countess of Soissons; the Princess of Saxe-Eysenach; and others, attended by counts and barons far too numerous to name. William was no stage hero—no parading, dramatic prince: his manners were cold and retiring—his dress and personal bearing as simple as those of a plain Dutch or English gentleman; yet, though he was indifferent or averse to such pageantries, he consented to make a triumphal entrance into the Hague; and, on the 26th, the stadtholder-king rode under arches and through streets studded with inscriptions and hung with tapestry. The burghers in arms lined the way; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fairest faces the Seven Provinces could show, and the very housetops were covered with spectators, who hailed him as "William the Conqueror."* Before the cannon had done roaring, or the bonfires had burned themselves out, William proceeded to business; and, in a day or two, the assembled princes, and the other members of the confederacy represented by their ambassadors, sat as a congress to provide for their own security and the general independence of Europe. While William had been defeating the Jacobites and the French in Ireland, the Dutch

* In the course of this year the Earl of Marlborough wrote a letter to King William, while on the continent, which proves that he was already suspected of peculation, and of that eagerness for money which was afterwards a most notorious and striking part of his character. "You will pardon me, sir," he writes to the king, "that I take the liberty in saying that I have been extremely fretted at a thing that has been told me since you went, which is, that Sir John Guise should tell you that he knew by merchants, when I came out of Holland, that I left 30,000*l.* there, and that your majesty should answer him, that when you came back you would inquire into it. I do assure you that there is not anything true of what Sir John Guise has told you; and *if your majesty find that I had one shilling* there before the 6500 *guineas that I sent over by my Lord Portland*, and afterwards 4700 to Schulenberg, I then beg you to believe me the least of men." (See the letter, dated June 17, 1690, in Dalrymple's Appendix.)

* 'State of Europe for January, 1691;' and 'A late Voyage to Holland,' as cited by Ralph.



TOWN HOUSE, HAGUE, WITH CARRIAGE OF PRINCE OF ORANGE. 1686. From Prints of the time

and their allies, under the command of Prince Waldeck, had been wasting their time or misdirecting their efforts on the Continent, and the French had gained a great victory over them at Fleurus, in Flanders, nearly at the same moment that William had won the battle of the Boyne. The real head of the league, and life and soul of the confederacy, now told this congress that the imminent danger wherein they were thrown sufficiently showed the errors they had committed; that juster and better measures must be instantly adopted without losing time in debate; that, in the circumstances they were in, they must act, not talk; that the French were masters of all the chief fortresses which had served as barriers, and would quickly possess themselves of the rest, if the spirit of division, slowness, and particular interests continued any longer among them. In continuation, he spoke broadly of the errors and vices which are inherent in every coalition of the sort; and which, in spite of all his efforts, and the accumulated proofs of the fatal consequences, continued to vex him till his dying day. He told them that all parties in the confederacy ought to be persuaded that their respective interests were comprised in the general one; that the French were united, and were formidable in that union; that it was in vain to clamour and complain, or to trust to protests against their injustice; that it was not the resolutions upon paper of a diet or congress, nor the hopes of some men of fortune arising from frivolous foundations, but soldiers, strong armies, and a prompt and sincere union among all the forces of all the allies that must do the work, put a stop to the conquests of Louis, and snatch the liberty of Europe from his grasp. He pledged himself to spare neither his credit and forces nor his own person, and promised to return in the spring at the head of an English army. His speech gave courage to the desponding, and a momentary union to the conflicting elements of the coalition; and the congress resolved that 222,000 men in all should take the field, and that no peace should be made with Louis until he had restored his conquests, made reparation, granted liberty of conscience to his Protestant subjects, and re-established the states of the kingdom in their ancient liberties, and the parliaments in their ancient and rightful authority.* But the French, who had the power of being so, were as active as William would have been. On the 5th of March, accompanied by the Duke of Zell and a great train of princes and nobles, he left the Hague for Loo; and on his way he learned that the French had invested the city of Mons. He immediately ordered all the Dutch troops that were in readiness to march into Flanders, and he soon after followed in person. His great rival, Louis, accompanied by the dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, and the

* Ralph.—Coke.—Burnet.

Duke of Chartres, arrived before Mons five days after the siege began, and the mass of the French army was rapidly and skilfully concentrated upon that point. The Duke of Savoy, who had joined the confederacy, and sent an ambassador into England to congratulate King William at the close of the preceding year, had undertaken to make a diversion in the south of France; but his movements had been anticipated: the French had besieged and taken his city of Nice; and some of the troops now collected in Flanders had been brought by rapid marches from the maritime Alps. An immense quantity of artillery was brought to bear upon the walls of Mons; breaches were opened; a redoubt was carried sword in hand; the inhabitants threatened to rise against the garrison; and the governor capitulated on the 20th of April, before William could collect the Spanish troops in Flanders and his other dilatory allies. Indeed, the Spaniards had been so careless and slow that nothing was prepared for the expedition; and, while the French had all the *matériel* of war in the utmost abundance and perfection, William could not find baggage-waggons or horses to draw his artillery. After the fall of Mons he hastened back to England, where more than one conspiracy against his government had been detected during his absence.* Upon his arrival in London he regulated the mode in which the war in Ireland was to be prosecuted, got the English fleet to sea under the command of Admiral Russell, and filled up, *at last*, the sees which were held to be vacated by the bishops that would not take the oaths to his government. Dr. Tillotson became Archbishop of Canterbury; and, generally speaking, the vacated bishoprics were filled with men superior in learning, morality, and decency to those who had displaced themselves by refusing the oaths. But this fact did not, of course, moderate the complaints of the Nonjurors, who contrived to disturb and vex the queen, though they could never irritate William into a persecution. The celebrated Henry Dodwell distinguished himself among these Nonjorors by his "pervicacious humour." "That Dodwell," said William, "wants me to put him in prison, but I will disappoint him." By the 1st of May the king was again on his way to Holland, having further prorogued the parliament; and, on the 2nd, he embarked at Harwich, under the convoy of a strong squadron commanded by Admiral Rooke. Some English levies had already been sent over—others went with him; and he was attended by Lord Sidney, secretary of state, and the Earls of Marlborough and Portland. Ever since the beginning of the year Marlborough had been corresponding with King James, and the refugees at St. Germain, through Colonel Sackville and Mr. Bulkely, two of the numerous Jacobite agents, expressing in unqualified terms his contrition for his past conduct, and his anxiety to make amends to his dethroned sovereign and benefactor. Together with his friend Godolphin he had made, and was actually making, communications of the state of public affairs and domestic transactions in England: yet Marlborough was treated with every show of esteem and confidence by King William; and, as soon as he was on the Continent, he attracted universal admiration by his talent for military affairs, although, through inevitable circumstances, his operations were confined to hastening the preparations and assembling and exercising the troops of the confederation for the ensuing campaign.* It was pretty apparent that, notwith-

* The most important of these conspiracies was headed by the Scottish Lord Preston, whom James, since his abdication, had created an English viscount and secretary of state. In the preceding month of December, Danby, now Earl of Caermarthen, received intelligence that a suspicious vessel, with several gentlemen passengers on board, was about to sail from the river to France. This vessel was boarded off Gravesend, and in her hold were found my Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, who had been in the household of the late queen, and one Elliot. Ashton attempted to throw a bundle of papers overboard, but they were secured and found to contain very treasonable matters. The most remarkable of the papers was styled, "The Result of a Conference between some lords and gentlemen, both Tories and Whigs, respecting the Restoration of King James:" which, however, was to be brought about (or so said the paper) "without endangering the Protestant religion," &c. Elliot made his peace with the government by betraying his confederates; or, according to another account, he was not tried because no good evidence could be procured against him. Lord Preston and Ashton were brought to trial at the Old Bailey, were found guilty of a design to bring in King James by means of French arms, &c., and were both condemned to die. Ashton was hanged on the 18th of January (1691), but Preston, who is supposed to have communicated many secrets to the government, was respited and finally enlarged. By the discovery of this plot many persons of note were committed. The Earl of Clarendon, uncle to the queen, was sent with some others to a very short imprisonment in the Tower. The Bishop of Ely, Mr. Graham, and some others, absconded.

* Coxe's Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, with his Original Correspondence, collected from the family records at Blenheim.—King James had even been assured by his secret agents that Marlborough would desert to him or to the French with all the English troops that were in Flanders. In James's Memoirs it is said—"Nevertheless the king found no effects from these mighty promises, for his majesty, insisting upon his offer of bringing over the English troops in Flanders as the greatest service he could do him, he excused himself, *under pretence that there was some mistake in the message*; that it would ruin all to make the troops come over by parcels; that his business was to gain an absolute power over them, *then* to do all the business at once."

Archdeacon Coxe thinks that the Jacobite agents exaggerated their services and deceived James by telling him more than Marlborough had told them; and that all that Marlborough wanted was to secure an indemnity for himself and friends in case of a counter-revolution. But this was all that many other scoundrels wanted. The archdeacon is probably right in his conjecture, though assuredly obtuse in his moral feeling in passing over the selfishness and double treachery of his hero so very lightly as to leave it almost doubtful whether he seriously disapproves of his conduct. In the Memoirs of James, where a letter is cited written by that unhappy sovereign on the 26th of April to his former favourite, it is said—"However, as if he (Churchill, *i. e.* Marlborough) had merited great matters, he grows upon the king (*James*) in his demands, for his first request was only two lines under his hand, though not signed, to testify that he would extend his pardon to him, or any other, though the greatest offenders, who by their future behaviour should give him proofs of their deserving it, which he said would influence the . . . . . self, my Lady [the Princess Anne is here evidently meant], Churchill, and others: this the king readily complied with; but his lordship stopped not there: when he found the king so good natured, his next request was, that he would please to write to my Lord Godolphin and assure him of forgiveness too; in which letter the queen must insert a few words likewise to testify her being reconciled to him, and yet at the same time to order him to keep his employments, to be more serviceable, as was pretended [it seems he had soon forgot his friend's scrupulosity, and that he made a conscience of betraying his trust]; so that, in fine, they were to be pardoned and in security in case the king returned, and yet to suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity, *in case the king returned*, than bare words and empty promises, which under pretence of being suspected, or of doing greater service afterwards, there never was found a suitable time to put the least of them in execution. However, the king thought fit to bear with this sort of double dealing, and, seeing him begin to decline in the Prince of Orange's favour, still hoped he might do service in the end; so accepted his excuses, and continued his correspondence from time to time as long as he lived, though with scarce any other effect than to bring an additional expense upon him, by appointing persons in England to act under his directions; and an additional trouble, from the continual complaints of the king's other friends, who, being of different religions, and having different views, instead of uniting their force for the king's service, studied all they could to thwart each other's methods."

standing their being on unfriendly terms with nearly every country in Europe, and in open war with the Empire, Spain, Holland, Savoy, England, and even the pope, the French would still be very formidable enemies. William, at the head of about 70,000 men, of various nations and various dispositions, advanced to the capital of Spanish Flanders, sovered Brussels, which was threatened by the main body of the French army under Marshal Luxembourg (Louis had returned to Versailles), forced that able general to retire, sent a detachment to the relief of Liege, which was threatened by Marshal Boufflers, and then advanced to the Sambre, and crossed that river, with the view of engaging Luxembourg in a pitched battle. But in those days general engagements were rare things; and, except in sieges, soldiers consumed more shoe-leather than gunpowder. Luxembourg, who was outnumbered, but whose army was one consonant whole, while the army of William was made up of many parts, and those so heterogeneous that they could scarcely be kept together, retreated and manœuvred, marched and countermarched, and baffled every attempt to bring him to action. William gave up the command to the Prince of Waldeck, and retired to his hunting-seat at Loo in September, whence, after a fortnight's diversion, he repaired to England. In other quarters the success of the war was various. On the Rhine, where the Elector of Saxony commanded for the allies, little or nothing was done; in Catalonia, the French made devastating incursions, but obtained no footing; but on the side of Italy, and in Savoy, Marshal Catinat gained many advantages—taking several towns—approaching within three leagues of Turin, the Duke of Savoy's capital, and laying siege to Coni, one of the strongest of his fortresses. But here he was checked by Prince Eugene of Savoy, who now began to display those qualities which afterwards made him the companion and rival of Marlborough. William had just sent the duke a seasonable supply of money, and a few troops under the command of Schomberg, son of the Marshal who had perished at the battle of the Boyne. Eugene, being, as it is said, advised thereto by Schomberg, made a sudden march across the mountains, forced the French to raise the siege, in which they had lost many men, and then, descending into the plain, retook Carmagnola, and drove back Catinat with loss and shame. The Emperor Leopold, who was the nominal, as William was the real, head of the league, was made easy on one of his frontiers by a sanguinary defeat given, at Salankeman, on the Danube, to the Turks, who had been excited to a new war chiefly through French diplomacy.*

But in Ireland the campaign had been decisive. Early in June the Dutch general Ginckel, reinforced by some excellent troops from Scotland, and well supplied, through the vigilance of William, with all the necessaries of war, took the field, and on the 18th sat down before Athlone, a very strong town divided into two parts by the river Shannon, but connected by a bridge, which was protected by a fort. The part on the eastern bank, called the English town, was carried with some slaughter, and Ginckel rushed onward to the bridge; but the besieged had broken some of the arches, the French officers had constructed a tête du pont, and there was no way across except by fording the Shannon. After some fruitless attempts upon the bridge, a council of war determined, on the 30th, to try one of the fords, which are few, narrow, and dangerous. General Sarsfield, commanding the garrison, perceived the intention, and informed Monsieur St. Ruth, who was now commander-in-chief of the combined forces of French and Irish, that the enemy were going to ford the river. St. Ruth, who had been reinforced with several good regiments from France, and who lay in the neighbourhood, treated this intelligence with contempt, saying, "They dare not do it, and I so near." Sarsfield said, in a sadder tone, "He does not know the English." On the following morning the English grenadiers dashed into the Shannon, and, locking their arms together, they waded twenty abreast across a ford, and in spite of a terrible fire of well-managed artillery and musketry, and in the teeth of all other obstacles, they gained the opposite bank, established themselves firmly there, and drove the Irish from the head of the bridge. Planks were soon laid over the broken arches, and the rest of the army crossed by the bridge or in rude pontoons. In less than an hour they were masters of the Irish town; Sarsfield running out at one side as Ginckel entered at the other. St. Ruth, who had behaved like a confident blockhead, attempted to re-take the town, but, after losing men, he decamped by night without beat of drum, to take up a strong position at Aghrim, in the midst of hills and bogs. There he was attacked by Ginckel on Sunday, the 12th of July. The approaches, through morasses, were exceedingly difficult, and the Dutch horse and the English dragoons were repulsed at the pass of Urachree; but, after a hard struggle, Eppinger's dragoons and my Lord Portland's horse gained ground on the enemy's left, and General Mackay attacked their right. As they advanced they found the ditches strongly lined by Irish musketeers and the French and Irish horse advantageously posted on the spurs of the hills behind the musketeers. The Irish troops, both horse and foot, fought bravely, and in unusually good order; but St. Ruth was obliged to strengthen his wings, which the English threatened to turn, and then Ginckel moved forward to attack his weakened centre. Ginckel's men advanced over a red bog half a mile broad, sinking to the waist in mud and water; and beyond this uncomfortable morass they had to ascend a hill, where the French and Irish took advantage of every hedge, of two old Danish forts, and of the old castle of Aghrim, which kept up a hot fire. The English centre,

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.—Life of William, by De Foe.—Burnet.—Ralph.—Coxe.

after suffering severely, were forced back to the edge of the red bog. St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive these English back to the gates of Dublin." But the Frenchman again miscalculated: the English rallied almost instantly, and, being reinforced with some fresh men, charged the pursuing Irish, and drove them up the hills. At the same time the advancing right wing of the English drove still farther back the Irish left, and victory was scarcely doubtful, when St. Ruth was killed by a cannon ball. As soon as the French guards saw their general fall they moved off; they were soon followed by the Irish horse; and then the rest of the host fled to the top of Kilcommodon Hill. But the English pursued them, drove them from the heights, and committed a pitiless slaughter on the infantry. Four thousand Irish fell on the field of battle, and nearly an equal number in the pursuit. The English counted about 1400 killed and wounded. In consequence of this victory Galway surrendered; but Limerick, which had foiled King William in the preceding year, stood another memorable siege, the garrison being vastly strengthened by Sarsfield, who conducted thither that part of King James's army which survived and kept together after the fatal battle of Aghrim. Tyrconnel, who had returned from France, died in Limerick a few days after that battle; and Sarsfield, the bravest and ablest of James's adherents, commanded within those walls which now enclosed all the means and the hopes of the party. Limerick was invested by Ginckel on the 26th of August, but it was not until the 22nd of September, and after some terrible encounters, that the English were able to open their trenches on both sides of the Shannon. Then, however, the garrison began to despair, and Sarsfield proposed a surrender upon conditions: on the 1st of October the articles were submitted to Ginckel and the lords justices, who signed them on the 3rd, and thus put an end to the Irish war. These articles of Limerick, which were so reprobated by the bigots of Protestantism and the men hungering and thirsting after forfeitures and confiscations, were highly honourable to King William, and were also, in a measure, an acknowledgment of the valour of the Irish people. A nation of poltroons would not have obtained such favourable terms. By the first of these articles it was agreed "That the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion." The second article secured to all the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or other places and garrisons then in possession of the Irish, and to all officers and soldiers then in arms under commission of King James in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or in any of them, and all the commissioned officers that belonged to the Irish regiments then in being that were not prisoners of war, or had not taken out protections, the enjoyment of all their estates, freeholds, inheritances, rights, titles, interests, privileges, and immunities which they held in the reign of Charles II., free from all forfeitures or outlawries incurred by them, provided only they returned to their obedience to King William and Queen Mary, and took the oath of allegiance; and all persons comprehended in this article were to have and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal; their trades, professions, and callings, with free liberty to exercise their professions, trades, &c., as in the reign of King Charles II., provided that nothing in this article should extend to restoring any forfeited person then out of the kingdom, in France or elsewhere, except only such as were comprised in another article. The sixth article wisely fixed limits for that war of litigation which must always follow such revolutions, such sudden transfers of property, and personal injuries and animosities. It declared that—"Whereas the present wars have drawn great violences on both parties, and that if leave was given for bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been so long on foot, and the public disturbance made to last; for the quieting and settling, therefore, of the kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespass by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever by them seized or taken during the time of the war." The garrison of Limerick were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, with their arms and baggage, and either to embark for France or enter the service of King William at their option. Of 14,000 or 15,000 Irish soldiers, about 10,000 chose to embark for France, where they entered the service of Louis XIV., and became that gallant corps so constantly mentioned in the wars abroad as "The Irish brigade."* Ginckel was solemnly thanked by the English parliament for his services; and the titles of Baron Aghrim and Earl of Athlone were conferred upon him. But though the army of England had been so triumphant in Ireland, her fleet had scarcely done more under Russell than they had done the preceding year under Herbert,—and precisely for the same reason, or because the commander was lukewarm in the cause, and actually corresponding with the court of St. Germain. Russell, during his long cruise, scarcely fired a shot;† and the

* Ralph.—Leland.

† Speaking of the preceding year, Burnet says:—"But, if we lost few of our seamen in engagements, *we lost a great many by reason of the bad victualling.* Some excused this because it was so late in the year before funds were made for it; *while others imputed it to base*

maritime trade of England was almost ruined by French privateers.

William, who had reached London a few days before, met his parliament on the 22nd of October. In his speech, after alluding to the success which had attended his arms in Ireland, he represented the propriety of taking care to pay the arrears of the army, and the necessity of still increasing the number both of his troops and ships. Votes of thanks were passed, and loyal addresses sent up; but those who had been shut out of the "court pasture" got up a strong opposition to all the money bills, making it their business to explore every method of rendering the possession of power uneasy to those who held it, under popular pretences, but with an eye to their own private advantage. Admiral Russell was called to account for his misdoings, or, rather, his non-doings; but he threw the blame upon the Board of Admiralty and the commanders of the Dutch fleet that sailed with him; and such an artful cloud was raised that both the offender and the offence were lost sight of. The Commons complained loudly of the abuses and peculations of officers in the army, of commissaries, of men in office, and of the servants of the government generally; they challenged the right of inspecting all public accounts whatsoever; and the party out of place had the enthusiastic generosity to propose that all the profits arising from any place in the gift of the crown, either by salary, fee, or perquisite, above and beyond 500*l.* per annum, should be applied to the charge of the war, with an exception in favour of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ambassadors and ministers residing at foreign courts, and the officers of the fleet and army. It is scarcely necessary to pause to explain how soon the wheels of this mighty move came to a deadlock, or how it was demonstrated that the three kingdoms could not furnish persons disinterested enough to serve the public for 500*l.* a-year. On the 6th of November it was unanimously resolved that a supply should be granted to their majesties for the carrying on a vigorous war against France; and in passing the estimates of the navy they voted 1,575,898*l.* for that service, including ordnance and the building one dry dock and two wet docks at Portsmouth, for such conveniences were much wanted. On the 16th of the same month they resolved to carry the army to 64,924 men, exclusive of officers; but, before fixing the sum, they debated long, and critically examined the estimates of the paymaster, as also the proportion that should be furnished out of the revenue of Ireland; and it was not until the 4th of January that they voted, for the land forces, or the service of that year, 1,935,787*l.* to be paid by England, and 165,000*l.* to be taken out of the revenue of Ireland. While the army estimates were under consideration they, however, dispatched two other money bills, one imposing an additional excise upon beer, ale, &c.; the other imposing a land-tax of two shillings in the pound. On giving the royal assent to these two bills, which he did on the last day of December, William thanked them in form, but said, "I must take notice to you at the same time, with some trouble, that the new year is already come; while our preparations for it are not only more backward, but those of our enemies, as we have reason to think, in greater forwardness than they were last year." And he told the Commons that, the season being so far advanced, the session could not admit of a much longer continuance, and that, therefore, he must recommend dispatch in all their other bills.

A.D. 1692.—A variety of bills were rapidly passed by the Commons, but for the most part rejected by the Lords, who expressed great dread of innovation. A bill for vesting the forfeited estates in England and Ireland in his majesty, to be applied for the use of the war,—an army bill, for strictly proportioning the pay to the real complement of men,—a bill for reducing the rate of interest upon borrowed money,—and another for continuing the commissioners of public accounts, were all lost in the Upper House. This led to several stormy conferences between the two Houses. But the Commons carried their point about the commission of accounts, by tacking it to a poll-tax bill, by which all persons except children, servants, and paupers were to pay a shilling every quarter; every gentleman of 300*l.* a-year, twenty shillings a quarter; every person worth 300*l.*, ten shillings; every beneficed clergyman or teacher worth 80*l.* a-year, twenty shillings; every lord of parliament, 10*l.*; and Nonjurors double. Two things are here made apparent—the great expensiveness of a continental war, and the unskilfulness of the legislature in the art of taxation. The very name of poll-tax had always been odious to the English people; but perhaps the unpopularity excited by it was the reason why many men in parliament voted for the bill.

On the 29th of February the parliament was prorogued. In the interval between the prorogation and William's departure for Holland several important changes were made in court and cabinet; and these changes were almost entirely in favour of the Tory party, or of the trimmers, who

practices and worse designs."] [The same writer says that the Earl of Torrington (Admiral Herbert) was a man of pleasure, and did not make the haste that was necessary. It is calculated that from the beginning of the war up to the month of November, 1692, fifteen hundred English trading vessels, of the aggregate value of three millions sterling, were taken by the enemy. In some instances it was proved that the privateers, under French colours, were equipped and partly manned by English and Irish Jacobites; and, from the certainty with which these corsairs pounced upon their prey, it became an article of belief in the commercial world that the Jacobites at home gave notice of the sailing of the shipping from English ports, of their destination, &c. "The conclusion of all," says Burnet, "was, Russell complained of the ministry, particularly of the Earl of Nottingham, and they complained no less of him; and the merchants complained of the Admiralty: but they, in their own defence, said that we had not ships nor seamen, both to furnish out a great fleet and at the same time to send out convoys for securing the trade." But Burnet knew not what we now know—that Russell was corresponding with James, and that the dethroned king's adherents boasted that Admiral Delaval, Admiral Killigrew, and others depended entirely upon the king (James), because they owed their fortunes to him, and expected more from him than from the Prince of Orange.—See a Memorial from James's adherents to the French ministry in the Papers published by Macpherson.

could be Whigs and Tories by turns. The Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to Queen Mary and the head of the high-church party, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour, who had opposed the king in everything, were brought into the privy council, and the Earl of Pembroke was made lord privy seal. Pelham, a Whig, was turned out to make room for Mr. Montague, the ablest head of the Tory party. A damp fell upon the whole Whig party, and not a few were suddenly converted into flaming Jacobites. But before these appointments the Earl of Marlborough, who called himself a Tory till the Whigs in the following reign afforded him the means of acquiring renown, and, what was dearer to him, enormous wealth, was suddenly disgraced and dismissed from all his employments, and prohibited from appearing at court.* As the Princess Anne espoused the cause of the husband of her friend, and joined Lady Marlborough in styling William "a monster," "a Dutch abortion," &c., the bitter quarrel between her and her sister, the queen, which had begun with the new reign, became irreconcileable. An order was sent through the lord chamberlain, enjoining Lady Marlborough to remove from the palace of Whitehall; and thereupon Anne, disdaining to continue in the palace, removed to Sion Hill, a mansion lent to her by the Duke of Somerset, whence in a short time she repaired to Berkeley House, which became her permanent residence, and the resort of all who were friendly to the Marlboroughs and inimical to the court. This coterie did not confine themselves to calling names; they laboured with tongue and pen to augment the popular discontents and the difficulties of the government, and some of the chief of them intrigued with the exiled family and their agents.

On the 5th of March William embarked for the continent, and was soon with the grand army of the confederacy, which was assembled near Louvain. On the 20th of May Louis XIV. joined the French army, which was still commanded by Luxembourg, who had with him the celebrated Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the time. On the 29th of May the French opened the trenches before Namur, which strong place surrendered on the 30th of June, William being unable to relieve it, through various causes.* Upon this disappointment William made an attempt to surprise Mons; but his design was betrayed to the enemy, and Luxembourg, by a rapid movement, prevented its execution. After various manœuvres, the French rested upon a strong position between Enghien and Steinkirk, covered by a wood and thick hedges, which were traversed by narrow and intricate defiles. Louis, upon the surrender of Namur, had gone back in triumph to Paris; but William now hoped to convert his *Te Deum* into a dirge. He perceived that the French were off their guard, relying upon the strength of their position, and he resolved to attack them by passing rapidly through the defiles. On Sunday, the 24th of July, the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Mackay led the English van through a deep defile which terminated in a small plain on the enemy's right wing. The advance was made with admirable spirit and quickness; an advanced guard were made prisoners; a terrible onset threw half the French army into confusion, and their lines were broken. But Count Solmes, whose duty it was to support the first column of attack, remained inactive, and behaved altogether in such a manner as to give credibility to the dishonouring reports which were afterwards circulated about this Dutch officer.† Luxembourg was thus allowed time to rally his broken battalions, and then, advancing,

* Evelyn, who hated the man, says, without mincing the matter; "Lord Marlborough, lieutenant-general of the king's army in England, gentleman of the bedchamber, &c., dismissed from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers. Note, this was the lord who was entirely advanced by King James, and was the first who betrayed and forsook his master. He was son of Sir Winston Churchill of the Greencloth." Lord Basil Hamilton, in a letter to the Duke of Hamilton, says:—"Everybody make their guesses what are his crimes. Some say that he was endeavouring to breed division in the army, and to make himself the more necessary, besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence betwixt the princess and the court, but everybody have their different thoughts; but this being late yesterday, all the matter is not well known, but I believe a few days will bring all to light." (Dalrymple, Appendix.) It is amusing to observe in what a very different manner Marlborough's wife, nearly forty years after, accounts for the disgrace of her lord. "The king," she says, "was pleased, without publicly assigning any particular reason, to remove my Lord Marlborough from all his employments. His majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell him that he had no more occasion for his service. This event might perhaps be well enough accounted for, by saying that Lord Portland (Bentinck) had ever a great prejudice to my Lord Marlborough, and that my Lady Orkney, then Mrs. Villiers (William's favourite lady or mistress), though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But I think it is not to be doubted, that the principal cause of the king's message was, the court's dislike that anybody should have so much interest with the princess as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the king and queen. The disgrace of my Lord Marlborough, therefore, was designed as a step towards removing me from about her."—*An Account of the Conduct, &c.*

* At first he was prevented by a rising of the waters, which swept away all the bridges on the river Melmigne; and, by the time the waters subsided, the French had so fortified all the passes to their camp before Namur, as to render an attack too desperate. As soon as he had left England the Jacobites began to circulate a long and well-penned declaration from King James, who offered a free pardon to all except the Duke of Ormond, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Danby, and Nottingham, the Lords Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, and Dunblane, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Burnet (the historian), about twelve other gentlemen who were named, the fishermen and all others who had offered personal indignities to his majesty at Feversham, the judges and jury who had condemned his plotting partisan, Ashton, &c. In this list of persons to be excluded from the amnesty appear the names of John Lord Churchill (Marlborough) and of several others who were corresponding with James and plotting against William; but this was, no doubt, intended as a blind. To omit the name of Marlborough, who had done so much against him, would have been to proclaim to the world that he had made his peace with his old master. In the month of April copies of a much more remarkable document were circulated. This was a letter from King James, written and directed in his own hand, to several members of the privy council, whom he summoned to be present at the accouchement of his wife. "Whereas," said the letter, "our royal predecessors used to call such of their privy council as could conveniently be had, to be present at the labour of their queens, and be witnesses to the birth of their children, and whereas we followed their example at the birth of our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, though even that precaution was not enough to hinder us from the malicious aspersion of those who were resolved to deprive us of our royal right, that we may not be wanting to ourselves now it hath pleased Almighty God, the supporter of truth, to give us the hopes of further issue, our dearest consort the queen being big, and drawing near her time, we have thought fit to require such of our privy council as can possibly come to attend us here at St. Germains, to be witness at our dearest consort the queen her labour." A free pass to go and return was promised by his dearest brother, the most Christian king; but we need scarcely say that none availed themselves of it or undertook the journey. Letters to the same effect were directed to the Duchess of Somerset, the Duchess of Beaufort, the Lady Derby, the Lady Mayoress of London, and many others who had belonged to the old court or cabinet.

† It was said that he purposely sacrificed the English, whom he hated,—that he kept back his own men, saying to those about him, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make us."

he attacked the English on some broken ground, and in the midst of hedge-rows and ditches in which they had got engaged. William brought up in person a strong body of infantry, and an unequal and most desperate fight was continued for nearly three hours, the English and French occasionally fighting with their muskets muzzle to muzzle. In the end, William was obliged to retreat before Luxembourg, who had been strengthened by some fresh troops brought up at a critical moment by Boufflers. The retreat was effected with excellent order, the English grenadiers covering the rear, and the French infantry scarcely venturing near enough to fire a shot. The carnage on both sides was tremendous, amounting, it is said, to 5000 killed on the side of the allies, and nearly as many on that of the French. The brave and devout Mackay, Sir Robert Douglas, and General Sir John Lanier, fell in the thickest of the battle. There was still an observable want of strict discipline and proper military training among them; but the headlong intrepidity which the British infantry displayed on this memorable day raised them and their country in the estimation of their foreign king. Though Luxembourg claimed a victory, he could not deny that he had sustained a perilous surprise, and he was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Little or nothing was done in this campaign after the battle of Steinkirk; but in the month of August a detestable conspiracy against the life of William was discovered through the skill of one Leefdale, a Dutchman. M. de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the French service was arrested at Eyndhoven, and brought to trial before a military court, where he and one Dumont, his accomplice, confessed that King James, at St. Germain, in the presence of the queen, had engaged him to shoot King William. De Grandval was shot in the allied camp, and William proclaimed to the world the guilt of James and the connivance of Louis, by publishing the confession of the hired assassin. Neither the court of St. Germain nor that of Versailles replied to the foul accusation, though great pains were afterwards taken to exculpate James, who himself explicitly denied participation in any of the schemes which were repeatedly proposed to him for *killing* William. But the weight of this royal denial and the arguments of the Jacobites fall to the ground before the documentary evidence which has been produced in our own days from the friendly obscurity of the archives of Versailles; and M. Mazure, by proving that James subsequently employed conspirators against the person of William, has made it more than probable that he had employed this Grandval, or at least sanctioned his foul attempt.*

If France had been victorious in the Low Countries this year, she had felt the shame and the mischief of foreign invasion on her own frontiers in the south. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, accompanied by Schomberg and his small body of English, rushed into Dauphiné, crossed the Durance, took several towns, levied large contributions, burnt eighty châteaux and villages, threatened Grenoble, and even Lyons, the second city in the kingdom. On the approach of winter the Duke of Savoy was obliged to evacuate his conquests, and retire to his own country; but he had demonstrated that France could be invaded, and that Italians, Savoyards, and Englishmen could retaliate upon the French the excesses they had committed, particularly in the Palatinate, when they were the invading party. But the great blow of the year was struck by British sailors.

Shortly after the departure of William for the Continent, the French began to collect a large fleet of men-of-war and transports to carry over King James and a formidable army to the invasion of England, where the Jacobites were full of insolent hope, and, encouraged by William's absence, were plotting and combining with wonderful activity. In some of the northern counties where the papists were numerous, considerable numbers of men were enlisted for the service of the dethroned king, who by the month of April reached the port of La Hogue, where he lay surrounded by a considerable army of French, Irish, and English refugees, all ready to embark. At this dangerous crisis several avowed Jacobites, including Lord Middleton, the Lords Griffin and Dunmore, Sir John Fenwick, and Colonels Slingsby and Sackville were taken into custody; and on the 5th of May the Earl of Marlborough was suddenly arrested and conveyed to the Tower, on a charge of high treason. Warrants were also issued against the Earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester. The Princess Anne herself expected to be put in durance; and she had some grounds for this apprehension, seeing that she had been making overtures to her dethroned father.*

On the same day that Marlborough was sent to the Tower, Admiral Russell set sail from the Downs in search of the French fleet at La Hogue. Off Beachy Head Russell was joined by the squadrons of Carter and Delaval, who had been watching the French ports, and by a portion of the Dutch fleet; so that altogether he was at the head

* Note, Sur une Conjuration contre la Personne de Guillaume III. In Appendix to Histoire de la Révolution de 1688 en Angleterre, par F. A. J. Mazure.

* Anne, it appears, never wrote to her father till there was an appearance that he must succeed in his new enterprise and recover his lost kingdoms. Then she deemed it necessary to avert the wrath of the parent she had abandoned, and expressed her concern for his misfortunes, the sense of her own unhappiness, and her long-nourished wishes of redeeming her fault by undoing all that had been done.—*See her Letter in the Memoirs of James.* Dalrymple says, boldly, "At length all things were settled; and the French king got assurances that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Russell, and a great part of the church by the Princess Anne." And upon the evidence of the papers collected by Dalrymple and Mazure, of the Stuart MSS., and of other documents which have been successively brought to light, we may almost venture to say that there was something very like an arrangement of this kind. It should be remarked, however, that in some respects Admiral Russell was rather a bad politician than a bad or selfish man. In his correspondence with the exiled king he had insisted on terms and concessions all favourable to the liberties of his country, and which, in deed, if James had been restored, and had *observed them (which he* never would have done), would have converted the government of England into a republic.

of ninety-nine men-of-war, the greatest force that had been seen in the Channel since the Spanish Armada. On the 19th of May he discovered the French fleet off Cape Barfleur, bearing down upon him full sail. The French admiral, the Count de Tourville, who, it appears, did not know that Russell had effected his junction with the Dutch, and who had positive orders to engage the English (it being calculated that many of the English officers were in the interest of James), kept his course and actually engaged, though at long shots, with only sixty-three ships. The loose combat lasted from ten in the morning till five in the evening, when the French towed away with all their boats, and the English after them. At six there was a fresh engagement, but a fog fell, and under its cover the French made for the westward, favoured by a fresh gale. It appears either that De Tourville counted upon the superior sailing qualities of his ships, or that he still was ignorant of the amount of the force at sea against him, and from various causes, including treachery, perhaps, many ships of the allied fleet had neither come into battle nor hove in sight.* During the night there was a calm with heavy fogs, which lasted nearly till noon of the following day, when the greater part of the French fleet was seen about two leagues in advance of the English and Dutch, who pursued without any regard to order of battle, every ship in their van making the best of its way. But soon it grew calm again, and all came to anchor on the coast, the pursued being still considerably in advance of the pursuers. But on the morning of the 21st there was a brisk breeze, if not a rough gale, and as the English and Dutch advanced they discovered part of the French fleet making into the "Race of Alderney," a narrow strait between the island of Alderney and that part of the French coast which forms the peninsula of Cotantin. That channel, though safe in calm weather, and deep enough for the passage of the largest ships, is very dangerous in stormy weather, owing to irregular and conflicting currents. The Dutch and the blue squadron of the English, who pursued to the mouth of the Channel, hesitated about engaging in it, and finally stood off and let all the French ships that entered it escape.† For this Sir John Ashley, the admiral of the blue, was called to account in parliament, but was honourably acquitted. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was foremost of the rest of the allied fleet that had kept their course without turning to the Race of Alderney, was more successful; for, off Cape de Wick, near Cherbourg, he found dismasted or stranded De Tourville's ship, the Soleil Royal, of 110 guns, the Admirable, of 102 guns, the Conquerant of 80 guns, and three smaller rates, and Delaval burned and destroyed them all. Eighteen French ships of the line which had hauled for the Hogue, got safe in, between the forts de Lisset and de la Hogue, and before Admiral Russell came up they had been allowed time to provide for their defence. The ships were drawn up as far upon the shallows as tides and cables could bring them, and so left aground with their broadsides to the enemy; platforms and batteries, *à fleur de l'eau*, were raised on shore and planted with all the artillery of the army intended for the invasion of England; chaloupes filled with infantry were stationed among the shoals and along the beach; and upon the heights behind stood the whole army, with King James, the Duke of Berwick, the Marshal de Bellefonde, and other great officers. When Russell discovered these dispositions he lay-to, and sent Vice-Admiral Rooke on the 22nd to attempt the destruction of the ships. This was the really brilliant part of the battle of La Hogue; and most brilliantly was it performed. Rooke advanced with some light frigates and nearly all the open boats of the fleet, the ships of the line being unable to approach on account of the shallow water. He stationed his frigates as near as he could, and then trusted to the men in the boats, who had only a general order to board and burn, and do the best they could. The brave sailors pulled away and handled nothing but their oars, while they were assailed by a terrible fire of ship guns, cannons, and musketry both from shore and ships. But when they got alongside they threw away oars and muskets, and, with a tremendous huzza, with their cutlasses in their hands, they boarded, carried the ships, and pointed their guns against the French chaloupes and their forts on shore. They burned six ships of the line that night; and, renewing their attack on the following morning, they totally destroyed all the rest, together with a number of transports and merchant-vessels. James witnessed all this destruction; and it is said that, in the heat of the fight, his nationality, or the force of habit, so far overcame all other considerations, that he exclaimed, involuntarily, "See my brave English sailors!" While some of the ships were burning to the water's

* Queen Mary, who was governing during her husband's absence, suspected the fidelity of many men in the fleet, but she behaved with admirable prudence. According to James's biography, "It is more than probable that many officers of the English fleet, when they saw his most Christian majesty (King Louis) was in earnest, began to waver, at least the Princess of Orange was sensible of it; and, seeming by an affected generosity not to credit what she could not remedy, had sent them word she reposed an entire confidence in their fidelity and zeal, and that she looked upon the contrary reports as industriously raised by her enemies. This drew an address from the fleet, wherein they declared they would defend with the utmost peril of their lives their majesties' undoubted right, together with the religion and liberties of their country, against all foreign and popish invaders whatsoever. That, though perhaps no more cordially meant by many that signed it than addresses usually were in those days, might, however, create so much diffidence in those who intended well, as to prevent their venturing at what they might reasonably doubt would be generally opposed by others; nevertheless, the king had good hopes of many of the officers, particularly Carter, rear-admiral of the blue, but endeavoured to have matters so ordered as not to depend upon so dubious a foundation, especially the faint assurances of Admiral Russell himself, for he knew that fear alone would make those mercenary souls his friends, and that nothing but the preparations where he was could produce that effect." According to Bertrand de Molleville, "The government was acquainted with all these particulars, partly by some agents of King James, who betrayed his cause, partly by Admiral Carter himself, who informed the queen that he had been tampered with."—*ANST.* This Admiral Carter was killed at an early part of the engagement by a chance shot.

† "So," says Burnet, "twenty-six of them, whom if Ashley had pursued, by all appearance he had destroyed them, got into St. Malo's." Though acquitted by parliament, Ashley was not acquitted by the nation, who blamed him severely.

edge, some of their loaded guns, which had not been discharged, went off and killed some of those who attended upon him. James then said,—"Heaven fights against me!" and he retired, in utter hopelessness, to his tent, whence he soon repaired to St. Germain to his wife, Mary of Este, who, on the 28th of June, was delivered of a daughter.* He wrote to the abbot of the monks of La Trappe—"We have not yet suffered enough for our sins—I mean myself and my subjects. . . You have left the world to work your salvation—happier those who can do it—those are the only people I envy."† But, in spite of these pious declarations, James still longed after his earthly crown, and he continued to renew his efforts in every possible way, for several years, though, after the battle of La Hogue, he never could have entertained a rational hope of success. To use the words of the writer of his Life—"This hindered not a due attention to any occasion which Providence might offer to the regaining his right. He knew how to reconcile the suffering with patience the ill success of his endeavours with a due perseverance in them; for this reason the late disappointment hindered not a continuance of that correspondence with his friends in England, who (especially before the business of La Hogue) were, or pretended to be, very numerous—not only persons of the greatest rank, but even many who were in actual employment in the government."‡ Twenty-four days after the victory, the Earl of Marlborough was liberated from the Tower. The ground of his arrest was this:—One Robert Young, then a prisoner in Newgate for the non-payment of a fine, knowing something of the suspicions entertained by the government of King William, and of the parties who were Jacobites, lodged an information that there were treasonable papers secreted in the house of Bishop Sprat, at Bromley, in Kent. A search-warrant was issued, and, besides several letters bearing the signature of Marlborough, there was found an act of association, which bore the signatures of Marlborough, Scarsdale, the bishop, Lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace, who, according to the deed, undertook to restore King James. As soon as he was in the Tower, Marlborough declared to the Earl of Devonshire that the papers were forged, and made use of only to keep him in prison. Young, the accuser, bore a bad character; and, when he was confronted with Bishop Sprat, it was made to appear that, having an extraordinary talent in imitating handwritings, he had forged all the letters, signatures, &c.* Upon this, the bishop and the others implicated were dismissed, with the exception of Marlborough; and, after the defeat of the French fleet had dissipated the alarm of invasion, Queen Mary and the government set free a number of noted Jacobites, who had been arrested as a measure of precaution, without any explicit charge true or false. Though they did not declare the fact, the government no doubt knew, upon other testimony than that of the papers found at Bromley, that Marlborough was to be distrusted and feared. Yet his detention, after the release of the others, was very short; for, on the 15th of June, he was admitted to bail on the sureties of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marquess of Halifax, the Earl of Carberry, and Mr. Boyle. On the 23rd of June, however, his own name, and the names of two of his bail, Shrewsbury and Halifax, were struck out of the list of privy-councillors. At the beginning of Michaelmas term, Marlborough and his sureties applied for a discharge from their recognizances; but the Court of King's Bench refused, and they were obliged to wait for the meeting of parliament.†

King William returned from the Continent on the 19th of October, and was received by the people with acclamations. The atrocious design of assassination had raised him wonderfully in the popular affection. On the 4th of November he opened the parliament in person, in a gracious speech, in which there was more warmth of feeling than he usually displayed. At a very early period of the session, attention was drawn to the case of those who had been prisoners in the Tower. Marlborough, Scarsdale, and Huntingdon complained, in their places in the House of Lords, of the treatment they had received, and of the conduct of the judges who had refused to discharge them from their bail, or bring them to trial, conformably to the Habeas Corpus Act. The Earl of Shrewsbury, one of Marlborough's sureties, supported the appeal, and represented Marlborough as ungratefully

* "A week after the king returned from La Hogue the queen was delivered of a princess, which gave him at least some domestic comfort. She was christened Louise Mary, the most Christian king being her godfather, which ceremony was performed with great magnificence and solemnity; and though no one came out of England, according to the king's invitation, however, besides the princesses and chief ladies of the court of France, the chancellor, the first president of the parliament of Paris, the archbishop, &c., the wife of the Danish ambassador, Madame Meereroon, as a person on whose testimony the people of England might reasonably rely, was present at the queen's labour and delivery, and notwithstanding her averseness to the king's interest, could not refuse owning the ridiculousness of that false and malicious insinuation which had wrought him so much mischief, she being an eyewitness of the contrary herself."—*Mem.*

† Idem.

‡ What immediately follows is amusing from that quarter, but it points clearly enough to the clue to the intrigues of men like Marlborough:—"Perhaps it was not purely a zeal for the king's restoration that stuck so much with many of them, as the prospect they had of an endless war and an unsettled government, till things run in their natural channel again: they saw the most Christian king espoused his majesty's interest heartily, and the late success (barring that disaster at sea) against the united power of almost all Europe showed what he was able to do, even while he had such enemies to struggle with; and, by consequence, how much more, if that confederacy should break asunder, which, being a chain of so many different links, could not be hoped would hold long together. Since, therefore, there was some appearance of their being forced to their duty, many of them thought it more eligible to return voluntarily, and by offering certain conditions to the king."

* The Duchess of Marlborough says: "Soon after the princess (Anne) going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a flowerpot; and my Lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower. To commit a peer to prison it was necessary there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. My Lord Romney, therefore (that is, Sydney), secretary of state, had sent to one Young, who was then in gaol for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a legal evidence. For, as the court lawyers said, Young, not having lost his ears, was an *irreproachable witness!* I shall not dwell on the story of this fellow's villany, the Bishop of Rochester having given a full account of it in print."—*An Account of the Conduct*, &c. There is no doubt of the indifferent character of Young; but we are not inclined to believe, except upon better evidence, that so honourable and kind-hearted a man as Sydney should have led him on in the manner described by the unscrupulous duchess.

† Ralph.—Coxe, Life of Marlborough.

and unjustly used. The debate was vehement and prolonged. The House of Lords came to a resolution—"That no peer shall be remanded to prison by the King's Bench upon his appearing before them by virtue of the Habeas Corpus Act, after having entered his prayer to be tried as the said act directs, or kept under bail, unless there appear against him two witnesses upon oath, or in a capacity to be sworn." They appointed a day to consider in what manner they should discharge the lords from their recognizances, but the king terminated the business by discharging them himself, and the ministers were exonerated by a bill of indemnity. Marlborough renewed his intrigues with the agents of James, begging all the while employment from William, who, however, thought it not for the good of the service to intrust the command of any of his troops to him, and who would never employ him until he was convinced that it was his *interest* to be faithful. Under a less magnanimous prince, and any government less controlled by the law, Marlborough would not have lived to be the hero of Blenheim, but would have perished on a scaffold. The other business of this session of parliament was exceedingly interesting. The war of parties was carried on with great acrimony. The Tories attempted to ruin the Whig admiral, Russell, who, as was supposed by many that were of neither faction, had not done all that he ought in the battle of La Hogue; and the Whigs attempted to unseat the Tory secretary of state, Lord Nottingham. The Whigs had the advantage in the House of Commons, which declared that Admiral Russell had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct: but the Tories prevailed in the Lords; and the king, who had been offended by several things in the debate, and who very possibly knew something of Russell's intercourse with the court of St. Germain, dismissed the Whig admiral and retained the Tory secretary.*

The Whig majority in the Commons, on the 13th of December, ordered a bill to be brought in which made the people wonder, for nine days or a little more, at the disinterestedness of the out-of-place patriots. It proposed nothing less than the banishing all the servants of the crown from the House of Commons. It was entitled, "A Bill touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament," and its substance was, that all members of the House should be held incapable of places of trust or profit under the crown; and that any member that accepted a place should, by the fact, lose his seat, and be barred from any re-election. And, strange as it may appear, this bill actually passed, with little or no difficulty, in a house that was unusually full of military officers and placemen.* It was carried up to the Lords on the 22nd of December, while the supplies were yet depending, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the court party, it was there committed by a majority of nine. In the committee it was still triumphant; and even on the report forty-two peers voted for it and only forty against it; but the scale was turned by the proxies, of which the court had seven and the opposition only three; so that the bill, for the present, was rejected by a majority of two. The ministers considered this an escape rather than a victory; and their opponents, including the Princess Anne's husband, Marlborough (who was absolutely pining for place), the Duke of Cumberland, and the Earls of Warrington, Thanet, Weymouth, Danby, Rivers, Sandwich, Mulgrave, and others, entered a strong protest; and Mulgrave, as a parting blow, printed his able and eloquent speech, "which was everywhere received as if it had been a new revelation."†

Before the ministry had recovered from the panic occasioned by the Place Bill, Marlborough's friend, the Earl of Shrewsbury, brought in the celebrated Bill for Triennial Parliaments, which provided for annual sessions and a fresh election every three years. After the example exhibited in Charles II.'s time of a seventeen years' House of Commons, it seemed necessary to fix the duration of the representative body, and three years were judged a proper medium term, appearing sufficient to establish a control of the electors over their representatives, without having recourse to the scheme of annual parliaments, which men who aimed at a still more popular form of government were then, as at later periods, most anxious to recommend. But the more immediate object of the movers of the bill was to procure the dissolution of the present parliament, which had already sat three years, wanting a few weeks. The opponents of the bill represented that, during so critical a war, it was not advisable to venture on a new general election, since we had so many among us who were so ill affected to the present government. But, in spite of these representations, and all the efforts of the court party, the Triennial Bill passed the Lords. When sent down to the Commons, it encountered considerable opposition. It was represented that such a bill did not come properly from the Upper House, who were not to be affected by it; for, though the Commons might be altered by it, the Lords, by their hereditary right, would remain the same. The motion for a second reading was however carried, and the bill was then committed. Several alterations were suggested in committee. The term of dissolution for the sitting

* We have said that Admiral Russell was not altogether a selfish man. But this must be taken comparatively. There are papers that tell strongly against his disinterestedness. In a letter addressed to the king, and dated the 10th of May, 1691, Russell complained of ill usage, and reproached his sovereign for not having added to his appointments, which at that moment he confesses were not under 3000*l.* a-year. He also complains grievously of his sisters being left without one pension, and of his brother, a lieutenant-colonel of horse, being "forced to quit the service, and *seek a subsistence by marrying an old widow*." "These things," adds Russell, "have given me great mortification, that you are pleased to show the world my family is less deserving of your favours than others."—*Dalrymple, Appendix.*

* Burnet says that, "whereas King Charles's Long Parliament was called the Pension Parliament, so they called this the Officers' Parliament; because many that had commands in the army were of it: and the word they gave out among the people was, that we were to be governed by a standing army and a standing parliament."

† Ralph. The Lords that protested argued that "the House of Commons would not have begun and passed a bill of this nature, wherein the members of that House are so particularly concerned, without having been fully satisfied in the reasons for it, and plainly convinced of that great need the people of England are in, at this time, of so just and wise a provision."

parliament was extended from the 1st of January to the 24th of March, which secured another session. The question being put for the third reading, it was carried by 200 against 161, after which the bill was passed and sent back to the Lords; and they having concurred in the amendments, nothing was wanting save the royal assent to make it law. But this assent William refused; thus venturing on an exercise of prerogative, which no ordinary circumstances could reconcile either with prudence or with a constitutional administration of the government.* The circumstances of the times, however, were not ordinary, but most extraordinary, and in them must be found a justification, or at least an excuse, for his conduct in this and in several other particulars.

A.D. 1693.—After passing various bills—some good, some indifferent, and some decidedly bad—and after receiving very liberal supplies, which could only be provided for by still-augmenting taxation—William prorogued parliament on the 14th of March, alleging that the state of affairs on the Continent required his presence abroad. By this time it was evident to William that he could not govern with a Tory majority in the cabinet, and that the game which he had proposed, from the first, of balancing the two parties, would be both difficult and uncertain. He therefore withdrew his countenance from the obnoxious Earl of Nottingham, who had figured, in a manner, as prime minister; appointed that ultra-Whig, Trenchard, who had been engaged in Monmouth's rebellion, secretary in lieu of Sidney; and, still further to conciliate the Whigs, he on the same day made Sir John Somers, then attorney-general, and one of the purest names the party can boast, lord-keeper of the great seal—an appointment which was both popular and judicious. The Admiralty, the commissioners of which had discontented, if they had not betrayed, the nation, was remodelled, and Sir Cloudesley Shovell, an excellent officer and an honest man (at least for the time), was placed at the head of the board.†

Early in April William was again with the allied army, which was again concentrated near Louvain. Louis XIV. was with the French army; but as soon as William had disconcerted his manœuvres to fall upon Liege or Brussels, he returned to Paris, and left the care of the war to Luxembourg and Boufflers. Luxembourg brought up his forces to Meldert, within half a league of William's position; but neither would venture an attack, and the two armies lay looking at each other. After a skirmish, in which the allies had the advantage, the French made a sudden move towards Liege; but they were again disappointed, for William had thrown ten battalions of fresh troops into that place. Giving up the idea of an assault or a siege, Luxembourg, after some able manœuvres, put William in such a position that he must either fight, with an inferior force, or abandon the towns of Brabant to the French. Although he was expecting every day to be joined by some of his dilatory allies, William resolved to risk the battle, notwithstanding the great superiority of the French in point of number; and on the 29th of July he fought and lost the famous battle of Landen. But he lost ground without losing honour: he displayed the greatest activity and bravery during the battle; and he conducted the retreat with a skill which forced an involuntary homage of admiration from his enemies. The loss was nearly equal, being estimated at about 9000 on either side in killed and wounded. Among the slain on the side of the allies was Count Solms, who had misbehaved at Steinkirk; and, on the side of the French, the gallant Sarsfield, who had fought so bravely for King James in Ireland. In a few days, when William was joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg, whom he had been expecting, and by the troops which he had detached to Liege, he again offered battle: but now he had the superiority in number, and Luxembourg had the ability, not only to avoid being forced into action, but to take Charleroi almost under the eyes of the allied army; and thus ended this year's campaign in the Low Countries. At Paris, *Te Deums* were sung, and nothing was spoken of but victories; but it was evident to thinking men that the tide of fortune was changing—that William was not disconcerted or discouraged—and that Louis, after bloody battles and a most ruinous expenditure, was not able to *entamer* the United Provinces.*

In another direction the French gained some advantages, but at the same time covered themselves with infamy. The Marshal Delorges crossed the Rhine, and invested Heidelberg, the unfortunate capital of the luckless Palatinate, which was taken by storm and delivered up to a savage fury, to lust, and rapine. Nothing was respected: the churches were pillaged, blood was shed at the foot of the altar, the sanctuary of the tomb was invaded, and the bones of the old electors palatine, of their wives and families, were torn from the sepulchre and scattered all about. As the French did not hope to be able to retain possession, they set fire to the town in fifty places at once, and with barbarous wantonness they destroyed or defaced innumerable works of German art, industry, and genius. Louis, prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperial forces, said that he was come from a war against the Turks, to find that Frenchmen, calling themselves Christians, could be greater barbarians than the infidels. But Louis, the most Christian king, did not fail to order the Archbishop of Paris to sing the *Te Deum* for the

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

† Killigrew and Delaval were joined with Shovell in the command of the fleet; and both were suspected upon very good grounds. "The two first," says Burnet, "were thought so inclinable to King James's interests, that it made some insinuate that the king was in the hands of those who intended to betray him to his enemies: for, though no exception lay against Shovell, yet it was said he was only put with the other two to give some reputation to the commission, and that he was one against two; so that he could neither hinder nor do anything."

* Life of William, by De Foe,—Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.—Ralph.—Coke.

capture of Heidelberg, nor did that prelate hesitate to obey the order.* Louis boasted that this conquest would give a freer entrance to his troops into the heart of the empire; but Delorges could not force the passage of the Necker, and, after sustaining several repulses, he was obliged to retreat into France. Beyond the Alps the allies, consisting of Savoyards, Piedmontese, Spaniards, and a few English under Schomberg, and commanded by the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, the Count de Caprara, the Count de Las Torres, and the Marquis de Leganez, were defeated on the 4th of October, at Marsaglia, in the plains of Piedmont, by the French, under Catinat. But that marshal was so weakened in that hard-fought battle as to be unable to do anything else, and the French found themselves effectually shut out from Turin and from other places which they had expected to take by *coups de main*.†

King James, or the writer of his Memoirs, treating that affair slightingly, says, that, after the battle of La Hogue, his most Christian majesty, "to show that he was neither dejected nor disabled by that loss, notwithstanding the expense of the war, gave orders for rebuilding as many ships as had been burnt, which, in a year's time, was done accordingly of the same bulk and burden, to the great admiration of the riches, power, and economy of his state." This statement is not far from the truth; but, if William had been served as he ought to have been, the case would have been different; at least there is reason to believe that if Russell, Delaval, and the rest, had done their duty, most of the old French ships would have been destroyed, and the new ones either burned on the stocks or prevented from getting to sea. Good plans were formed by William for this end, but they were all either betrayed to the enemy or frustrated in execution by rogues and cowards. A short time before the battle of La Hogue and the French preparations to invade England, William had intended to make an attack upon Brest, the chief port which Louis had on the ocean, and, if he did no more, to destroy all the shipping there. The project was entirely his own: he communicated it to none save some of his ministers; but *they* betrayed the secret to the French court.‡ After the battle of La Hogue, the project of an attack upon Brest and a descent on the French coast was revived, and William proposed that it should be made on a much grander scale than had been previously contemplated; and that the fleet should carry a land army of 10,000 men, horse and foot. It was calculated that, with this force, all the arsenals and dockyards of France might be destroyed; and the popular mind was excited beyond measure. The troops were embarked in transports, and were left, *unprotected*, to seek Admiral Russell, who was at sea; they, however, fell in with the fleet off St. Malo's: but then, instead of proceeding to action, they lost time in debates and councils of war, which are almost ever the signals and the causes of failure. As it had happened before, and as it has repeatedly happened since, more particularly in our expeditions to the French coast, the sea officers and the land officers disagreed, and Russell pretended everything to be difficult and dangerous; and after the troops had been on board for some four or five days, he brought them back without doing anything. During the autumn and winter the English fleet lay inactive, not even giving convoy to the merchant-vessels, some of which had been detained in port with their cargoes on board for many months. But the French, in the meanwhile, had made immense exertions; new ships of war were launched, old ones repaired, and, by the month of May, they had effected what was always a difficult and critical point—the junction of their fleet from Toulon, in the Mediterranean, with that of Brest, on the ocean. In the beginning of the present year (1693) the English government promised a convoy to the fleet of merchantmen destined for the Mediterranean and the Levant, and which was then called the "Smyrna fleet." But when the appointed moment came, ministers represented, that, on account of the immense value of the property embarked, those trading vessels must wait for a stronger convoy than that which had been prepared; and in the month of February new excuses were made, and they did not sail until the French had got into the best possible position for capturing or destroying them. Burnet says, decidedly, that the Jacobite spies were busy on this occasion.* The convoy, consisting of twenty-three men-of-war, was put under the command of Rooke, who sailed at the end of May with nearly 400 merchantmen.† On the 17th of June he discovered the united French fleet in Lagos Bay, on the coast of Portugal. Rooke

* The Palatinate had been cruelly devastated and Heidelberg bombarded by Turenne, at the express order of Louis XIV., in the year 1689, when another *Te Deum* had been sung at Paris, and a medal struck with the blasphemous inscription, *Rex dixit et factum est*. By the two bombardments Heidelberg Castle, one of the most interesting edifices in Europe, studded all over inside and out with sculpture and the choicest carving, was defaced and more than half ruined.

† Schomberg received a mortal wound in the battle, and died for William, as his father had done at the battle of the Boyne.

‡ Dalrymple, Memoirs, with documents in Appendix. Lord Rochester, second son of Chancellor Clarendon, and one of Queen Mary's maternal uncles, was among those who corresponded with King James. "When I was last at Paris, I saw in the Scotch college there, a letter from Lord Rochester to King James, written on silk, which, from the form of the piece, had been *the inside of a woman's stomacher*; and I was told there were others of his letters in the house."—*Dalrymple.*

* One of the standing instructions of King James to the non-jurors and such ministers of the established church as adhered to him and plotted or intrigued for him, was—"That exact accounts be sent of the fleet, how the preparations go on, &c. . . . . That his majesty know who commands, what ships are out, and their stations."—*Macpherson, State Papers.* Dalrymple remarks:—"As the clergy were spread everywhere over the country, it was impossible for him to employ better intelligencers."

† The Admirals Shovell, Killigrew, and Delaval, with sixty ships of the line, accompanied Rooke some fifty leagues south of Ushant, and on the 6th of June returned northward, believing, or pretending to believe, that Rooke and his convoy were safe, and that the French fleet were at Brest, intending to make a descent on the English coast. "It was more difficult," says Dalrymple, "for the English to get intelligence from France, because they could get it only in the common way of paying spies, than for the French to get intelligence from England, where the greatest and meanest equally, from the idea of serving the late king, pressed forward to give intelligence for nothing." Information about De Tourville's sailing had, however, been received in England by means of a letter which could be trusted, and which inclosed a list of the French ships. This communication was shown publicly at the council-board; but, through negligence or treachery, the warning was thrown away.

tacked about, "while the merchants fled, as their fears drove them; a great many of them sticking still close to him." In a running fight one English man-of-war and one Dutch were burnt, two Dutch were taken; and of the merchantmen about forty of the richest were captured, and a like number destroyed—the residue getting into Faro, St. Lucca, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The enemy did not pursue Rooke very far, but let him get into Madeira, whence he arrived in Ireland without further accident. De Tourville, who commanded the French fleet, was foiled in an attempt upon Cadiz Bay, but he insulted the whole of the Spanish coast, from Cape St. Vincent to Cape de Gat, braved some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places, and then returned in triumph to Toulon. By this most evident mismanagement and treachery, the whole English nation was thrown into a state of gloom and dejection, and the commercial interest received a terrible blow.*

In the course of these events the unusual tranquillity of Scotland was disturbed by plots and conspiracies for restoring a dynasty which had been a curse to the country. There are instances of a romantic and chivalrous loyalty, but, generally speaking, the Jacobites of Scotland were as selfish as were the heads of that party in England. We have mentioned the apparently quiet settlement in 1689. A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the spring of 1690, and King William's ignorance of Scottish affairs, and idle advice given to him purposely or for factious ends, contributed to make the session an unpleasant one. But the greatest apple of discord grew out of the king's promoting Lord Melville, at the expense of his competitor, Sir James Montgomery, a hot-headed, daring man. In the Scottish remonstrance of grievances, drawn up at the Revolution, the first article was directed against the Lords of Articles, a body which had used to be nominated by the crown, and which had notoriously made the estates or parliament a mere mockery as far as the rights of the people were concerned. The said article stated that—"The estates of Scotland do represent that the committee of parliament called The Articles is a great grievance to the nation, and there ought to be no committee of parliament, but such as are freely chosen by the estates to prepare motions and overtures that are first made in the House." William had authorised the Duke of Hamilton, his lord high commissioner for Scotland, to reform and regulate The Lords of the Articles; but he had been told that to consent to their abolition would be fatal to his prerogative, and he refused to do more than modify. When, however, he was informed of the great heats excited by this refusal, he instructed Hamilton to concede to the three estates of parliament, nobles, knights, and burgesses, conjointly the choice of a committee of eleven, each to be chosen monthly, or oftener if they thought fit; and to enable the parliament to take the initiative in bills and to take any matters into consideration which had been rejected by this new committee of articles. But the Scottish patriots, with spirit and with wisdom, refused to accept of a mere modification, and called aloud for the utter destruction of so unconstitutional a body, demanding the assimilation of their parliament to that of England, which had never known the weight of that foul incubus. But the reluctance of William continued, and this now threw the parliament into a very bad humour. Like angry men, the patriots proceeded to violent and unwise measures. A bill was brought in of a retro-active kind, by which the spirit of revenge and retaliation would have been administered to in excess. It proposed to incapacitate for any public trust or employment whatsoever all those persons who "in the former evil government had been grievous to the nation, together with all those who had shown disaffection to the late happy change." The Lord High Commissioner Hamilton very properly refused the royal assent to this bill. The Scottish parliament then set up a right to appoint the judges of the kingdom, and ordered a bill for that purpose. By the positive orders of William, this bill was rejected also. Another bill was introduced for repealing the Act of Supremacy, which was first passed in 1669, and which gave the crown a most absolute authority over the church and the religious worship of the people. Here again William refused the royal assent, not because he wished to maintain the law as it stood, but because the repeal plainly contemplated the renewal of the old Presbyterian absolutism and intolerance. But early in this session he consented to the abolition of episcopacy, which the mass of the Scottish people regarded as the greatest boon conferred by the Revolution. But the parliament, not satisfied with being rid of the bishops, still insisted on appointing the judges; and they passed a resolution, that it was illegal for the judges named by the sovereign to continue on their seats. On the other hand, the judges in commission were commanded to act by the authority of the privy council, and in the midst of a great ferment Hamilton adjourned the parliament. A violent remonstrance was published by the leaders, and then many men of opposite principles, Whigs and Tories, Episcopalians and Presbyterians united in dark cabals and intrigues for the restoration of James, who was represented on all hands as being so abject and weak as to be ready to consent to anything. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of the discontented Whigs, and he connected himself with the discontented heads of the Whig party in England, corresponding at the same time with the courts of Versailles and St. Germain. But by this time there were scarcely any public men in Scotland upon whom William could rely: even Hamilton, his com-

* Burnet.—Ralph.—Coke.—Life of James.—The only attempt made this year to retrieve the honour of our flag was made by Commodore Benbow—the rough and brave old Benbow, whose name is still venerated by British sailors. He appeared off St. Malo's with an insignificant squadron, destroyed some privateers, and bombarded the town for three days.

Glenco.

missioner, was disaffected, because he thought his merits had not been sufficiently rewarded; and Lord Melville,* who was put in his place, was weak and credulous. The Dukes of Atholl and Queensberry, the Lords Annandale, Breadalbane, Balcarras, and Middleton, were thorough-going Jacobites, and the last-named of these noblemen, the Earl of Middleton, went over to France this year. "And," says Burnet, "it was believed he was sent by a great body among us, with a proposition, which, had he had the assurance to have made, and they the wisdom to have accepted, might have much increased our factions and jealousies. It was, that King James should offer to resign his title in favour of his son, and likewise to send him to be bred in England, under the direction of parliament, till he should be of age; but I could never hear that he ventured on this advice."*

The person who was truest to his trust and to the principles of the Revolution, which he had helped to make, was Sir John Dalrymple, now, by the elevation of his father, Master of Stair. Dalrymple, who was secretary of state for Scotland, and commonly designated as "Secretary Stair," or "the Secretary," was at least as able as he was true: he was, in fact, the coolest and most sagacious politician in the kingdom; but an unfortunate event had covered him with odium. This was the incident commonly known in history by the name of the "Massacre of Glenco." Although they had ceased any very active operations since the death of Dundee at Killikrankie, the Highlanders had not laid down their arms. The Lord Breadalbane, who had proposed a scheme of the same sort before, sent a plan for settling the Highlands to Secretary Stair, who was attending King William in Flanders. Breadalbane proposed that a general pardon, and 12,000*l.*, should be given to the Highlanders, and that pensions should be offered to their chiefs, upon condition of their holding 4000 of their clansmen in readiness to resist any invasion from France.* This plan was readily

* Burnet adds: "In another he succeeded better. When King James thought the invasion from Normandy, the former year, was so well laid, that he seemed not to apprehend it could miscarry, he had prepared a declaration, of which some copies came over. He promised nothing in it, and pardoned nobody by it; but he spoke in the style of a conqueror, who thought he was master, and therefore would limit himself by no promises, but such as were conceived in general words, which might be afterwards expounded at pleasure. This was much blamed, even by his own party, who thought that they themselves were not enough secured by so loose a declaration: so the Earl of Middleton, upon his going over, procured one of another strain, which, as far as words could go, gave all content; for he promised everything, and pardoned all persons. His party got this into their hands. I saw a copy of it, and they waited for a fit occasion to *publish it to the nation.*"

* On the 25th of June, 1691, Secretary Stair wrote to Breadalbane from the camp in Flanders:—"Do not trouble yourself with any discouragements you may see designed against you. By the king's letter to the council you will see he hath stopt all hostilities against the Highlanders, till he may hear from you, and that your time be elapsed without coming to some issue, which I do not apprehend; for there will come nothing to them. . . . . But if they will be mad, before Lammas they will repent it; for the army will be allowed to go into the Highlands, which some thirst so much for, and the forgates will attack them: but I have so much confidence of your conduct and capacity, to let them see the ground they stand on, that I think these suppositions are vain. I have sent you your instructions."—*Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs.*

adopted by William, and Breadalbane brought the treaty almost to a conclusion. A proclamation was issued in the autumn of 1691, declaring that all the rebels or insurgents who took the oaths to the new government before the 1st of January, 1692, should be pardoned by his majesty. But the Duke of Hamilton, either from envy or from some other motive, thwarted Breadalbane and Dalrymple, sending schemes of his own into the Highlands; and the chiefs* played a double game, writing to King James for his permission to make the treaty, which they promised to break as soon as it should suit his interests, and to King William to awaken jealousies and misgivings as to the fidelity of his ministers in Scotland, not excepting Lord Breadalbane, who was managing the treaty for him,† nor Secretary Stair, who seems never to have departed a line's breadth from his hatred to the House of Stuart. Breadalbane then proposed a new scheme, and it appears to be proved beyond question that both Dalrymple and King William assented to it. This was to treat the Highlanders who still held out in their glens and mountains like wild beasts, and to practise upon them that sort of execution which was quaintly called in Scotland "letters of fire and sword"—an inhuman weapon, but sanctioned by the old laws of that country against attainted rebels. The order was sent down to the privy council at Edinburgh, which appointed a committee to carry it into execution, and allotted money and other necessaries for the purpose. Breadalbane, Tarbet, and the Marquess of Argyll agreed to co-operate with the king's troops, flattering themselves, it is suspected, with the prospect of part of the rebel chiefs' estates. But those Jacobites yielded on the approach of the danger, and they all hurried in to take the oaths to King William, with the single exception of Macdonald of Glenco, an hereditary enemy of my Lord Breadalbane. Burnet says that "these Macdonalds of Glenco were believed guilty of much robbery, and many murders; and so had gained too much by their pilfering war to be easily brought to give it over;" and a more recent historian affirms that Secretary Dalrymple thought "that mercy would be thrown away upon them, because they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incursions into the low countries for plunder, and because he had himself obtained a pardon for them from King William, when, one of the clan having discovered his accomplices in a crime, the rest had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had stabbed him with a dirk, Glenco, the chieftain, giving the first blow."* But all this was Highland law and Highland usage; and if the misdoings of the Macdonalds had been tenfold greater, the government would still be inexcusable for the detestable transactions which followed. Upon the last day of December—the last day to which the proclamation of pardon extended—the old chief went to Fort William and offered to take the oaths. But the officer in command refused to administer them, alleging that he was not a civil magistrate. Macdonald then repaired to Inverary, but the journey was rough and the weather stormy, and he did not reach that town till two or three days after the prescribed 1st of January. The sheriff of the county, however, after some scruples, administered the oaths of allegiance to King William, and then the chief returned to his native valley of Glenco, which runs between lofty mountains. It was resolved to take advantage of the letter of the proclamation; and a warrant, as we believe upon a misrepresentation of circumstances, was procured from King William, signed both above and below with his own hand, for proceeding to execution, which meant the extermination of the little clan. Even before the expiration of the term allowed, Secretary Stair contemplated extreme measures. Writing from London to Lord Breadalbane, on the 2nd of December, he says—"I am convinced it is neither your fault, nor can any prejudice arise to their majesties' service by the change of measures, but only ruin to the Highlanders. . . . I do not fail to take notice of the

* *Burnet* mentions, as a fact, the extremely probable circumstance that the Highlanders believed that the noblemen intended to keep the best part of the money to themselves. "There is a tradition, that when Lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to Lord Breadalbane to account for the 12,000*l.* which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he answered,—My lord, the Highlands are quiet; the money is spent; and this is the best way of accounting between friends."—*Dalrymple.*

† In a letter, dated in September (1691), the Secretary, still in the Low Countries, tells Breadalbane that he has been accused of tampering with the Highlanders for King James. "Nobody," says Stair, "believes your lordship capable of doing a thing so base, or that you could believe there could be *any secrets in your treaties*, where there were so many ill eyes upon your proceedings; but the truth will always hold fast. The king is not soon shaken. . . . . I have heard there are endeavours using to make the Highlanders either own *these base terms as promised by your lordship*, or else to declare their peacefulness did not proceed on your account, or for your negotiation, but because of the endeavours of others. I am not ready to believe these projects will have *great* effect. Let not anything discourage you, but believe all these devices will tend to magnify your service when you finish your undertaking." In a letter written a few days after this, the Secretary tells his lordship,—"There wants no endeavours to render you suspicious to the king; but he asked what proof there was for the information? and bid me tell you to go on in your business; the best evidence of sincerity was the bringing that matter quickly to a conclusion. We now would fain fancy the time is too long, and that it will be abused in the interim by those who intend not to take the allegiance, but to come down to debauch the Low Countries, and insult the government." And again, in a letter dated the 3rd of December, the secretary excites still more strongly Breadalbane's desire of revenge, and even pledges himself that that passion shall be gratified. After speaking of some military preparations against the clans, he says, "I am not changed as to the expediency of doing things by the easiest means, and at leisure; but the madness of these people, and *their ungratefulness to you*, makes me plainly see there is no reckoning on them, but *delenda est Carthago*. . . . . Menzies, Glengarry, and all of them, have written letters, and taken pains to make it believed that all you did was for the interest of King James. Therefore, look on, and you shall be satisfied of your revenge." But Breadalbane, who was indisputably the most guilty party, is supposed to have had a double object—to gratify his own revenge for old feuds and recent attacks, and to render King William odious to the Highlanders, by one and the same blow. And other evil passions and other men's interests played into his hands. Argyll, for example, who engaged to co-operate with him, was quarrelling at the time with several of the clans about territory and feudal rights, and had with difficulty been brought into the scheme of a pacification by money and amicable means; while some of the clans had betrayed his father and sent him to the block.

* Dalrymple, Memoirs. It is also said that the men of Glenco had distinguished themselves in the two preceding reigns by their cruelties on the Covenanters and Cameronians, who were accustomed to justify their revenge by texts of scripture. In all *directions* we find strong passions at work, except in King William, who had none, and who was certainly not blood-thirsty on any other occasion. Still, however, it is probable that, without himself settling the mode to be pursued, he may have been led to believe that a sudden and rigorous measure might have a beneficial effect upon the rest of the Highland clans.

frankness of your offer. I think the clan Macdonald must be rooted out. . . . . But for this, Leven and Argyll's regiment, with two more, would have been gone to Flanders. Now all stops. . . . . God knows whether the 12,000*l.* sterling had been better employed to settle the Highlands or to ravage them; but since we will make them desperate, I think we should root them out before they can get that help they depend upon. Their doing, after they got King James's allowance (permission), is worse than their obstinacy; for these who lay down arms at his command will take them up by his warrant." Dalrymple instructed the military how to proceed and take them by surprise. He informed Colonel Levingstone, commander of the forces in Scotland, that such as had not taken the oaths by the time limited should be excluded from the benefit of indemnity and destroyed by fire and sword. But there was an article in mitigation to this effect:—"In order that the rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarters: but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy: the community, taking the oaths of allegiance, &c., to have quarter and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers." But a few days after, the Secretary, writing again to Levingstone, says—"Just now, my Lord Argyll tells me that Glenco hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. *It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlanders.* The winter is the only season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us." And, on the very same day (the 11th of January), Secretary Stair got the king's signature and counter-signature to a new order, in which, after directions about the treatment of the clans who had submitted, occur these fatal words:—"If the tribe of Glenco can well be separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of public justice *to extirpate that sect of thieves*" Nor did the Secretary stop here: on the 16th of January, in forwarding some new and merciful instructions, he says—"But for a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glenco be rooted out to purpose." On the 30th he writes to Colonel Hill, the commander of Fort William—"Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be *secret and sudden:* better not meddle with them than not to purpose." And again, in another dispatch to Levingstone (the Secretary's mind must have been inflamed by some Presbyterian fanaticism), he says—"I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." In the month of February, when old Macdonald believed himself safe on his oaths, two companies of soldiers, commanded by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, uncle to the wife of one of the old chief's sons, marched up the valley, and took quarters among the clan, not as enemies but as friends. The soldiers were Highlanders like themselves. They remained in the valley nearly a fortnight, and then rose in the night-time to butcher their unsuspecting hosts. Thirty-eight men of the clan were murdered in their sleep, and the rest would have shared the same fate, but for the alarm given by one of the chief's sons, who overheard one of the soldiers saying to another, that he liked not the work—that he had not courage to kill them so. "This massacre," says Burnet, "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels,* to cast a reproach on the king's government, as cruel and barbarous;—though, in all other instances, it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess. The king sent orders to inquire into the matter; but when the letters writ upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his service." Stair was soon re-employed; and the Highlanders, who could not or would not sift the evidence, continued to associate him and William as the real authors of the bloody deed.†

William returned from the Continent in the month of November, at a moment when plots and conspiracies, some new, some old, were on foot in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He soon made an almost entire change in the offices of government, going back to the Whigs, although he was not ignorant of their intrigues with the court of St. Germain. His principle of action seems to have been to make it worth their while to be faithful, and to remove those fears of a counter-revolution, which had been the source of the infidelity of many of them. He knew that kind of human nature, and was fully aware that if they found it more profitable and more safe to serve him than King James, he might count upon their services. But the misfortune was, he could never fully establish this conviction of security in the minds of some of them: there was a despicable dread of the power of the *Grand Monarque*, though it was now waning, and a consequent apprehension that, after all, the exiled king or his son would be

* We may judge of the Jacobites' accounts by that given in the Life of James:—"The king's friends soon after were forced to submit, who, upon laying down their arms and promising to live peaceably, were assured at least of indemnity and protection; yet, contrary to that, by an order, which Nero himself would have had a horror of, the Prince of Orange commanded one Colonel Hill and Lieut.-Col. Hamilton to put Glenco to death, and all the males of his line, not exceeding seventy: accordingly the old gentleman was inhumanly murdered in his bed, and most of the number most barbarously butchered in cold blood by the soldiers, who were peaceably quartered in those parts, at a time they least expected such a treatment, having all of them either taken the benefit of the immunity, or had protection in their pockets, which put them under the care and safeguard of their government. It was hard to imagine the Prince of Orange could apprehend danger from such a handful of people; but whether he thought this severity necessary to terrify others, or that he had some particular pique against that clan, was uncertain; but either of those reasons ('tis probable) was a sufficient motive, according to his morality, to do so inhuman a thing."

† It appears most certain that the most criminal party was Lord Breadalbane, who was well known to have had a long feud with Macdonald. Burnet says that he was anxious both to gratify his own revenge, and to render William odious to all the Highlanders; that he went up to London on purpose, and got the king to sign and countersign the barbarous order in a hurry.

restored. William changed many of the lords lieutenancies and magistracies in the counties, in favour of the Whigs, and put Whigs into most of the offices of government. Charles Montague (subsequently Viscount and Earl of Halifax), an ardent Whig, was soon afterwards made chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Russell was restored to his place, in lieu of the three unlucky commanders; and Lord Shrewsbury was re-appointed secretary of state, Nottingham being now dismissed from that office. Still further to win over the Whig party, he, a few months after, made some very unusual promotions in the peerage, creating one marquess and five dukes. The marquess was Normanby, the dukes were Leeds, Bedford, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury. The Duke of Shrewsbury immediately attempted to bring his friend Marlborough into employment with him; but the king, without assigning any specific reason, told the duke that Marlborough was not a man to be trusted. Godolphin, however, the bosom friend of the general, who had gone as far as he had done in his intrigues with the exiled family, was admitted into the ministry.* But one of the most remarkable circumstances of the time was William's admitting into a considerable degree of favour and confidence the Earl of Sunderland, the obnoxious minister of James II., who, at the Revolution, had fled to the Continent.† It is said that Marlborough, when in office, prevailed upon the king to pardon and recall the ex-minister to England; and now that Sunderland was frequently consulted by William, he made use of his influence —but for some time in vain—in favour of Marlborough. It would require many pages to describe the intrigues and backslidings of the present cabinet; but, for our purpose, it will be enough to say that nearly every member of it was in the habit of communicating with the agents of the exiled family, particularly with one Lloyd, who went and came between St. Germain and St. James's with curious facility. It is believed, however, if not proved, that some of them were secretly authorised by William to continue this intercourse, in order to bewilder his enemies and to sound the bottom of the Jacobite plots.

Upon the pledges of support tendered by the restored Whigs, William ventured to reject proposals for peace which were offered by Louis XIV. in the course of this winter. The truth was, that France was falling rapidly into a miserable condition: her finances were exhausted—her population ground to the earth by taxation and sudden imposts; and, in consequence of a succession of bad harvests, famine threatened to depopulate the land. Through the respectable mediation of the neutral court of Denmark, Louis offered to restore the conquests he had made during the present war, to renounce his pretensions to the Low Countries, to agree that the Duke of Bavaria should have the Spanish Netherlands in case of the death of the King of Spain, and that the commercial arrangements of Europe should be put on their old footing. But no recognition was offered of the title of William to the English throne; the claimant, James, with his family, was still kept at our doors and treated as King of England; doubts were entertained of the sincerity of the French monarch—doubts justified by experience of his past conduct; the weakness and despondency of France was known; and William, with the almost unanimous assent of his allies, rejected the overtures and resolved to continue the war, hoping to obtain still better conditions, and to humble the pride of that monarchy which had insulted nearly every nation in Europe. The conduct of William in this great matter has been made the subject of boundless censure; but, in spite of occasional grumblings at taxes, the English people shared largely in the spirit which dictated it, and the English parliament did not raise a single complaint at the time.

To this parliament, which met on the 7th of November, the king was unusually frank. He did not attempt to conceal the losses he had sustained by land and sea, but spoke them out fairly, inferring "the necessity of increasing the forces the next year, as essential to the honour and security of the kingdom." The Commons unanimously voted "that they would support their majesties and the government, and grant a sufficient supply for the vigorous prosecution of the war;" and, without much delay, it was carried that the land forces should be raised to 83,000, exclusive of officers, and that the navy should be 40,000. Both Houses, however, made inquiries into the causes of the late miscarriages by sea; and the Commons voted "that there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement." In the course of the inquiry, Lord Falkland, who had been for some time at the head of the Admiralty, was censured and dismissed; and, after a short interval, the dubious Admiral Russell was put at the head of that board, with a considerable extension of powers.

The articles of Limerick were far too generous, humane, and enlightened to be acted upon in that age: though approved of by the king, they had given mortal offence to Protestant intolerance and cupidity; and the men to whom William had entrusted the government of Ireland had, partly through choice and partly through necessity—being driven on by the Irish Protestants and English and Scottish settlers—departed widely from the spirit of those articles; and, in other matters to

* Godolphin, who had been brought up at court, and had been one of the chief councillors of Charles II., and one of the lords of the treasury in the reign of James, had been appointed to a seat at the treasury board when William first came over; "for," says Tindal, "as he understood the treasury business well, so his calm and cold way suited the king's temper."

† Under date of this year (1693), Burnet says: "But the person that had the king's confidence to the highest degree, was the Earl of Sunderland; who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." Yet, to use a familiar expression, William never trusted Sunderland farther than he could see him; nor did King James, who was actually in treaty with his fatal ex-minister, give him any more of his real confidence. The great recommendation of this extraordinary man was, that he convinced William that the Whigs, if taken into office, would carry on the continental war with vigour, whereas the Tories would inevitably force him into a dishonourable peace with France.

which that treaty did not extend, had rapaciously and tyrannically begun, or rather renewed, that pasha-like system of government which continued down to a very recent date. Lord Bellamont, a member of the privy council, proposed in the House of Commons an inquiry into the late mismanagement in Ireland, and exhibited articles of impeachment against Lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter, the lords justices there, who were charged with traitorously abusing their power and authority. At first the House seemed indignant at the offences charged and proved against them; but in the end a resolution passed, "That, considering the state of Ireland at the time, they did not think it fit to ground an impeachment upon them." And this guilty vote was followed by the dismissal of Lord Bellamont and the pardon of Coningsby and Porter.

A.D. 1694.—The year opened with fresh disasters and failures at sea, the sort of reverses which the English people bear with the least temper. Admiral Wheeler, who had gone to the Mediterranean to look after the returning Smyrna fleet, was surprised, in the month of February, when near the Straits, by one of the most terrible of tempests: he was sunk in the Sussex with all his men, and two other line-of-battle ships, three men-of-war of inferior rate, and many trading vessels went to the bottom. This was the work of the elements: what follows was the result of treachery. William had once more resolved to destroy the arsenals, docks, and shipping at Brest, by making a lodgment on the narrow neck of land which separates Brest roads from the roadstead of Cameret, and commands the bay and the harbour; but his intention was betrayed to King James, early in the spring, by Marlborough's bosom friend, the Lord Godolphin, now first lord of the treasury, and subsequently by Marlborough himself, in a letter dated the 2nd of May. "This," said Marlborough, "would be a great advantage to England; but no advantage can prevent, or ever shall prevent, me from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore you may make your own use of this intelligence." This letter was enclosed in another from Colonel Sackville to my Lord Melfort, James's precious secretary; and Sackville said, "I send by an express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the king my master, and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty."* It is argued by some that, though held of such importance, Marlborough's letter was of little use to James or the French, as the preparations making in our ports sufficiently betrayed the intention of some such attack:* but if this reason be correct, it will hardly excuse the conduct of the low-minded hero of Blenheim; and there is, besides, evidence of ministerial treachery in the slowness with which our preparations were made, and in the insufficiency of the force embarked.† It was the first week in June before everything was ready, and then, apparently by a private arrangement between William and Russell, the command of the fleet, which consisted of about thirty ships of the line, was transferred to Lord Berkeley, who was accompanied by General Tollemache with about 6000 land troops. These commanders appeared off Brest on the 7th of June; but the genius and activity of the great engineer, Vauban, had, in the course of a few weeks, put that place and its environs into a most formidable attitude of defence; and he had written to his master, Louis, that there was no ground for apprehension—that he had made all the passages under the castle bomb-proof—disposed 90 mortars and 300 cannon in proper places—drawn up all the ships out of the enemy's reach—and collected 300 bombardiers, 300 gentlemen volunteers, and 4000 regular troops, besides a regiment of dragoons just arrived. When the English fleet drew near, they found the shore lined with entrenchments and batteries, with cavalry drawn up in regular order behind them, and, when they advanced still nearer, three masked batteries, which till then had been effectually concealed, opened upon them with a tremendous fire. Tollemache, who was making ready to land, was confounded, but he exclaimed, "The die is cast—we cannot in honour retreat!" About 900 English soldiers were thrown upon the beach in Cameret Bay, flanked right and left with batteries and entrenchments; and the Marquess of Caermarthen, Danby's son, fighting bravely for the country which his father was betraying,‡ covered the landing of these men with a part of the fleet, his ships all the while being exposed to a heavy cross-fire. The men that were landed were assailed on all sides, but they formed, and, perceiving that the French were slackening their fire, they gave a loud huzza and rushed towards the batteries; but at that moment French dragoons were seen issuing through passages purposely left between the entrenchments. The unprotected English foot halted, wavered, and were soon thrown into complete disorder by the charge of the French horse. Meanwhile the tide had ebbed, and half of the English boats had been left dry on the beach. Unable to get off, the greater part of the troops that had landed were miserably slaughtered, or forced to beg for quarter; and General Tolle-

* Macpherson's State Papers.—Dalrymple. Sackville says in his letter: "I have just now received the enclosed for the king. It is from Lord Churchill; but no person but the queen and you must know from whom it comes. Therefore, for the love of God, let it be kept a secret even from Lord Middleton." It appears that, by this time, the Jacobites had lost all hope of the restored and promoted Admiral Russell. "You see," says Sackville, in the same letter, "that I am not deceived in the judgment I formed of Admiral Russell; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he never will act otherwise." Marlborough, in his letter, says, "Russell sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said that, in ten days, the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russell. But he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he know the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions."—*Macpherson, State Papers.*

* Coxe, Life of Marlborough.

† Macpherson publishes private instructions from King James, conveyed through the Countess of Shrewsbury, to Russell, the Duke of Leeds (Danby), the Lord Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Marlborough, and others, to create delays in the fitting out of the fleet.

‡ Yet Lord Caermarthen had been, or soon afterwards became, involved in the Jacobite plots and correspondences.

mache, after displaying more valour than conduct, received a mortal wound. With this loss, and with the additional loss of about 400 seamen and one ship, the English armament, with a drooping flag, retired from Brest. It is said that Tollemache, who survived a few days, complained in his dying moments that he had been betrayed by his own countrymen. And yet this general himself had been engaged deeply with the friends of King James; and, speaking generally, it is most difficult to discover who were faithful and who not, for the man who was loyal one week would be a traitor the next, and the traitor of to-day would probably be a patriot on the morrow.

Soon after the melancholy failure at Brest, the fleet under Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre de Grace, destroyed all the unprotected French shipping and fishing-boats, augmented the want and misery already felt by the poor French people, and threw the whole coast into an agony of consternation. This was called a proper retaliation for the barbarous excesses committed by the French the preceding year at Heidelberg and in other parts of the Palatinate. But in the course of the summer another part of the English navy performed more honourable service. Admiral Russell, now apparently steady and trusty, sailed into the Mediterranean with a noble fleet, consisting of about sixty-five ships of the line, English and Dutch, and not only cleared that sea of de Tourville and the French, but relieved Barcelona, blockaded Toulon, imposed respect upon the states of Venice and Tuscany, which were now, for the first time, brought to acknowledge William's title, reanimated the Duke of Savoy, who had been wavering and thinking of a separate peace with France, and made the English flag respected from one end of the inland sea to the other. And when Russell had performed these signal services, instead of coming home, he wintered with his fleet at Cadiz, in order to be at hand to prevent the annual junction of the Toulon and Brest fleets. From this moment the maritime trade of England, which had been declining ever since the Revolution, began to revive, and a new and unthought of spirit was infused into it in the course of a very few years.

The land campaign was far from being so brilliant. William, who had left London at the end of April, again concentrated the allied forces at Louvain, and found himself at the head of nearly a hundred thousand men, well trained and provided. Luxembourg, who was inferior in number, made use of his old art of avoiding battle. After sundry marches and counter-marches, when Luxembourg seemed moving upon Maestricht, which was known to be strong enough to defy him, William detached the Elector of Bavaria to invade French Flanders. The movement was ably planned; but the slow German was no match for the rapid Luxembourg, who wheeled about, and, by an astonishing forced march, covered the threatened territory. The confederates were then fain to satisfy themselves with the capture of the town and castle of Huy; and so the campaign in those parts ended, and the trbops separating, going to the annual indulgence of winter quarters about the middle of October. Upon the Rhine the French were much more severely chastised; for, when Marshal Delorges, the brutal destroyer of Heidelberg, crossed that river, he was again driven back with loss and shame by the Prince of Baden, who followed him across the French frontier, established himself for the summer in Alsace, and laid the whole of that province under contribution. On the side of Savoy and Piedmont little or nothing had been done for a reason already mentioned—that is, the indecision and tampering of the Duke of Savoy; but Lord Galway, a brave officer, had been sent thither to succeed Schomberg in the command of the British contingent. In Spain, where the French had reduced Castel Follet with other strong fortresses, and had promised themselves the entire possession of Catalonia, Marshal Noailles, utterly disconcerted by the appearance of Admiral Russell and the relief of Barcelona, retreated, and did nothing. The Turks, who had performed the part of valuable allies to the French, by invading the hereditary dominions of the emperor, had been very unsuccessful the whole of this year, and, at the end of the campaign, of all their fortresses on the north of the Danube, none remained to them except Temeswar.

It was the 9th of November before William landed at Margate, where he was met by Queen Mary, whose life had been one continued anxiety during his absence—a wearing state of mind which shortened her days. On their road to the capital, and on their entrance there they were received with acclamations. Three days after, William met his parliament. His speech was short, modest, and simple in the extreme. "I am glad," said he, "to meet you here when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleet in these seas; and our sending so great a force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success. With respect to the war by land, I think I may say that this year a stop has been put to the progress of the French arms." Loyal addresses were returned, and supplies to the amount of five millions were readily voted, but with the supply bills the triennial parliament bill kept pace. On the 22nd of November that bill was brought in by Mr. Harley, who was now rising into eminence as a parliamentary debater: it passed the House by a great majority, was sent up to the Lords, who concurred without any amendment; and on the 22nd of December it was presented to William, who now gave the royal assent. He probably felt the constitutional impropriety of longer resisting the two Houses and the popular desire, but his consent was attributed by many to the dangerous ill-

ness of the queen, whose death it was imagined might weaken his right, and lead to fresh and more dangerous conspiracies.* This act, by which a new parliament was to be called every third year, and the present parliament to be dissolved before the 25th of March, 1696, was received by the nation with very great joy. Six days after it became law Queen Mary breathed her last. Her constitution, which had never been a good one, was weakened by much mental suffering,† and in this state she was attacked by small-pox of the most malignant sort. As soon as she was aware of her danger she shut herself up in a closet for many hours, burning a great heap of papers, and sorting others to be preserved. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, who had succeeded Tillotson only a few days before, had much private discourse with her, and she was calm and resigned, seeming to desire death rather than life. "She had formerly," says Burnet, who was constantly about the court, and who waited upon her in her sickness, "written her mind, in many particulars, for the king: and she gave order to look carefully for a small escrutoire that she made use of, and to deliver it to the king, and, having dispatched that, she avoided the giving herself or him the tenderness which a final parting might have raised in them both. She was almost perpetually in prayer. The day before she died she received the sacrament, all the bishops, who were attending, being admitted to receive it with her. We were, God knows, a sorrowful company; for we were losing her who was our chief hope and glory on earth." After lying silent for some hours, or only uttering a few disjointed words, she expired on the 28th of December, about one o'clock in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age.‡ Whatever was Mary's character and conduct as a daughter and a sister—even in her dying moments she refused to be reconciled with Anne*—she was certainly the most devoted and exemplary of royal wives. She had, indeed, the good sense and the good fortune to submit to and revere the commanding intellect of her husband; and she tenderly loved his person, though she was childless by him, and though, in accordance with the universal practice of sovereigns, he kept a mistress in the court. And William responded to all this tenderness with a feeling which had been deemed alien to his cold manners. During her illness he called Burnet into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion. "He burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope, and that, from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature upon earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her which nobody knew besides himself. .... The king's affliction for her death was as great as it was just; it was greater than those who knew him best thought his temper capable of: he went beyond all bounds in it: during her sickness he was in an agony that amazed us all, fainting often,

* Burnet, whose partiality was for Mary rather than for William, says, "He came, on the second day of her illness, and passed the bill for frequent parliaments, which if he had not done that day, it is very probable he would never have passed it."

† The letters published by Dalrymple in his Appendix, from Queen Mary to the king, during his frequent absences and dangers in Ireland and on the Continent, sufficiently prove her consuming anxieties and her fond and passionate devotedness to her husband. They also show, in a most striking light, the treachery and difficulties with which she was surrounded when the administration of government during those long absences was left in her hands, and how entirely she depended upon the better judgment of her husband. In one of these letters, which were found carefully treasured in King William's cabinet at Kensington, she says, "I pray God send you back quickly, for I see all breaking out into flames." And she regrets that, busy as she is, and with prying eyes constantly fixed upon her, she has not time to weep, which would a little ease her heart. "But," she says, "do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else." *On one occasion she tells her husband* that Lord Lincoln has assured her "that the lord president and all in general who are in trust are rogues;" on another, she says that Lord Monmouth, formerly Lord Mordaunt, that eccentric nobleman, best known by his latest title of Lord Peterborough, the friend of Pope, in a conversation with her, had told her that whatever was said in her cabinet council one day was written to France the next. And nobody could speak with, more certainty to this fact than my Lord Monmouth, who was himself the writer of many of the lemon-juice letters to the courts of Versailles and St. Germain. When William was about to cross the *Shannon*, Mary writes—"This passage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night or day I have a million of fears. .... I pray God give me patience and submission; I want the first exceedingly, but I hope all is well, especially your dear self, who I love much better than life." Some of these letters are scarcely to be read without tears.

‡ "The queen was buried with the ordinary ceremony, and with one piece of magnificence that could never happen before; for both Houses of Parliament went in procession before the chariot that carried her body to Westminster Abbey; where places were prepared for both Houses, to sit in form while the archbishop preached the funeral sermon. This could never happen before, since the sovereign's death had always dissolved our parliaments."—*Burnet, Own Time.*

* This is the account most generally received, but it is said by some that Mary, from her death-bed, sent a forgiving message to Anne—a circumstance, however, which is not mentioned by Burnet. The Duchess of Marlborough, whose word is not to be taken implicitly, says, "that at the time the princess fancied herself enceinte, and was lying constantly upon a couch; yet that as soon as she heard the news of the queen's dangerous condition she sent a lady of her bed-chamber to present her humble duty to her, and to desire that her majesty would believe she was extremely concerned for her illness; adding that, if her majesty would allow her the happiness of waiting on her, she would, notwithstanding the condition she was in, run any hazard for that satisfaction." This message was delivered to Lady Derby, who, on the following day, wrote to the lady who had delivered Anne's message, returning thanks from the king and queen to the princess, "for sending and desiring to come," but stating that, as it was thought necessary to keep the queen as quiet as possible, it was hoped she would defer her visit. "This civil answer," continues the duchess, "and my Lady Derby's postscript, made me conclude, more than if the college of physicians had told it me, that the disease was mortal. And as I knew that several people, and even one of the princess's own family, were allowed to see the queen, I was also fully persuaded that the deferring the princess's coming was only to leave room for the continuing the quarrel in case the queen should chance to recover, or for reconciliation with the king (if that should be thought convenient), in case of the queen's death. During all the time of the queen's illness to her decease, the princess sent every day to inquire how she did; and once, I am sure, her majesty heard of it; because my Lord Fitzharding, who was charged with the message, and who had more desire than ordinary to see the queen, broke in, whether they would or would not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring how to express in how much concern the princess was; to which the queen returned no answer but a cold thanks. Nor, though she received the sacrament in her illness, did she ever send the least message to the princess, except that in my Lady Derby's letter, which perhaps her majesty knew nothing of. How this conduct to a sister could suit with the character of a devout queen, I am at a loss to know."—*An Account of the Conduct, &c.*

The half Jacobite Evelyn, who gave so unfavourable an account of Mary on her arrival at Whitehall, thus speaks of her at her death:—"I supped at the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry's, who related to me the pious behaviour of the queen in all her sickness, which was admirable. She never inquired of what opinion persons were who were objects of charity; that, on opening a cabinet, a paper was found, wherein she had desired that her body might not be opened, or any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observed. There were other excellent things under her own hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and everything in that exact method as seldom is found in any private person. In sum, she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth."

and breaking out into most violent lamentations: when she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her; for some weeks after he was so little master of himself, that he was not capable of minding business, or of seeing company."

Although the Jacobites had always held that there was no right anywhere except in King James and the infant Prince of Wales, and that neither the nation, the parliament, nor any power whatever, could bestow a right, or change, under any circumstances, the order of succession to the crown; they now pretended that Mary had had a right by her birth, and that William's share in that right was made void by her death: and many who were not decided Jacobites, but who hated the king, and longed for the chances of another change, took up the same opinion, representing that, by the act of settlement, the Princess Anne had a preferable claim to the throne. The Earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to both princesses, tried to raise a doubt as to the legality of the continuance of the present parliament, arguing that, since it was summoned in the joint names of William and Mary, so, upon her death, the writ that ran in her name must die with her. This would have been attended at that season with fatal consequences; but the act which put the administration entirely in the king, and only gave the queen a share in the sovereign titles and dignity, made this cavil appear to be ill-grounded, and nobody was ready in the Houses to second so dangerous a suggestion. Rochester, who drank as much as ever, and who was as much as ever a head of the high church party, studied all he could to embroil affairs; but his former colleague, Sunderland, took a different view of his own interests, and, having, by wonderful art and address, acquired an equal influence over the Princess Anne and King William, who had both hated him, and represented him as the most treacherous of men, effected a reconciliation by inducing the princess to write a letter of condolence and regard to the king. "It is my earnest desire," said Anne, "that your majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without inconveniency to you, and without danger of increasing your affliction."* The letter suggested by Sunderland, and no doubt dictated by him and the Marlboroughs, was delivered, and then the Lord Keeper Somers, acting from higher and purer motives, stepped in to complete the family reconciliation. Somers found the king sitting at the end of his closet in Kensington Palace, in an agony of grief, and so absorbed in it, or in mournful reflection, that he took no notice of the intrusion till the lord-keeper broke silence by proposing to put an end to those unhappy differences which he had so long deplored, and which might now produce, by factious means, the most lamentable consequences. The king replied instantly, "My lord, do what you will; I can think of no business!" By the agency of Somers an interview was arranged, in which William received the princess with cordiality, appropriated the palace of St. James's for her future residence, and gave her the whole or part of her deceased sister's jewels.* The Marlboroughs, in forwarding the reconciliation, had expected to be partakers of its good fruits; but the rational repugnance of William continued, and the general renewed his intercourse with the exiled family, and regularly attended in the House of Peers, where he voted with Rochester and the other zealous Tories, and put his name to their addresses and violent protests.

A.D. 1695.—Towards the end of the session, complaints made of some military men who did not pay their quarters at Royston, alleging that their own pay was in arrear, led to a searching inquiry into corrupt practices, which seem to have been universal through all the departments of government. It was proved, for example, that the Secretary of the Treasury had taken two hundred guineas for procuring or expediting the payment of arrears due to a regiment; and that Sir John Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, had accepted of one thousand guineas for passing through the House the Orphans' Bill. The Secretary of the Treasury was turned out of his place and sent to the Tower.† The punishment of Trevor was more dramatic: he was obliged, as Speaker, to put the question, "That Sir John Trevor, Speaker of this House, in receiving a gratuity of one thousand guineas from the city of London, after passing the Orphans' Bill, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor."‡ The question was carried: he was expelled by the unanimous voice of the House; and Mr. Paul Foley, who had got great credit by his integrity or by his constantly complaining of the administration, was chosen in his stead. Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee on the Orphans' Bill, was also convicted of corruption and turned out of the House. But the inquiry, once begun, could not be made to stop here. One discovery made way for another: it was found, from the books of the East India Company, that there were entries of

* Conduct, &c., of Duchess of Marlborough.

* Letter from Mrs. Burnet to the Duchess of Marlborough, as cited by Coxe in his Life of the duke. Neither Mrs. Burnet nor the duchess, however, mentions the jewels. Her grace says, "But this and some other favours, granted her at Lord Sunderland's request, were only to save appearances, and for political views." After Anne's conduct towards the king and queen, and with his knowledge that she still continued her correspondence with the court at St. Germain, it was scarcely possible that William should have any great affection for her.

† According to Burnet, many were the more sharpened against Guy, the Secretary of the Treasury, "because it was believed that he, as well as Trevor, the Speaker, was deeply concerned in corrupting the members of the House of Commons: he had held his place both in King Charles and King James's time, and the share he had in the secret distribution of money had made him a necessary man for those methods."

‡ See the account of this affair by Roger North, as quoted in the last Book, vol. iii. p. 847. The Orphans' Bill, for forwarding which Trevor had accepted the bribe from the city of London, was a bill to provide means for the payment of interest upon a debt, amounting to between seven and eight hundred thousand pounds, due by the city to the Orphans' Fund—or, in other words, to the estates of the children, being minors, of deceased freemen, which, by a custom of the city, were managed by the chamberlain. Many attempts had been made to effect this arrangement; but it is said to have been found impossible to carry the bill through the House of Commons till the support of the Speaker and of other influential members was purchased by the city.

great sums of money given by the Company for secret services done them in the House of Commons. In the year 1688 only 1284*l.* were entered to this account; in the two following years there appeared the sums of 2096*l.* and 3056*l.*; but in the last year, pending a life-and-death struggle between the old company and the promoters of a new one, the secret service money rose to the enormous amount of 167,000*l.* Sir Thomas Cook, a member of the House of Commons and governor of the Company, was called upon to explain how this money had been expended. Cook refused to answer, and was committed to the Tower. The Commons then brought in a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to force a full revelation. When this bill was carried up to the Lords it was vehemently opposed by the Duke of Leeds (Danby), then lord president of the council, who spoke like an incorruptible patriot, but who had himself touched no inconsiderable part of the money. His very heat made him the more suspected; and the bill ultimately passed the Lords, with a clause indemnifying Cook from the consequences of any offence committed by him in distributing the bribes; and thereupon Cook delivered in writing a statement of the various sums which he had paid to various members of the House of Commons and others. To Sir Basil Firebrace was set down the sum of 40,000*l.* Firebrace, being called to account by the House, fell into great confusion and loss of memory—said that he had done the Company service by solicitations, but knew not of any money or stock given to any person whatsoever for procuring a new charter—complained of illness, and begged that the examination might be postponed. Great efforts were made by the guilty and powerful parties to quash the evidence: Cook seemed disposed to evade some of the questions, but a threat of repealing his indemnity act made him more communicative; and Firebrace could no longer hang fire. When re-examined, this oblivious gentleman recollected that he had had a treaty with Mr. Bates, a great friend of my lord president, the Duke of Leeds—that he had given Mr. Bates two notes for 5500 guineas—that Bates had waited upon several great lords, particularly the lord president, who, after the notes were given, was found well disposed to the renewal of the charter—and, finally, that about a week ago, when the storm was brewing, Bates desired to return 5000 guineas (keeping the remaining 500 to himself), because the affair might make a noise.* Bates was then summoned, and, being terrified by the House, he deposed, with little hesitation, that Sir Basil Firebrace had applied to him for his interest; that he did accordingly wait upon the lord president, who promised to do what he could for the Company, agreeably to the opinion which he had expressed in public, that the charter ought to be renewed; that he told the lord president of the notes in question, and wanted to press them on him; that his grace refused them, but took counter-notes, making the payment dependent on the renewal of the charter; that when the charter was passed the money was lodged in the hands of M. Robart, a foreign domestic of the lord president, where it remained till he (Bates) had returned the bribe to Sir Basil, from fear of the noise that might be made about it. Not knowing how to avert the storm, my lord president, his Grace of Leeds, in his place in the House of Lords, avowed that he had received the money, but that he had returned it, as stated by Bates. He was still speaking, when he was warned that the Commons, in a fury, were proceeding to a vote of impeachment against him. He abruptly broke off, ran down to the Lower House, and desired to be heard in his own defence. The Commons granted the favour, and allowed him to be seated, with his hat on, within the bar. He relied on his eloquence; but his cause was so bad as to admit of no mending by rhetoric, and of no excuse or commiseration, except from men as mercenary as himself—but they were numerous in both Houses. Rising, with his hat off, he thanked the Commons for the favour they had granted him; but he soon left this modest tone, and boasted of all that he had done for the glorious Revolution of 1688. It was a bold word, he said, but a truth, that that House would not have been sitting at this time but for him: he had been formerly pursued for being in the French interest, but he hoped that all the actions of his life would justify him from such charges. It was true that Firebrace had been introduced to him, but he had not touched one penny of the money. He insinuated that there was a design against him, framed by his enemies who had got up the committee of the House; and he told them that, as to this business about the East India Company's charter, he knew more than they did, and could spin a thread finer still. He hoped that the House would proceed speedily to a fair trial, and prayed that he might not suffer upon a rack, or under a blast, till a parliament should sit again. The duke then withdrew; and the Commons, without losing time, resolved, that the committee should draw up articles of impeachment in due and regular form, and that Mr. Comptroller Wharton should immediately carry up the impeachment to the bar of the Lords. In a few days the articles were engrossed and presented to the Lords. But, in the mean time, M. Robart, the duke's domestic, had absconded, and the duke, knowing the evidence to be thus incomplete, pressed for a speedy trial, and moved, in the Peers, that, if the House of Commons should not reply to an answer which he had put in to the impeachment, proceedings might be discharged—complaining that the rights of all subjects were injured in his person, for that no man was safe if an imputation could be fixed upon his character

* Sir Basil Firebrace further stated that at first he had tried to do the Company's business for two or three thousand pounds; that Bates had replied that more than this had been offered by the opposite party; that at last he (Sir Basil) agreed to give 5000*l.*; and that, upon the representation of Bates that there would be nothing for his own reward, he added 500*l.* as a douceur to that go-between.

by hanging a lingering impeachment over his head, at a time when it was impossible for his enemies to prove his guilt, and equally impossible for him to disprove their charges, however conscious of innocence. The Commons, confounded by the evasion of Robart, the essential witness, knew not what to do; but they gave in that evasion as the sole cause of their delay, not scrupling, of course, to intimate that the Duke of Leeds could produce his servant if he thought fit. His grace, who had played many parts in his time, now assumed the language of an honest man smarting under unwarrantable injuries, and accused the Commons of precipitation and malice. He told their lordships that, from a letter which M. Robart had left behind him, addressed to his lordship's chaplain, and from a particular knowledge he had both of the man and the thing, he would not be seen here again in a hurry. "And so," continued his grace, "if this man be insisted upon as a material evidence, and my trial is to be delayed till he is forthcoming, when am I likely to be tried?" And he again urged that the impeachment should drop, if not immediately followed up by the Commons. Matters were in this state, when William, on the 3rd of May, prorogued the parliament. "It was intended," says Burnet, "to hang up the matter to another session, but an Act of Grace came in at the end of this, with an exception, indeed, as to corruption; yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed that too many of all sides were concerned in it; for, by a common consent, it was never revived." Enough had appeared to prove the Duke of Leeds guilty in the opinion of the whole world; yet William, for considerations of expediency, allowed him to remain at the head of the council, though, when he made his annual journey to the Continent, he did not appoint him one of the lords-justices of the kingdom, who constituted a sort of regency during his majesty's absence.

Six days after the prorogation of the English parliament the Scottish parliament assembled, it being impracticable to defer a session there any longer, as the funds voted by the Scots towards the maintenance of the army were exhausted, and the death of the queen called for caution and for some new arrangement.

The loud outcry raised on account of the massacre of Glenco still continued, and would have provoked a parliamentary inquiry had not William ordered a commission to be passed under the great seal for a pre-cognition, which is a practice in the law of Scotland of examining into crimes before the persons concerned are put upon their trial;—and this was regarded as an artifice to cover that dark transaction by a private inquiry, and was interpreted into a proof that William had authorised or even expressly ordered the massacre. When some members of the assembled parliament reproached the government for its slackness in examining into the affair, the Marquess of Tweedale, who was now William's commissioner, assured them that, by the king's order, it was then under examination, and that a report upon it would be made to them. In the course of the examination made in the privy council and by means of agents, some of the Highlanders deposed that the Earl of Breadalbane, the originator of the schemes of pacification, while treating with them for their submitting to King William, had assured them that he still adhered to the interests of King James, and that all that he wanted by the specification was only to preserve the clans for his service till a more favourable opportunity. Upon these revelations the double-dealing Breadalbane was committed to Edinburgh Castle; but he maintained that he had secret orders from King William to say anything that would procure him credit with the Highlanders; and William seemed to own the fact by ordering a new pardon to be passed for the earl.* It is unquestionable that, in his almost unprecedented difficulties, William repeatedly had recourse to these arts, the practice of which makes it not unfrequently doubtful who were real traitors to him, and who were only pretended traitors, to do him service and frustrate the plans and plots of the Jacobites. It was found necessary to deliver in the report of the examination of the massacre in full parliament. By this report it appeared that a black design had been on foot at one time to cut off a great many more clans in the same fashion—that there were many letters written with great earnestness to this effect by ministers and others—and that, though the king's orders implied nothing of the sort, nor contained anything that was blameable, the secretary of state's letters went much farther. In the end, the Scottish parliament justified the king's instructions, but voted that the execution in Glenco was "a barbarous massacre," and that it was "pushed on by the secretary of state's letters beyond the king's orders." It was also carried by a great majority that an address should be presented to the king, praying that the secretary of state, and others concerned in that matter, might be proceeded against according to law, in order that the vindication might be national, as the reproach had been; but principally that they, from whom it was most proper, might testify to the world how clear his majesty's justice had been in the whole matter. As the secretary of state (Dalrymple, Master of Stair) had been allowed to go unscathed, it was judged that no proceedings could be taken against him; and, as the principal was thus protected, the inferior instruments were not much troubled by any course of

* "But we are not to wonder at his escape; for it is said he was as subtle as a serpent, and as slippery as an eel; that he had no attachment of any kind but to his own interest; that he was not only Jacobite and Williamite by turns, but both at once; and that he played this double part with so much success in the Highland treaty, that he received the thanks of King James for having preserved his people, whom he could not succour, and was rewarded by King William for having reconciled to his government those desperadoes whom he found it so difficult to subdue." *MS. character of Breadalbane quoted by Ralph.*—But this character, *cæteris paribus*, may be applied with equal justice to many of the leading men both in England and Scotland. There were several suits for "spuilzie and restitution of damages" instituted against Breadalbane, but it does not appear that the Highlanders had much success in the courts.—*Lauder of Fountainhall, Decisions.*

law.* Hence, all who were enemies to William, proclaimed everywhere that he must have been willing that the massacre should be perpetrated; but his friends found an excuse in the vast obligations he owed to the family and interest of the Dalrymples, and in the great ability of those men, who were the most politic and best heads in Scotland, and most able to do him service there whenever the storm should be blown over. And, at the same time, no inconsiderable part of the Scottish Lowlanders who had been most exposed to the incursions and depredations of the wild Highlanders thought that no crime had been committed by extirpating "that sect of thieves;" and that the best security for their cattle, their goods, and their persons would be a repetition of the blood-letting at Glenco upon the other clans whose lawless practices excluded them from the benefits of civilized law.

It was during this session of the Scottish parliament that the scheme was presented of a Scottish company and colony on the Isthmus of Darien, which ended in a great amount of human suffering and in an increase of unpopularity to the king. The Scottish parliament in the year 1693 had passed an act for the encouragement of commerce, by which it was provided that letters patent should be granted to all such as should offer to set up new manufactures, establish new settlements, or drive any new trade; and, taking advantage of this act, some of the English interlopers in the East India trade, after being defeated by the Company, had entered into treaty with some merchants in Scotland, who now undertook to procure a special act for a new colony from their parliament. There was one Paterson, a man of no education, but of great notions, which, as was generally said, he had learned from the Buccaneers, who knew the New World and the islands of the Pacific better than any other class of men, and with whom it was believed he had associated for some time. Paterson made the Scotch merchants believe that he was in possession of a great secret —that he knew of a country where gold mines were rich and many, and where the Spaniards were not;—a country admirably situated for trade with other parts of the world. For some time he did not describe this happy land, but only desired that the West Indies might be named in any new act they proposed. Meanwhile an act was passed and received the royal assent, giving the undertakers most extensive privileges, with a limitation, however, that they should not interfere with the trade of England. Paterson then named his promised land. It was the Isthmus of Darien, which connects the two continents of America, and which the English buccaneers had made the scene of most extraordinary adventures during the reign of Charles II., when, among other exploits, Morgan had traversed it from ocean to ocean, and plundered and burnt the Spanish city of Panama. Paterson, who was perfectly right in his geography, considered that isthmus as a place where a good settlement might be made, or rather two settlements, for he proposed establishing a town and blockhouse on the side of the Atlantic, and another over against it in Panama Bay on the shores of the Pacific, from which conjointly a trade might be opened both with the West Indies and with the East, and means taken to keep the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of the isthmus in quiet if not in subjection. When the passing of this ill-considered act was known in London many more rich merchants entered into the scheme, and thus provoked more than ever the hostility of the East India Company. When all was ready, Paterson and his people, amounting in all to twelve hundred souls, set sail in fifty Scottish ships to famine and destruction, but with the confident hope of establishing a great colony and realizing enormous wealth. This, however, did not happen till four years after the passing the bill; but the Scots availed themselves of the large letter of the act in other directions, trenching, as it was said, both upon the Dutch and the English, and invading the commercial rights vested in older companies.

In Ireland the first session of a new parliament was held in the course of this year (1695), and the Protestant ascendancy was completely and tyrannically established under the administration of Lord Capel, now lord deputy, "who," says Burnet, "studied to render himself popular, and espoused the interests of the English against the Irish without any nice regard to justice or equity." But Capel was neither better nor worse than many who succeeded him, and who acted upon the one principle, that the only way to keep Ireland quiet was to coerce the natives, and degrade and persecute their religion. By a series of acts passed during this and the next reign by the English parliament, the great body of the Irish people were put into the chains of a new and complicated bondage. No Papist was allowed to keep a school or to teach any in private houses except the children of the family occupying that house; and, while this enactment prevented Papists from receiving education at home, another went to deprive them of that benefit abroad, for severe penalties were denounced against such as should go themselves or send others for education beyond sea in the Romish religion; and, on probable information given to a magistrate, such persons could be arrested and tried, not by a jury, but by justices at quarter-sessions, where the burden of disproving the charge was thrown upon the accused. As a matter of course, under the ascendancy system, magistrates, jury, justices, were all Protestants. Intermarriages between Protestants and Papists, pos-

* The secretary, Dalrymple, Master of Stair, was, however, effectually driven from office. He became Viscount Stair, by the death of his father, in November this same year; was advanced to the rank of Earl of Stair in 1703; and died suddenly, in January, 1707, during the discussions on the Union, in which he had taken a warm part. It is his father, the first Viscount Stair, who is the author of the celebrated 'Institutions of the Law of Scotland;' of the 'Philosophia Nova Experimentalis;' and of the 'Vindication of the Divine Perfections;' which last appeared immediately before his death.

sessing any estate in Ireland, were forbidden; and the Protestant husband, or the Protestant wife, might at any time take the children from the Catholic parent to be educated in the Protestant faith. No Papist could be guardian to any child; but the Court of Chancery might appoint some relation or other person to bring up the ward in the reformed faith. If the eldest son was, or became, a Protestant, he might convert his father's estate in fee simple into a tenancy for life, and thus secure his own inheritance. If the children were all Papists, the father's lands were not to descend to the eldest son, but to be divided equally among them, by gavel-kind law, — an admirable instrument for reducing an aristocracy or a body of great landholders to the condition of potato-farmers. Papists could not purchase land except for terms not exceeding thirty-one years. They were bound to conform, within six months after any title should accrue by descent, devise, or settlement, on pain of forfeiture to the next Protestant heir; a provision, says Mr. Hallam, which seems intended to exclude them from real property altogether. No Papist was permitted to keep arms, and search might be made at any time by two justices. The celebration of mass and other Catholic rites was not subjected to any new penalties; but all regular Popish priests, bishops, and others claiming spiritual jurisdiction, and all who should come to the kingdom of Ireland from foreign parts, were ordered to be banished, and were to be held guilty of high treason if they returned from their banishment. To prevent the evasion of these barbarous and maddening regulations, all priests were bound to be registered, and were forbidden to leave their own parishes, in which they were to be fixed like paupers by the old poor-laws; and informers, always ready and numerous enough upon the mere motives of religious intolerance and personal enmities, were further tempted into the field by large rewards, to be levied on the Papists, and to be given to those who should detect the violation of these statutes. Let the Irish Protestant party, who disgraced a great name by calling themselves Orangists, equivocate and colour the matter as they will, there is as much truth as generous warmth of feeling in the words with which an eminent living historian concludes his account of these detestable enactments:—"To have exterminated the Catholics by the sword, or expelled them, like the Moriscoes of Spain, would have been little more repugnant to justice and humanity, but incomparably more politic."*

On the 12th of May William embarked to put himself again at the head of the allied army. One great event which contributed to hasten the decline of the power of Louis XIV. was the death of the Marshal Duke of Luxembourg, one of the greatest generals of that age, who died at the be-

* Hallam, Const. Hist. All the acts above enumerated were passed between the 3rd of William and Mary and 3rd of Queen Anne (1692—1705).

NAMUR.
The Fortifications lie chiefly on the Hills behind the Town.

ginning of this year. The other great generals of France, and Seignelai, the son of Colbert, who had called the French navy into existence, and Louvois, the greatest of her statesmen, were all dead already; there were none that promised to supply their places; Barbessieux, the new minister, a creature of courts and saloons, promoted by court intrigues and the influence of mistresses, was wholly incapable of contending with the difficulties in which even his great predecessor had left the country; and if to this we add that the oppressed people in many parts of France were absolutely perishing with hunger, the reader will understand that the French army in Flanders, badly supplied with provisions and recruits, and commanded by a third-rate general, Boufflers, or Villeroy, was in no condition to repair the check it had received in the last campaign. William, who saw the difference in every move he made, and in every movement of his enemies, detached Ginckel, now Earl of Athlone, with a great force to invest the important city of Namur, which had been taken by the French in the year 1692. Old Ginckel did his best, but, from the nature of the ground and the vast extent of his lines, he could not prevent Boufflers from throwing himself into the place with a strong reinforcement. The garrison then amounted to 14,000 or 15,000 men, and, as Vauban had been employed upon the works, the French deemed Namur impregnable. But William, having put his army in a good position, left it under the command of the Prince of Vaudemont; and at the head of a division joined the Elector of Bavaria, and then, uniting with Ginckel, took the command of all the forces before Namur. Vaudemont committed a great blunder in moving from his position, with the view of preventing Villeroy from marching to the relief of Namur; but Villeroy had not ability enough to profit by the advantage, and Vaudemont retrieved his error by making an admirable retreat to the walls of Ghent. In the mean while the siege of Namur was prosecuted with vigour under the eye of William and the direction of the great engineer Coehorn. The king, though a valetudinarian, shared in the fatigues as well as in the dangers of the common soldiery. On the 27th of July, at the storming of the first countercsarp, Mr. Godfrey, deputy governor of the Bank of England, who had come over to speak with the king upon some financial business, but who ventured where he was not wanted, was killed with several other persons close by William's side.* For a time the English troops under Major-General Ramsay and Brigadier Hamilton were left alone in the midst of mines and booths on the glacis, and they were three several times repulsed, yet still returned to the charge, and at last made themselves masters of the counterscarp. During the stern contest William laid his hand on the elector's shoulder, and exclaimed, "See my brave English! see my brave English!" The Dutch, advancing along the Maese, came up in time to secure the advantage which the English had gained; and on the same day the Elector of Bavaria threw a bridge over the Sambre, while other corps of the allies drove the French from the suburb of Jamb, and effectually prevented any more sallies. On the 29th, when the town-moat was drained by undermining and blowing up the dam which kept it full, a council of war was held in the allied camp, and it was there resolved to make a simultaneous attack on every side, notwithstanding a doubt of its success expressed by the cautious Coehorn. And, as soon as it was dark, all the corps ordered on this desperate service advanced as near to the enemy's intrenchments as they could without being discovered, and there rested on their arms till peep of day. Then they put themselves in motion and began the attack at three several points at the same instant, and, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, made themselves masters of all the outworks on the castle side from the Sambre to the Maese. At the same moment a mine was sprung on the town side, and the breach kept clear by a well-directed fire. On the morrow, the 1st of August, the breach was enlarged, and, on the 2nd, two hundred English grenadiers, supported by a battalion of Dutch, forced the breach, stormed and carried the half-moon, the covered way, and the demi-bastion at St. Nicholas gate. By this time the besieged lay open on all sides to the fire of the besiegers, who pointed their own guns against them, and kept up an incessant play with cannons, mortars, small arms, and grenades. On the following morning, as the allies were preparing for a general assault on the town, M. de Guiscard, the governor of the town, hung out a white flag, and soon capitulated for the surrender of the town, but no more with the Elector of Bavaria, who at first refused to treat for anything less than the whole. De Guiscard, with the remnant of his forces and with his sick and wounded, retired into the castle, which still held out with six or seven thousand men in it, under Boufflers. The loss of the French had been terrific, but the confederates, as assailants, had suffered far more severely. On the 7th, towards evening, the batteries were opened against the castle. In the mean while Villeroy had passed the Lys and the Scheldt, and advanced to Ninove; and the Prince of Vaudemont had decamped from Ghent and taken post at Dighen, in order to watch the French, who still gave out that they were going to the relief of Namur. But it was discovered that Villeroy's real intention was to bombard the city of Brussels. To prevent this calamity Vaudemont proposed occupying the plain of Gigot and St. Pee, and asked for considerable reinforcements from the main body of the army. But William, on the first news of Villeroy's movement, had de-

* According to a note in Ralph, "tradition also adds that a short parley had just before passed between them, to the following effect:—

"*King.*—As you are no adventurer in the trade of war, Mr. Godfrey, I think you should not expose yourself to the hazards of it.

"*Mr. Godfrey.*—Not being more exposed than your majesty, should I be excusable if I showed more concern?

"*King.*—Yes; I am in my duty, and therefore have a more reasonable claim to preservation."

tached the Earl of Athlone and the Count of Nassau, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons of horse, to post themselves between Waterloo and Gemappe, in order to oppose the enemy's passage at Braine le Chateau; and he soon followed in person with twenty squadrons more: so that nothing remained for Vaudemont to do but to encamp his infantry on the heights near Brussels between Montzey and the counterscarp of Ixel, where the communication was opened between his forces and those of Athlone and Nassau, who now covered part of that ground which in our own days has been the scene of a far more memorable warfare. By these manœuvres the allies were also enabled to throw several battalions into Brussels and its outworks; but they could not prevent Villeroy from taking ground proper to the purpose of the revengeful commission with which he was charged by his sovereign, who had felt most acutely the insults offered to his own coasts by the English fleet, who were this year repeating their bombardments of the French sea-ports. The marshal took up his quarters at Auderleck, and dispatched a letter to the governor of Brussels, signifying "that the Prince of Orange having sent his fleet upon the coast of France to bombard and ruin the sea-ports, without any prospect of advantage to himself, the king his master thought he could no otherwise put a stop to such disorders than by making reprisals. That for this reason he had sent his commands to bombard Brussels; and at the same time to declare that it was with reluctance his majesty was constrained to make use of this expedient: as also, that as soon as he should be assured his sea-ports would be no more bombarded, he would bombard the towns of his enemies no more, with the exception of such places as should be regularly besieged. That his majesty's concern was so much the greater because the Electress of Bavaria was residing in Brussels; but that, if the governor would make known in what quarter her electoral highness resided, care should be taken that the French mortars should not be directed that way." By this time the Elector of Bavaria himself had come up to the threatened city, and he replied to Villeroy's letter, that the reason assigned for his orders to bombard Brussels solely regarded the king of England; that his electoral highness would acquaint him with it, and procure an answer in twenty-four hours; and that as to the consideration which his most Christian majesty had shown to the electress, he begged to say that her residence was at the royal palace. But Villeroy, whose real purpose was to create a misunderstanding between William and his allies, or to induce those whose towns were liable to similar visitations to oblige the king of England to spare the French ports, instantly began to arrange his batteries; and as soon as they were ready he opened his fire upon that fine old city with twenty-five mortar pieces and eighteen pieces of heavy artillery. This scene of destruction commenced between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 13th of August, and lasted without intermission till the afternoon of the 15th, during which time fifteen hundred houses, six churches, and many other public buildings were laid in ruins. There was a strong wind, which spread the flames on some buildings that took fire; and, but for the knocking down of many of the houses to cut off the communication, nearly the whole of the city must have been destroyed. King William had returned to the siege of the castle of Namur on the 12th; but the Prince of Vaudemont, from his fortified eminence, witnessed this vindictive act without daring to attempt to interrupt it, nor could Athlone and the troops at Waterloo do more than the prince. As soon as Villeroy had executed his commission, he decamped and made by forced marches for Enghien, where he remained till the 20th, and then, evacuating various towns which the French had taken in this or the preceding campaign, he advanced to Soignies, almost in sight of the grand army under William. But he was watched by the Prince of Vaudemont, who, having joined Athlone at Waterloo, advanced to Gemappe, and then to Mazey, a strong camp within two short leagues of the main army, where he was joined by the Hessians and Lunenburghers. On the night of the 12th, when William had returned to the siege of the castle of Namur, trenches were opened, approaches were made, and for three successive days a terrible fire was kept up. Boufflers, who had been told that no French marshal had ever surrendered, conceived a desperate design to break through the confederate camp with his cavalry, and so escape to Villeroy; but his movements were anticipated by William, who took precautions which rendered the plan utterly hopeless. On the 21st, one hundred and sixty-six cannon and sixty mortars assailed the castle, "and, as if the besiegers had designed to level the walls like those of Jericho, with one blast, the dreadful business of the day was opened with one general discharge from all these batteries at the same instant, with such an effect, that not only the whole circumference of the castle, but the very hill it stood on, seemed to reel with the shock, and to be lost in the cloud of smoke and dust that followed it. Scarce could the besiegers themselves sustain the horror of their own experiment; and, as to the besieged, their consternation and confusion were inexpressible: those that escaped could scarce believe they had escaped: every object round about them wore a face of ruin; for, bursting bombs, fractured battlements, dying men, and horses staking themselves on the palisadoes, or plunging headlong into the ditches, in a fit of ungovernable frenzy, were the only objects they were surrounded with."* At this desperate juncture, Villeroy having sent off his baggage to Mons, advanced with his army to Soignies, announcing his approach in the night by a discharge of ninety cannon, which was answered by the besieged with a great light thrown up from the battlements. When day

* Ralph.

dawned he was discovered near the allied army, with his right wing resting upon Fleurus, and his left upon Sombref. He had been reinforced from various quarters, and on the next day (the 27th) he was joined by troops from the Rhine and other forces under the Marquis d'Arcourt. William, who had received ten fresh battalions and twenty-two squadrons, left the Elector of Bavaria to look after the castle, and placed his troops in position, expecting a general engagement. On the morrow Villeroy removed to Gemblours, and on the 29th drew up his forces and advanced in order of battle; but he was deterred by the sight which a close approach afforded him, and, instead of fighting, stood gazing on the allied army till nightfall, when, with as little noise as possible, he edged off, and, coasting the river Mahigne, he extended his right to Perwys, and his left to Boneffe. The king of England was on horseback from four in the morning till eight at night, neither refusing nor seeking battle. The reduction of Namur was his great object, and Villeroy had now with him an equal if not a superior force. On the next day Villeroy drew off altogether, and left the castle of Namur to its fate. On the very same day, after another terrific cannonading and a vain offer of conditions by the Earl of Portland to prevent further effusion of blood, a general assault was made by English, Spaniards, Bavarians, Dutch, and Brandenburgers—the foremost being the English under the brave Lord Cutts. These English went too fast, or the Spaniards and Bavarians, who were to follow them on other points, went too slow: the consequence was a dreadful slaughter of the English, who, however, rallied, forced the palisadoes sword in hand, and made a lodgment on the covered way. Then the Bavarians, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the rest of the attacking parties made good their assault on the prodigious outworks of the castle, and kept their lodgment, which altogether was nearly an English mile in extent. But this advantage cost the besiegers two thousand lives, including several officers and a proportionate number of wounded, among whom were Lord Cutts, the Prince of Hesse Homburg, Count Horn, and many other persons of rank. The next day the French demanded a truce for the burial of their dead, and as the time for this truce was on the point of expiring the Count de Guiscard appeared on the breach, and, desiring a parley with the Elector of Bavaria, offered to surrender Fort Cohorne. But the elector would hear of no capitulation except for the whole: preparations were made for a fresh assault upon the main body of the castle; and then Marshal Boufflers accepted terms of capitulation, which were signed on the following morning. Then all the outworks and forts were put into the hands of the allies, who signified their success by a triple discharge of all their artillery, and a running fire of musketry, three times repeated along their lines. Villeroy was near enough to hear the ominous sounds; but he presently passed the Sambre near Charleroi, and retreated with some precipitation. On the 5th of September 5538 Frenchmen—all that remained of 14,000—evacuated the castle, and marched off with the honours of war towards the French lines at Mons.

After the reduction of Namur the allies retired to winter-quarters, and William repaired to Loo, where he was complimented by all the ministers of the confederate princes and potentates. In other directions the campaign had been inactive and inglorious to the French. On the Rhine the Marshal Delorges had been again foiled by the Prince of Baden; in Italy the Duke of Savoy had recovered possession of the important fortress of Casale; in Spain they had been obliged to evacuate all their conquests in Catalonia beyond Gironne. But the Turks, the allies of his most Christian majesty, had again dashed across the Danube, and inflicted some severe blows upon the imperialists in Hungary. The English navy had continued masters of the sea; and Lord Berkeley, in conjunction with the Dutch squadron, had bombarded Dunkirque, Calais, and St. Malo, had totally destroyed the town of Grandeval, and had inflicted fresh miseries upon the suffering, half-starving population of the French coasts.

William returned to England on the 20th of October, and was received with enthusiastic acclamations. On his passage through London to Kensington the city was in an uproar, and he was hailed as a conqueror. But he came not to enjoy pomps and pageantries, or even quiet, which was far more desirable after the incessant fatigues which he had undergone, with a constitution that was always rather sickly than robust. On the very night of his arrival he held a council to debate the great question of dissolving the present parliament, which, by the Triennial Act so recently passed, might sit till Lady-day. "The happy state the nation was in," says Burnet, "put all men, except the merchants, in a good temper: none could be sure we should be in so good a state next year; so that now, probably, elections would fall on men who were well affected to the government. A parliament that saw itself in its last session might affect to be froward; the members, by such a behaviour, hoping to recommend themselves at the next election. Besides, if the same parliament had been continued, probably the inquiries into corruption would have been carried on, which might divert them from more pressing affairs and kindle greater heats; all which might be more decently dropped by a new parliament, than suffered to lie asleep by the old one." According to another authority, the chief reason, or one of the chief reasons, which induced William to dissolve the sitting parliament was the prosecution of the Duke of Leeds, "which in the whole course of it had made his majesty very uneasy. . . . Now, as, on the one hand, his majesty could never have sacrificed a minister, to whom he not only owed his match with the late queen, but who had likewise been the chief wheel on

which the Revolution turned; so, on the other hand, there was no safer way to put a stop to an impeachment, which was still depending, than the calling a new parliament."* A proclamation was forthwith published dissolving the present parliament, and calling another, to be held at Westminster on the 22nd day of November.

During the preparations for the election, all parties had recourse to the pen and to the press, which, though not yet liberated by statute from its shackles, had been exceedingly free and active ever since the Revolution. According to an unseemly comparison made by a contemporary, "the press was as fruitful as the mud of Nilus was famed to be." The most remarkable of its products was a clever tract, written by Halifax, and entitled, "Some Cautions offered to the Consideration of Those who are to choose Members." It was written with all the power and wit and grace of that man, who, all things considered, was a better author than statesman, and more witty than frank or honest. These cautions to electors were in number twenty; but those which seemed most applicable to the circumstances of the times were the last six. The 14th was—"Not to choose practising lawyers, who had two duties to attend to which were often inconsistent and sometimes irreconcilable with each other; because they were used to argue on both sides the question indifferently for the same consideration, and had an eye to preferment as well as gain in all their doings." The 15th was directed against violent *party men* as being no longer free agents—as having liberty only for their motto, but being in reality greater slaves than anybody desired to make them, as having the public always in their mouths and self always at heart, &c. The 16th was as cutting as it was just: it warned the electors against the pretenders to exorbitant merit in the late Revolution, as men having no other merit to recommend them—as bringing in longer bills than ought to be allowed, and making larger claims than the nation could pay. The 17th hit the officers of the army, whom William had at first naturally and excusably introduced into the House of Commons: it described the military as being out of their element in the House—as being disqualified by their very habits and accoutrements (which were such as might authorise the peaceable part of the assembly to swear they went in fear of their lives) from appearing there; as being no longer their own men, and consequently unfit to protect the liberty of others; and as serving two masters, whose commands might be opposite and irreconcilable, if not ruinous to each other. The 18th and 19th put those who voted on their guard against pensioners and placemen; as being dependants on the crown, not free representatives of the people; as being more liable to vote according to their own interests than according to the interests of their country; as not having the aspect of freemen, if they had the virtue to be so; and as standing, according to equity, proscribed by the Self-denying Bill, which had passed the House of Commons, though it had not the good fortune to pass into a law. And the 20th caution was levelled against such as, for reasons best known to themselves, had thought fit to oppose the Triennial Bill. All these cautions were followed by a few striking words in which truth was more salient than the sarcasm:—"In the mean time, having told my opinion who ought not to be chosen, if I should be asked who ought to be, my answer must be, choose *Englishmen*. And when I have said that, to deal honestly, I will not undertake *that they are easy to be found*." This pamphlet was the last effort of the accomplished Halifax, who died before the meeting of the new parliament.

Burnet seems to attribute a journey which the king made at this moment to a desire of influencing the elections by courting that popularity of which he had hitherto been exceedingly careless. "The king," he says, "made a progress to the north, and stayed some days at the *Earl of Sunderland's*; which was the first public mark of the high favour he was in. The king studied to constrain himself to a little more openness and affability than was natural to him: but his cold and dry way had too deep a root, not to return too oft upon him." And we learn from other quarters that the English gentry were again offended at this dry, cold manner, and that he was offended by one university and gave offence to the other;* and it was represented, no doubt with some exaggeration, that the only place where he was affable and courteous was at Althorp, the seat of the exceedingly unpopular Sunderland.† Notwithstanding these circumstances, the friends of James gained no ground in the elections. "The Jacobites," says Burnet, "were so decried that few of them were elected; but many of the sourer sort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the king, were chosen: generally they were men of estates; but many were young, hot, and without experience."

On the day appointed—the 22nd of November—the new parliament assembled: the Commons again chose Foley for their speaker, and the king made a long speech from the throne. The demand for supplies was still very high; but William said that, as he had engaged in the present war by the advice of his first parliament, who thought it

* Boyer, Life of King William.

* "For the vice-chancellor and heads of Cambridge, having paid him a short compliment, at Newmarket, on his happy success abroad and his safe return, gave him no invitation to visit them; and when he crossed the country to visit Oxford, where a magnificent entertainment was provided for him, he refused either to eat or drink, because the Duke of Ormond had received an anonymous letter, which had been dropped in the streets the day before, intimating a purpose to poison him." This is the account of the differences of the universities as given by Ralph, who pursues William with hatred and spleen. Although Oxford had relapsed into many of her Jacobite errors, we believe that we may exonerate her and all her sons from the foul charge. If the poisoning letter were really delivered (we find no mention of it in other quarters), it was doubtless a hoax—though, perhaps, a malicious device of the Jacobites.

† Evelyn says, "He stayed seven or eight days at Lord Sunderland's, at Althorp, where he was mightily entertained." And on the 1st of the following December, he adds, "I dined at Lord Sunderland's, now the great favourite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice changed his religion." This minute diarist says not a syllable about the Oxford poisoning.

necessary for the defence of our religion and the preservation of the liberties of Europe; and as the last parliament, with great cheerfulness, had assisted him to carry on that war; so he could not doubt but that the present would be unanimously zealous in the prosecution of it, particularly since the advantages gained this year afforded a reasonable hope of future success. "Upon this occasion," said he, "I cannot but take notice of the courage and bravery of the English troops, which I may say have answered their highest character in any age; and it will not be denied that, without the concurrence of the valour and power of England, it were impossible to put a stop to the ambition and greatness of France." He further told the Commons that the funds which had been voted had proved very deficient; that the condition of the civil list made it impossible for him to subsist upon it; and (this clause was repeated year after year, and not without reason) that compassion obliged him to mention the miserable circumstances of the French Protestants, who were suffering for their religion. He alluded to the ill state of the coin, and to the propriety of devising some good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen and the advancement of trade—having a particular regard to that of the East Indies, lest it should be lost to the nation.

The decay of trade, though it was now reviving, and the encroachments made by William's countrymen, the Dutch, by the Scotch, and others, on the East India Company, were prominent topics in the numerous invectives against the government which had recently issued from the press. False lists and calculations were made of our losses at sea: the ships lost by our merchants alone were carried up to the grand cipher of 4000, and their cargoes were estimated at more money than the whole country was then worth. The double relation in which the king stood to this country and to Holland was always the source of infinite clamour and jealousy; and it is wonderful that national prejudices and clashing interests did not produce more serious mischief to his government. It was said, for example, by party writers that the great losses of the English had been connived at purposely, that the Dutch might run away with our trade; that the Navigation Act, and all the other statutes intended for the increase of our shipping and the extension of our home manufactures, had become a dead letter; that the importation of Dutch commodities, though prohibited by the laws, had been encouraged; that the States-General, in order to cover and protect their own merchant-vessels, had not furnished their proper quota to the combined fleet, nor suffered their men-of-war to act for the common service; that their wants and deficiencies were supplied out of English stores and English provisions; and that, instead of acting in conformity to the signals and instructions of the commander-in-chief of the combined fleet, they too often detached their ships of war to act as guard-ships and convoys to their own trade. Nor had the English East India Company spared their pamphlets and their broad sheets, in which they complained grievously of the encroachments made by the Scots since the passing of the late Colonial Act for that country. Hence the allusions in the king's speech.

The Commons voted an address of thanks and congratulation upon the success of his majesty's arms abroad, the preservation of his sacred person from the many hazards to which he had exposed himself, &c., and they pledged themselves to assist him effectually in the prosecution of the war. William's answer was short: "I heartily thank you," said he, "for the marks you give me of your affection. Our interests are inseparable; and there is nothing I wish so much as the happiness of this country, where God has placed me." The Lords made the like offering at the footstool of the throne; and, that the proceedings of parliament might wear such a face of seriousness and solemnity as became them, his majesty, at the instance of the House of Commons, not of the bench of bishops, was pleased to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation, for imploring the blessing of Almighty God upon its consultations.* The business to which they proceeded was of the most important kind. Early in the session they passed the memorable act for regulating trials in cases of treason and misprision of treason; and thus secured equally to peers and commons, and to all Englishmen, a palladium against the suspicions and malice of despotically inclined sovereigns. They rectified the vile state of the coinage, giving up the absurd principle of raising money above its intrinsic value, and recommending the re-coining of all the specie in England in milled money. A bill was also passed for preventing charge and expense in elections; meaning to level a blow against the profligate corruption which was practised then, and so long after, to the disgrace of the nation and the demoralisation of the poorer classes. The preamble stated that grievous complaints were made, and manifestly appeared to be true, that in the election of members to parliament, contrary to the laws, and in violation of right and decency, excessive and enormous expenses had been incurred; and by the enacting clauses it was provided that the giving or promising, directly or indirectly, any present, reward, drink, or entertainment, as a consideration for any man's vote, should incapacitate the party offending, and make his return void.†

Above all men, William most trusted and cherished Bentinck Earl of Portland, who had followed him through all his dangers and difficulties. To reward his important services, and to testify the warmth of his affection, he had bestowed upon my Lord Portland four very extensive manors in

* Ralph.

† "A severe bill was brought in for voiding all the elections of parliament men, where the elected had been at any expense in meat, drink, or money to procure votes: it was very strictly penned, but time must show whether any evasions can be found out to avoid it: certainly, if it has the desired effect, it would prove one of the best laws that ever was made in England, for abuses in elections were grown to most intolerable excesses, which threatened even the ruin of the nation."—*Burnet.*

Denbighshire, never having money to spend in this way. The donation excited a terrible clamour: it was pretended that the king intended to make this Dutchman Prince of Wales—to give him all that the crown could give in the principality; and the gentlemen of Denbighshire, with true Welsh heat, petitioned the House of Commons against these grants. The petition was presented by Mr. Price, with a speech which was afterwards printed, and which was "equally bold and bitter." After stating that the Welsh petitioners were not actuated by their own interests, but by a regard to the honour of the crown and the welfare of the nation, which would be alike injured by granting away the lands and revenues of the crown, Price represented that the whole grant comprehended not only the three lordships of Denbigh, Bomfield, and Yale, but also a farther extent of land worth 3000*l.* a-year; that the amount of the whole was at least 100,000*l.*; that the people of Wales were bound to pay a certain duty and service to the prince, which could not be severed from the crown and transferred to any other individual, and least of all to a foreigner. "It cannot be expected," continued Price, "that he should know our laws, who is a stranger to us and we to him, any more than we know his counsels, which I wish we did. . . . . These ministers are guilty of the highest violation of the laws and liberties of England, and strike at the very foundation of the succession, and tear up the Bill of Rights by the root. It was their province and duty to have acquainted the king of his power and interest, that the ancient revenue of the crown is sacred and unalienable, in time of war and the people's necessities. By the old law, it is part of the coronation oath of the kings of England not to alien the ancient patrimony of the crown without consent of parliament. But as to those oaths of office, most kings have court casuists enough about them to inform them that they have a prerogative to dispense with those oaths, especially when their interest (as it generally does) goes along with their counsel." Price then mentioned the numerous cases in which parliament had resumed the grants made by over-liberal sovereigns, recommending the same proceeding in the present case. He then made his speech hissing hot with the materials that were lodged in the popular jealousies and antipathies. The Dutch were denounced without mercy as enemies to the trade and prosperity of England. "They have planted themselves among us," said Price, "some being of the king's council, some in the army, some naturalized, some made denizens; and their common traders have possessed themselves of the outskirts of this our great city. . . . We see our good coin all gone, and our confederates openly coining base money of Dutch alloy for us: we see most places of power and profit given to foreigners: we see our confederates in conjunction with the *Scotch* to ruin our English trade. . . . How can we hope for happy days in England when this great lord and other foreigners are in the English as also in the Dutch councils? . . . I shall make no severe remarks on this great man, for his greatness makes us little; and will make the crown both poor and precarious. . . . . I foresee, that when we are reduced to extreme poverty (as now we are very near it), we are to be supplanted by our neighbours, and become a colony to the Dutch. And when God shall please to send us a Prince of Wales, he may have such a present of a crown made him, as a pope made to King John, who was surnamed Sans-Terre." And then of course ensued a diatribe against popery, which had nothing to do with the business, or that with the title of Lackland, bestowed upon the execrable John. To the fiery petition William coolly replied—"I have a kindness for my Lord Portland, which he has deserved of me by long and faithful services; but I should not have given him these lands if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned: I will, therefore, recall the grant, and find some other way of showing my favour to him." And he forthwith made a fresh grant to the Earl of Portland of the manors of Grantham, Dracklow, Pevensey, East Greenwich, &c., in the several counties of Lincoln, Cheshire, Sussex, and Kent, together with the honour of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, and other manors in Norfolk, York, and the Duchy of Lancaster. As these ancient crown lands were far apart, it could not be pretended that the king was creating a principality for his favourite; but the English murmured at the largeness of the grants; and probably the more because Bentinck was not only a foreigner, but a man of cold, retiring habits like his master.

The House of Lords took up the popular outcry against the trading charters granted to the Scots, and represented that the whole trade of the larger and richer kingdom of England must be destroyed by them. They invited the Commons to a conference, and both Houses agreed in a joint address to the throne, in which they represented that an act of parliament which had lately received his majesty's assent in his kingdom of Scotland, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the Indies, was like to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all his English subjects that were concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation: that the said act exempted the Scots from restraints, customs, taxes, &c., to which the said trade was liable in England: that by reason of these great advantages, and the duties and difficulties that lay upon their trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried to Scotland, and so Scotland would be made a free port for all the East India commodities; that, moreover, the said commodities would be brought by the Scotch into England by stealth, both by land and sea, to the vast prejudice of English trade and navigation, and to the great detriment of his majesty in his customs. The address, which ought to have been called a remonstrance, represented still further, "That when that nation should have

settled themselves in plantations in America, the English commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, skin, masts, &c., would be utterly lost; because the privileges of that nation, granted to them by this act, were such, that that kingdom must be the magazine for all commodities, and the English plantations and the traffic there lost to this nation, and the exportation of their own manufactures yearly decreased: that, besides these and many other obstacles that this act would unavoidably bring to the general trade of this nation, another clause in the said act, whereby his majesty promised to interpose his authority to have restitution, reparation, and satisfaction made, for any damage that might be done to any one of the ships, goods, merchandize, persons, or other effects whatsoever belonging to the said company, and that upon the public charge, did seem to engage his majesty to employ the shipping and strength at sea of this nation to support this new company, to the great detriment even of this kingdom." To this address the king replied, "That he had been ill served in Scotland; but that he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from the Scottish act."*

A. D. 1696.—But the Commons did not give over the clamour. Being quickened by a petition from the English East India Company, they, on the 26th of January, came to the resolution that the directors of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, &c., and, under colour of a Scotch act of parliament, styling themselves a Company, and acting as such, and raising monies in this kingdom, for carrying on the said Company, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; and that the said directors, whose names were inserted, should be impeached of the said high crimes and misdemeanors. The spirit of jealousy and monopoly was bitter and boundless; but at the same time the framers of the Scottish act, in tenderness to their own countrymen, had inserted clauses and conditions which, though thought necessary for the infant foreign trade of a poor country, gave the Scots invidious advantages over the established companies in England, and had thus exceeded the intentions of William, who had given the royal assent in a hurry in his camp in Flanders, and in the midst of the cares and turmoils of war. (Yet we believe that, had there been no investment of *English* capital in these speculations, the East India Company, the real champion in this conflict, would have paid much less attention to the Scottish charter.) William dismissed the Marquess of Tweedale, his lord high commissioner, and the two secretaries of state for Scotland, and made great changes in the ministry of that kingdom. All this, with the assurances of his English ministers, that he had been duped, and that the Scots should not be allowed to benefit by the deception, quieted the powerful East India Company, and gave general satisfaction to the English, who had not yet forgotten their old national animosity. "But," says Burnet, "when it was understood in Scotland that the king had disowned that act, from which it was expected that great riches should flow into that kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great and how general an indignation was spread over the whole kingdom. The Jacobites saw what a game it was like to prove in their hands: they played it with great skill, and to the advantage of their cause, in a course of many years."

* Ralph.

All this led to a motion to create, by act of parliament, a board or council of trade. The Commons resolved themselves into a general committee to consider the commercial state of the nation, and it was therein resolved—1. That a council of trade should be established by act of parliament, with powers for the more effectual preservation of the trade of this kingdom. 2. That the commissioners constituting the said council should be nominated by parliament. 3. That none of the said commissioners should be members of the House. 4. That the said commissioners should take an oath acknowledging King William to be rightful and lawful king of this realm; that the late King James had no right or title, &c. William took umbrage at the bill, which he considered as an attempt to change the constitution by depriving him of an important part of the executive government. "Many," says Burnet, "apprehended that, if the parliament named the persons, how low soever their powers might be at first, they would be enlarged every session; and, from being a council to look into matters of trade, they would be next empowered to appoint convoys and cruisers: this in time might draw in the whole Admiralty, and that part of the revenue or supply that was appropriated to the navy; so that a king would soon grow to be a duke of Venice." To the mortification of William, the Earl of Sunderland declared for the bill, and did all that he could to promote it. According to Burnet, Sunderland did this out of fear of the extreme Whigs, whom the bishop now styles the "republican party." He says that the king himself told him that, "If he went on driving it as he did, he must break with him."*

At this moment, however, William was in greater danger from the Jacobites in England, who, encouraged by the presence of another French army of invasion, collected on the opposite coasts, were getting ready to rise, while a desperate band among them, sanctioned by the devout and penitent outcast King James, were planning how they could best assassinate William. Notwithstanding his pilgrimages, his visitation to the monks of La

* The bishop adds that William himself imputed Sunderland's conduct to his fear; "for the unhappy steps he had made in King James's time gave his enemies so many handles and colours for attacking him, that he would venture on nothing that might provoke them." What follows looks rather childish in so practised a politician as Bishop Burnet. "Here was a debate, plainly on a point of prerogative. . . . And yet, by an odd reverse, the Whigs, *who were now most employed*, argued for the prerogative, while the Tories seemed zealous for the public liberty; so powerfully does interest bias men of all forms!"

Trappe, and his flagellations and fastings, James had never ceased to struggle for his earthly crowns; and his petty court at St. Germain had been the scene of constant plots and intrigues, including some of the darkest dye. Perceiving that his former declarations did not go far enough to satisfy the malcontent Whigs, or remove all the jealousies of popery entertained by the ultra-loyal high-church party, James resolved to promise everything, with the mental reservation of a fixed intention to break all such of these promises as were too much for the *tenderness* of his conscience. According to his Memoirs, he was sensible he should be blamed by several of his friends for making such promises and submitting to such "hard terms;" but, "reasonably speaking," there was nothing else for him to do, and no other hope of regaining his kingdoms than by gratifying his English partisans —"that, as to France, the whole kingdom is weary of the war as well as the ministers, the country being almost ruined by the great taxes, together with the scarcity of wine and corn. . . . . And should he have refused these proposals, how hard soever they appeared, the clamour of the whole country would have been so great, that his most Christian majesty could not have been able to have resisted it, and probably he (James) would have been sent out of the kingdom as an opiniatre (obstinate) bigot, who preferred some points of his prerogative, which his people perhaps might have afterwards restored, before the peace and quiet of all Christendom." This new declaration was dated in April, 1693; and, according to his Memoirs, included certain heads suggested by Marlborough, Admiral Russell, and other public men in England. When it had gone forth, and not before, he submitted this case of conscience to four of his own priests; whether he as a Catholic might declare and promise to protect and maintain the church of England as by law established; to fill up the bishoprics and all other dignities or benefices with the most worthy of the Protestant communion, to secure to the members of the English church all universities, colleges, schools, &c., and promise to agree to any laws that might hereafter be desired by the English parliament for the further security of their religion, &c. The four English or Irish priests thus consulted were, Father Sanders, the king's confessor; Dr. Betham, his son's preceptor; Mr. Innis, the queen's almoner; and Dr. Fenwick; who all answered in the negative—not frankly or decidedly, however, but stating "that the matter was improperly worded; that what reasonably could be expected might be granted in other words."* But, not satisfied with this answer, James submitted his case to five French divines, and to the Bishop of Meaux, the celebrated Bossuet, who gave their sanction and approbation to the declaration which had been issued. According to the Memoirs, they did this "too hastily," as "not having a right notion of the case, nor understanding the laws of the kingdom;" and because James had only submitted to them *a part of the queries*. But it is stated, upon authority at least as good as that of the Stuart MSS., that the learned and elegant Bishop of Meaux answered in the affirmative, because he was expressly ordered so to do by Louis XIV.; and Bossuet, notwithstanding his great merits, had not the heroism to resist the will of an absolute monarch, but had before now condescended to many compliances against his conscience. It is added, in the Memoirs, that soon after these French divines recalled their judgment, "when they were more fully apprised of the case, and saw the declaration itself, together with the Test Act, and thought fit to write a long paper of reasons for their retraction." But, *soon after*, the declaration, and all the plans and armaments with which it was attended, were frustrated and shown to be, like the whole cause of James, utterly hopeless; so that then the divines might be honest without injury to the interests which they would have served with their duplicity or the straining of their consciences. Yet, according to the Memoirs, Bossuet compared the declaration to that which the most Christian king had given to the Huguenots in the edict of Nantes, and wrote his reasons in favour of it to Cardinal Janson at Rome, who made no reply either *pro* or *con;* "but though he (Bossuet) persisted something longer in his opinion than the rest, he owned his mistake at last, but did not think it necessary to do it by a writing or public instrument, the matter being then at an end, and all expectancies on that account determined." All this is base enough; but the archives of France have in our days been made to give up a document that completes the story. This is a letter written by James's secretary and chief adviser, my Lord Melfort, to Cardinal Janson, and sent to Rome with the letter written to the same French prince of the church by Bossuet. Melfort says to the cardinal that the declaration, of which he incloses a translation, has been made at the prayers of a very considerable part of his Protestant subjects in England; "but," he adds, "as the most lawful things are subject to misinterpretation, the king, my master, foreseeing that some scrupulous or ill-intentioned Catholics might blame certain concessions his majesty is obliged to make to his Protestant subjects, he has begged the Bishop of Meaux to put his opinion in writing and transmit it to his eminence, in order that he may render an

* "For, first, they said, the king could not promise to protect and defend a religion he believed erroneous, which was the substance of the first and second query, nor could he make the promise required in the third, because they may think the educating the Prince of Wales in the Protestant religion necessary for its preservation, or to exclude any Catholic from succeeding, which had once been thought necessary even in respect of himself. But they agreed that the king might promise to secure and protect his subjects of the church of England as by law established, in the free and full exercise of their religion, and in the quiet and peaceable possession and enjoyment of their bishopries, ecclesiastical dignities, and other benefices; and that upon all vacancies care should be taken to fill them up with fit members of their own persuasion, it being a quite different case to promise to maintain the religion itself, and to maintain the professors of it in their possessions, benefices, &c., which being all the security the Protestants desired, might reasonably have satisfied the ministers."—*Life from the Stuart MSS., &c.* It is said to have been in the sense here laid down by his four priests that James had made his declaration about religion to the English council on his accession,

account of the affair to the Holy See, not doubting its full approbation," &c. In continuation, Melfort begs the cardinal to represent the matter to the pope secretly, not as if from King James, who would communicate with his holiness directly at a future time, but only as from Bossuet, who, having given his opinion by order of King Louis, had thought it his duty, by the means of his eminence, to explain the reasons to his holiness, and submit the whole to his decision. He urges that everything depended on representing matters at first in such a manner as to make a good impression; and he further tells the cardinal that James relies on his zeal for obtaining the approbation of the pope, and for shutting the mouths of some false zealots that might complain of his majesty's conduct with regard to the declaration. Above all things, Janson is to have the first word with his holiness. But Melfort reserved the most important part of this communication for a postscript, which he wrote with his own hand, having been prevented by illness and pain from writing the body of the letter. In this postscript his lordship, with honest roguery, tells the cardinal that the declaration, which had been made the subject of such delicate debates, was only meant to help James to get back to England. "What is to be done," said Melfort, "is not to avoid the censures of Rome, nor to bring about an examination of the affair, which must be avoided, and particularly the assembling of congregations upon it: what his majesty wants being to satisfy his holiness privately of the necessities under which he is with regard to his re-establishment, and his having the liberty of bringing up the Prince of Wales in the Catholic religion, which will be a greater benefit to the said religion than anything else that can happen. It is also to be considered that his majesty has assurances from the chief of those English with whom he has treated, that he shall obtain liberty of conscience for the Catholics of England, provided only that his majesty do not press the matter by his own authority, but leave it to the parliament. In fine, this I understand, the declaration is only to get us back, and we may much better dispute the affairs of the Catholics at Whitehall than at St. Germain."*

And this was written only thirty-eight days after the signing of the declaration, in which the pious James had said—"We only come to vindicate our own right and to establish the liberties of our people, and may God give us success in the prosecution of the one as we sincerely intend a confirmation of the other." But the strange story is not yet told: the French king, who had little sympathy with James's half scruples, but who wished to avoid any discouragement from Rome that might possibly have followed the too open false dealing of Secretary Melfort, was besides not desirous of committing his own name and kingly faith with the court of Rome, particularly as he knew that James was at that very moment authorising the Jacobites to make a personal attack upon William. Accordingly Louis intercepted the whole packet, and neither the letter of Bossuet nor the letter of my Lord Melfort was ever sent to Rome or seen by Cardinal Janson.* Wondering why no answer came from the cardinal, yet soon perceiving that, though the intention of it were not fully revealed, his declaration produced nothing but "blame from his friends, contempt from his enemies, and repentance in himself," † the exiled king importuned Louis to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by William's defeat at Landen, and the disasters of the Smyrna fleet, and invade England. He represented as confidently as ever that a large part of the nation would join the invading force and conduct him back in triumph to Whitehall. But Louis was not in a condition to attempt anything of the sort, and James was still obliged to trust to his intrigues with the furious Jacobites and the discontented Whigs, who could scarcely have co-operated for a week if the course of events had brought them into the field. In the course of the following year (1694) two emissaries from the court of St. Germain—Crosby and Parker—were committed to prison on suspicion; but Crosby was soon liberated upon bail, and Parker contrived to escape out of the Tower. The evidence produced against Crosby was of a very defective kind; but as the designs attributed to him were of the worst kind, he was for some time closely watched. To counteract the Jacobite agents and spies, the court employed others; and, apparently, some of these scoundrels took pay from both sides. In the course of the present winter (1695-6) Louis, for his own interest, had gone again into James's plan of invasion, and had collected a considerable fleet and army on the coast; and James had sent over Sir George Barclay and his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, to promote an insurrection, without which, or the assurance of one to favour them on their landing, the French were loth to embark. Barclay and Berwick both got secretly into London, where the former, the more daring and less scrupulous conspirator of the two, remained some time lodging in Hatton Garden. This Barclay, according to his own account, as given in the Life of James, found that there was no great hope of an insurrection in England; but that there was "a design on foot to form a party to fall upon the Prince of Orange." This design he says was first communicated to him by Mr. Charnock, who at their first meeting "complained to him that he and some others had a design on foot, which would have undoubtedly facilitated the king's return, but that his majesty would never permit them to put it in execution." A few days after Charnock made him acquainted with Sir William Perkins, who was con-

* These are the words of the last and most important clause of the postscript in the original French:—"*En fin celle cy j'entends la déclaration n'est que pour rentrer, et l'on peut beaucoup mieux disputer des affaires Catholiques à Whythall qu'à St. Germain.*"

* Mazure, Revolution de 1688. M. Mazure, in his Appendix, gives at length the letters of Bossuet and Melfort.

† Life.

cerned with him in all their projects, and who then opened the design more fully, assuring Barclay that they wanted nothing for perfecting it but his majesty's leave. "I did much approve of it," says Barclay, "if it could be carried on with that secrecy and conduct as a thing of that consequence ought to be; upon which I immediately asked them if it was possible to find so many good men as would be requisite, and would undertake a brave action without asking of questions." They assured him that they knew several of their own mind. "Therefore," adds Barclay, "presuming upon the commission I held from his majesty to make war upon the Prince of Orange and all his adherents, I thought myself sufficiently authorised to engage with them to attack that prince when his guards were about him; upon which I showed them my commission, which they were much pleased with, but told me it was absolutely necessary I should see Mr. Porter, who lodged in the same house with them, and was privy to all their designs." Barclay says that for some time he would not condescend to visit this Porter; not that he mistrusted his loyalty, but because he heard "he was much given to drink, and open-minded." But the other conspirators told him that their lives were as dear to them as he could esteem his own; that if Porter had been a drunkard and a blab they would not have trusted him; and at last Barclay went with Major Holmes to Porter's lodgings, where they found him confined to his bed. "By this time," says Barclay, "Captain Knightly had heard of me, and was very desirous to speak with me, so I made an appointment with him and Captain Hungate. At our meeting Captain Knightly told me he and some others had a design of making a party to fall upon the Prince of Orange, and that he and Durance, *a good partisan*, had viewed the ground several times, and found it for their purpose, and desired me to see Durance, which I did, to try what I could learn from him, and then went to see the ground, when I was conducted to a hunting-house kept by one Mr. Latten, and where the prince used to go often a-hunting. There it was they proposed to me to lay an ambuscade, but I could not agree to their design: not but that the place was to my mind, but my objection was, that the men must have been placed there over-night, and if the Prince of Orange did not come, they could not remove till the night following; and, in so little a spot of ground, they might have been discovered by the rangers, and if the design had failed twenty men would have been let into the secret." This deliberate assassin, Barclay, goes on to say that, being several times told "from good hands" that one Captain Fisher, that lived in King-street, Westminster, had made several great proposals, he went to him in disguise, when the captain proposed to attack the Prince of Orange between the two gates as he passed from Hyde Park to St. James,—he (Fisher) undertaking to kill one of the coach-horses with his own hand. Barclay set the captain down for a fool, engaging him, however, to give him notice when William went a-hunting. Captain Fisher sent him word accordingly, and also informed him that a person lurking about Kensington Palace, whom Barclay supposed to be Durance, had been taken notice of by the servants; —"for," says Barclay, "I had him and another placed to give me notice of what they could learn at that court; as, immediately after my arrival in London, I made it my business to know that prince's days of council and recreation, and how many guards he had when he went abroad; but after we were in readiness, I could never learn he was anywhere abroad at night or a-hunting." He assures us that, having once engaged in this affair, he was resolved to try every way to go through with it; that he was disappointed of any opportunity of meeting William in a fit place; that he went to Kensington itself with Major Holmes, and everywhere else about London where that prince used to go, both to know the ground and what plan would be best. At last he fixed upon Turnham Green as best suited for the purpose, and therefore that place was agreed upon by the rest of the conspirators. Then Sir William Perkins undertook to provide five men, well mounted and armed, but *not* to be there himself; and Mr. Porter and Mr. Charnock engaged each for the like number of men and to be there themselves. Barclay was to add five men to these fifteen, and he gave money to Major Holmes and Mr. Charnock to buy him twenty horses and furniture, which they did in a few days. To prevent suspicion, these horses were kept in different stables; and rendezvouses were appointed for the day of action at different inns about Turnham Green and Brentford.*

After one or two balks, at which the heart of Charnock misgave him, and he talked of going into the country, Barclay received certain word on Saturday, the 15th of February, that William was getting into his coach, and that it was believed he was going to that hunting house where Mr. Latten was keeper, which was over against Brentford on the other side the river Thames. The plan of the assassins, who were now increased to thirty-five men, was to surprise William on his return at a hollow part of the road between Brentford and Turnham Green, one division of them being placed behind some bushes and brushwood at the western end of the green. Eight were to have "taken care of the prince, and the rest to have dealt with the guard,"—who, however, according to their calculation, would scarcely have got across the river when William fell into the ambuscade. When the murderers, or as Barclay calls them, "the gentlemen," were all ready to go to the posts assigned to them, word was brought that William had changed his mind and would not hunt that day. There was a fear that their design was suspected; but, after lying close and still in the interval, Barclay, Por-

* Life of James;—Sir G. Barclay's own relation.

ter, and Goodman, concluding that their design was not discovered, had another meeting on the 19th, and then, learning that William was going to hunt at the place calculated upon, which was in Richmond Park, on the next Saturday, the 22nd of February, they resolved to do the business on that day. When Saturday came William was watched to his coach, and again "the gentlemen" were in readiness, but "presently word was brought that the prince was come back to Kensington in great haste, his horses being in a top sweat." There was also a muttering among the people about the detection of a horrible plot; and then Barclay made the best of his way back to France, leaving his brother conspirators to shift for themselves.* The Duke of Berwick had returned thither some time before with ample assurance of there being no hope of any popular rising for his father; but James had been very careful to conceal this information from the French monarch, who was still unwilling to risk the expedition without the sure prospect of its being joined by the English people. The miserable exile was then on his road to Calais, where he expected to embark with the French troops. In the mild showing of his biographer, "he durst not disabuse his most Christian majesty, for fear his ministers, who were ever averse from these expeditions, should quash all, without so much as a trial." Therefore he wrote a delusive letter to Louis, and continued his journey to Calais—"still hoping something might happen on which he could raise a request to let the troops embark first." But he had no sooner reached the French port than he learned the discovery of Barclay's plot; and then, overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace, he skulked back to St. Germain.†

The day after the flight of Barclay was a Sunday; but on Monday, the 24th of February, William declared in parliament that a plot had been discovered to assassinate him, and that a design of invasion from France was on foot. He told them that he had given the necessary orders for the fleet, and had dispatched other orders for bringing over from Flanders a sufficient number of our troops; that some of the conspirators against his person were already in custody, and that measures were taken for apprehending as many of the rest as was possible. It appeared that Captain Fisher, an accomplice—he who lived in King-street, Westminster, and who had proposed to murder William between the park gates—had, on the 10th or 11th of February, disclosed the plot to Lord Portland, but without naming any of the conspirators. The king, it is said, disbelieved or disregarded this confession. But, on the evening of the 14th, one Pendergrast accosted Lord Portland at Whitehall, telling him, that if the king went to hunt on the morrow he would assuredly be murdered. Pendergrast added, that, though an Irishman and a papist, he abhorred such a business, and had from the first resolved to defeat it; that he was totally ignorant of this barbarous design till he was sent for to London. Having said this, he subjoined a relation of the whole plot, as it had been communicated to him by the confederate assassins; which he said he would have discovered to the king himself, but that he durst not go to Kensington for fear of two orderly men, who were kept there as spies, to give notice to the conspirators of what occurred in the court. Pendergrast also refused to name the conspirators. In the meantime a third accomplice, named De la Rue, waited upon Secretary Trumbull, and gave some information about the plot, revealing the names of several of the conspirators, as Sir George Barclay, Sir William Perkins, Charnock, Parker, and Porter. Upon hearing of this new evidence, Fisher and Pendergrast made up their minds to fuller revelations. William was persuaded by Lord Portland to examine personally, but separately, Pendergrast and De la Rue; and then these witnesses gave up the names of all those who had conspired against the king's life. The secret was kept, and both Pendergrast and De la Rue attended the meeting of the conspirators on the morning of the 22nd, when William took coach for Richmond, and they thought their blow was sure. But, after the news of the king's sudden return to Kensington, the company talked of treachery, drank confusion to the Prince of Orange, separated in consternation, and Pendergrast and De la Rue returned to court to relate what had passed at that meeting. But the infatuated cut-throats still fancied that they were unknown; and they were nearly all arrested that night in their beds.

On the 24th a proclamation was issued for the apprehension of the rest, offering 1000*l.* reward to any one that should discover and seize them, and 1000*l.*, with a free pardon, to any accomplice that should deliver himself up and reveal what he knew. The names inserted in this proclamation were, — the Duke of Berwick, Sir George Barclay, Major Lowick, Captain Porter, Captain Stowe, Captain Walbank, Captain Courtney, Lieutenant Sherburne, Price Blair, Denant, Chambers, Boise, George Higgins, and his two brothers, Davis, Cardell, Goodman, Cranburn, Keys, Pendergrast, Burley, Trevor, Sir George Maxwell, Durance, Knightley, Holmes, Sir William Perkins, and Rookwood—this last a name which occurs in almost every English conspiracy from the time of the gunpowder-plot downward. As soon as this proclamation was out, Mr. George Harris, who had been sent from France to obey the orders of Barclay, delivered himself up to Sir William Trumball, the secretary of state, and divulged all that he knew; and, led by the same hopes of saving their lives and getting high rewards, several more conspirators followed his example. Among these king's evidences was

* Life of James;—Sir G. Barclay's own relation.

† According to the Life, this discovery "put the kingdom into such a ferment, that there was no thinking of the Jacobites venturing to rise, much less of the king's landing, though the French had been willing; but, besides their averseness to hazard their troops, it was said afterwards, *that the whole design on the French side was only a feint to amuse the English while they made a junction of their fleets.*"

Porter, who had been suspected by Barclay as being "much given to drink and open-minded," but who is described by others as having been one of the most brutal and most forward of the whole gang. Porter, who had been lying at Epsom, came in on the 2nd of March, and deposed that he knew Barclay well, and had heard him say he came over to put in execution a design upon the king's person; that Charnock had told him that the said Barclay had 800*l.* given him by a servant of King James, for providing men and horses for the design; that he had heard Barclay complain of the smallness of this sum; that Barclay had bought horses, &c.; that Charnock told him Barclay held a commission from King James; that Sir William Perkins had read the commission, which was all in King James's hand-writing, and which ran, "for raising and levying war upon the person of the king;" that he had heard Barclay say that twenty or twenty-two persons were come from France, who had been officers, and were to be concerned in the design; that several consultations had been held as to the manner of assassinating King William; that these consultations were held at his (Porter's) lodgings in Norfolk-street; others at the Globe Tavern, in Hatton Garden; at the Sun Tavern, in the Strand; and at the Nag's Head, in James's Street, Covent Garden; that two ways had been proposed for assassinating the king—the one by an ambuscade of foot to be laid not far from the lodge near Richmond; that some days before Saturday, the 15th, he, the deponent, with two others, had surveyed the ground at Turnham Green, Brentford, Richmond, and the ferry by which the king had to cross the river (*i. e.* Kew Ferry, near the place where Kew Bridge now stands); that a day or two after he and Durance, or Durant, had taken a list of the stables and inns near those places; that two of the party were constantly placed at Kensington to watch the king's movements; that the persons employed in the design were to be divided into three parties, two of which were to attack the guards with their swords only, and the third the king's coach; that Rookwood was to command one of the two first parties, the deponent the other, and Barclay the third, which was to cut off his majesty and all that were with him in the coach; that he, Porter, had told Pendergrast that he should have his musquetoon, which carried six bullets; that it was an expression current among them that the assaulting the king in this manner was fair war, and no more than attacking him at his winter-quarters, or killing him as he was passing from one town to another in Flanders.*

After other particulars which agree very closely with the account given by Sir George Barclay himself, Porter continued to depose that the day before he went to survey the ground he dined with Barclay, Perkins, Friend, Holmes, and Ferguson [the last the same Presbyterian preacher who had written the manifestoes of Monmouth, and had been a principal driver in that wretched attempt at a revolution, but who had since become a Jacobite, and had taken an oath to be concerned in every conspiracy that should be got up in his time]; that after dinner other persons came in, when they discoursed *privately* with one another of the assassination, and *more publicly* of the preparations for invasion then making along the sea-coast of France; that the persons who talked of the private design were Barclay, Perkins, and himself; and that Sir John Friend (a rich London brewer and a flaming Jacobite, but who was not prepared to be an assassin), observing their frequent whispers, said, that he deserved to be fairly dealt with,—that he was as ready to serve King James as any man, but that he found there was something behind the curtain which was concealed from him; that it was then and there that Sir George Barclay first informed the deponent (Porter) in a whisper that the king's son, the Duke of Berwick, had been here, adding that he could not have told him of this if the duke had not been gone again. And Porter further deposed that Perkins had assured him that Mr. Lewis, gentleman of the horse to Lord Feversham, would furnish three horses if wanted; that Perkins had a commission from King James for a regiment of horse; and that the said Perkins and Charnock had told him that Sir John Friend had a like commission, and that Friend had owned this himself, and declared he would be in readiness; that Charnock had told him that 300*l.* had been paid for Colonel Parker's escape out of the Tower on the former occasion when he was in trouble with Crosby, and that Friend had advanced 100*l.* of that money; that Mr. Tempest, of Durham, had a commission from King James to raise a regiment of horse, and had everything in readiness; that he (the deponent) was to have the first troop in King James's own regiment, of which

* According to the contemporary writer, Roger Coke, who follows the reports of the trials and confessions without materially differing from Barclay's narrative, "at last they fixed upon a place between Brentford and Turnham Green, in a bottom where the ground is moorish, where there is a bridge at which divers roads meet and cross one another; on the north side there is a road that goes round Brentford, and on the south a lane that leads to the river, so that you may come thither by four several ways. After you have passed the bridge, the road grows narrow, having on the one side a footpath, and on the other a tall thick hedge; and this was the place pitched upon for the execution of their barbarous villany; and, indeed, one more likely to do their business could not well have been found out, for his majesty, very often returning late from hunting, usually crossed the water at Queen's Ferry without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on this side the water, the coach drove on, without expecting the rest of the guards, who could not cross the Thames till the boat returned to Surrey side again, to bring them over, and so the king must unavoidably have fallen into the hands of his murderers before the rest of his guards could have come up to his assistance. Neither was the time and place more cunningly and devilishly contrived than their men were disposed of; for, having secured several places at Brentford, Turnham Green, and in scattered houses thereabouts, to set up their horses till the king's return from hunting, one of the conspirators was ordered to wait at Queen's Ferry till the guards appeared in sight on Surrey side of the water, and then to give speedy notice to the rest, to be ready at their respective posts, while the king was crossing the Thames. For this evil end they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three several ways: one of them from Turnham Green, another from the lane that leads to the Thames, and a third from a road that goes round Brentford: one of these parties was to attack his majesty's guards in front, and another in the rear, whilst ten or twelve men of the bloodiest sort were to assassinate his majesty in his coach."—*Detection.*

Parker was to be colonel; that Goodman had also a commission, and was provided with arms and saddles; and that the said Goodman had had discourses with him two years ago about a design "to seize and carry off the king," which design was proposed to King James by means of Barclay.

According to Porter, the only arrangement they had made for their escape after "doing the thing" was this—that when the assassination should be over at Turnham Green they should keep together till they came to Hammersmith, when they were to disperse and get into town by different ways in small companies, and there lie concealed till the invasion from France, which they calculated would take place immediately.* Bertram, Blair, Harris, Hunt, and one or two other mere mercenaries who had been tempted by the hope of gain and plunder, made similar revelations. Bertram said that he had been engaged for a particular service by getting a guinea in hand; that he knew it was on account of the *little man*—one of the nick-names given to William—and that he understood he was to be killed. Blair avowed that he had been retained in the secret service of King James by Father Harrison, one of the managers in England ever since the La Hogue affair, and had been asked by Father Harrison, about the beginning of February last, whether he knew any soldiers or *men of courage* who would do something that might be an introduction to King James's happy restoration; but that Sir John Friend, when he heard of the assassination plan, was sorry for it, because he was afraid it would ruin King James's affairs and all his friends. Harris, who had served James in Ireland as an ensign of foot, and since in France as one of his guards, inculpated that unhappy sovereign far more directly than any of the rest; for he deposed that, about the 14th of the preceding January King James sent for him, and one Hare, his comrade, into the queen's bed-chamber, and told him "he had now an opportunity of doing something for him;"—that he should send him to England, where he was to follow Barclay's orders, and trust to his majesty for being taken care of afterwards; that his majesty then ordered money for their journey, and told them they would find Colonel Barclay every Monday and Thursday evening between six and seven o'clock in the open square of Covent Garden, he being to be known by a white handkerchief hanging out of his coat pocket; that Colonel Parker, who was present all this while, went with him by King James's orders to the secretary,* who gave them ten louis d'ors a-piece, saying, that money would be enough to carry them over, and that, if they were wind-bound, the president, Josse, would provide for their subsistence at Calais.† And Harris further deposed that the said president did provide them with everything while they remained at Calais, and on their departure procured them a passage on board a chaloupe, commanded by one Gill, who had been in the habit of going backward and forward for intelligence. Hunt, who had a convenient house on the solitary flats of Romney Marsh, confessed that many persons going and coming between London and St. Germain, had been entertained and concealed by him, and that the Duke of Berwick had been at his house very recently. Goodman inculpated *Sir John Fenwick*, Lord Montgomery, Lord Aylesbury, Colonel Fountain, and other persons of rank, but he did not accuse them of intending more than to seize William, and to carry him off to France—an attempt, however, which, if made, must have ended on the spot in murder.

The first of the conspirators put on their trial at the Old Bailey, on the 11th of March, before the learned and upright Lord Chief Justice Holt, were, Charnock, who had been a fellow of Magdalen College, and afterwards a captain in King James's Irish army; King, who had been a captain in the same service; and Keys, a trumpeter, who had been the servant of Captain Porter. They were all found guilty of high treason, and were executed at Tyburn on the 18th. Charnock left a paper to justify the lawfulness of their design against the usurper; and they all died avowing the plot, but exculpating King James of all knowledge of the intended murder. They were all three Roman Catholics, and, having refused the assistance of any Protestant divine, and not being allowed by the laws a priest of their own persuasion, Charnock performed the spiritual offices for himself and his fellow sufferers. He most solemnly declared in his last paper that the body of English Catholics "had no manner of knowledge of this design;" which, he said, had been carried on merely by a small number, without the advice, consent, or privity of any parties whatsoever. King, who also left a paper, declared that he was brought to that place of punishment by his crimes, and particularly by *that one* for which he was about to suffer: but he declared that he had never seen any order or commission from King James, "promoting the

* In a subsequent examination, Porter accused the Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, eldest son of the Marquess of Powis, and *Sir John Fenwick*. He declared that they, with other individuals who met at a tavern in the city, agreed to send over Charnock to King James, to desire him to borrow 8000 foot and 2000 horse from the French king, who would not refuse such an army, particularly when it was made known that few forces were left in England, that many people were dissatisfied, and that everything promised success. Still further inculpating Sir John Fenwick, he swore that Charnock had assured him that he had been in France with the message about the troops, and had brought several messages back from King James to Fenwick, Lord Aylesbury, and other persons of quality whom he did not name.

* The secretary here named was not Lord Melfort, who, however, would certainly not have hesitated at any such service, but a gentleman called Caryl.

† It appears that it was usual for the French government, at the request of James, to billet his secret emissaries going into England upon the French authorities of Calais and of Boulogne. In the margin of one of the papers discovered by M. Mazure, there are these words, apparently written by one of Louis's ministers or secretaries:—"*Prendre l'ordre du Roi pour écrire au Gouverneur de Boulogne, en faveur du Sieur C.*" The person here designated by the initial C. was indisputably Crosby, who at this time (1693) was engaged in the plot to seize and carry off the person of William. In another letter, written at the same time, from Monseigneur to M. l'Abbé Renaudot are these significant words:—"His majesty does not approve of my giving Crosby a memorial signed by me; but if he imparts to you his instructions and the English memorial which you seem to approve of, I will give his majesty an account of them. In the mean while I send the letter you ask for the commandant at Calais, in order that he may raise no obstacle to his passage."

assassination." And he further declared that the design was not undertaken with any general knowledge or approbation of any body of men, either *Catholic* or Protestant, and that he had not engaged in the plot "on presumption of any king-killing principle that could justify such an undertaking (here he seems to acknowledge that murder was really understood), but was drawn into it by his own rashness and passion." As to the third sufferer, Keys, the poor trumpeter and serving-man of Porter, he said nothing but his prayers, and a general confession that his sins had brought this just judgment upon him. Sir John Friend, the great brewer, Sir William Perkins, Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lowick, and Captain Cranburn were tried, condemned, and executed a few days after. Friend died with the declaration that he believed the cause he was going to suffer for was the cause of God and true religion; that it was altogether new and unintelligible to him that the king's subjects could depose or dethrone him on any account whatsoever; that he knew of no sudden invasion of these dominions, and supposed it was not expected that he should clear himself of the assassination plot since none of the witnesses had charged him with it.* "I am," said Friend, "an unworthy and unprofitable member of the church of England,—of that non-juring church which at present suffers so much for a strict adherence to loyalty, the laws, and Christian principles. For this I suffer, and for this I die." Sir William Perkins, who suffered with him, said that he had been falsely sworn against by Porter,† as having owned to him that he had read a commission from King James to levy war upon the person of the Prince of Orange; whereas the tenor of the king's commission, which he had seen, was general, and directed to all loving subjects to raise and levy war against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, to seize all castles, forts, &c., which he supposed to be a customary form of giving authority to make war: "but," said he, "as for any commission particularly levelled against the *person* of the Prince of Orange, I neither saw nor heard of any such. It is true I was privy to the design upon the prince, but was not to act in it, and am fully satisfied that very few or none knew of it except those who undertook to do it." They were attended on the scaffold by three non-juring clergymen,—Shadrach Cook, William Snatt, and the celebrated Jeremy Collier,—who publicly gave them absolution, in the name of Christ, and by imposition of hands, for all their sins. For this performance Cook and Snatt were thrown into Newgate; but Collier, who was accustomed to a hide-and-seek life, got out of the way, and, as was usual with him, published a book upon the subject, justifying what he had done.*

All the victims at Tyburn denied more or less explicitly that James was privy to the assassination part of the plot; but the nation and the greater part of Europe refused belief to their dying assertions. James himself, though he had been silent as to the accusations put forth on the detection of Grandval's plot, took great pains to prove his innocence on the present occasion. He told Erizzo, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, that the *winds* had disconcerted his measures to land in England, and betrayed his best hopes; but that he ought and did from his heart acquiesce in the divine will. "As to any attempt upon the person of the Prince of Orange," said he, "I am wholly ignorant; and, though to face an enemy at the head of his troops, in my opinion, can never be reputed an assassination, I do swear I know nothing of it."† Taking these words to be fairly reported, they go rather against his case, for he seems to hold to the notion entertained by some of the assassins themselves,—that, because William might have a few guards with him, the falling upon him would be warfare, and not murder. He and his partisans, however, maintain that Barclay had used the commission in an unauthorised manner, and that the conspirators generally had given it a sense which was not in it. The real commission was carried back to France by Barclay, so that we are obliged to take whatever

* Indeed, more than one of the witnesses had declared that he turned with fear and horror from the thought of murder: but, on the other hand, he was sworn to as having been one of the most powerful or influential of those of the conspirators that were plotting for the bringing over of the French army of invasion.

† Upon his trial Friend had objected that the witnesses, being Papists, were not legal witnesses against Protestants; that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that the being at a treasonable consult was but a misprision of treason.

* State Trials.—Coke.—Ralph.—Burnet.—There are three elaborate accounts of the plot, with narratives of the whole proceedings. One is called 'An Impartial Account, &c.;' which is described by Ralph as *containing little more than the articles of intelligence* which were communicated to the public as the events happened or were ascertained. The second, entitled 'The History of the late Conspiracy against the King and the Nation, &c.,' professed to be extracted out of the original depositions of the witnesses and other authentic papers. The third, and the best known, was the production of Sir Richard Blackmore, M.D., whose name, rendered immortal by his own bad verse and by the wit of Dryden, stands in the title-page. It is called 'A True and Impartial History of the Conspiracy against the Person and Government of King William III., of glorious memory, in the year 1695." The be-knighted doctor and physician-poet declares, in his preface, that he was engaged to write the work by the Lord Keeper Somers; that, in order to be made master of the subject, he was admitted to several conferences with Lord Somers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Earl of Portland; that he was furnished with authentic copies of the depositions and other papers from the secretary's office, &c. The work, however, was not published till more than a quarter of a century after the fact, and, when it was produced as a lesson to the factious and discontented in the reign of George I., Somers, Shrewsbury, Portland, and the secretary were all dead, and could neither confirm nor contradict what Blackmore advanced as to his sources of information, and the care taken to keep him correct to the letter. Between his account, however, and that given in the State Trials, a fair notion may be formed of the whole business, which, in its most mitigated form, was traitorous and anti-national. As a short narrative of the events, Roger Coke's account is very clear and good. Evelyn, half Jacobite as he was, speaks with horror of the whole plot. "There was now a conspiracy of about thirty knights, gentlemen, captains, many of them Irish and English Papists and Nonjurors, or Jacobites (so called), to murder King William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to hunting, or to the chapel; and upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an invasion was designed. In order to it there was a great army in readiness, men-of-war, and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, King James attending at Calais with the French army. It was discovered by some of their own party. .... This was so timed by the enemy, that, whilst we were already much discontented on the greatness of the taxes, and corruption of the money, &c., we had like to have had very few men-of-war near our coasts. ..... This deliverance is due solely to God. French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland, and Ireland. ,.... The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar; a dismal sight, which many pitied. I *think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in* the time of King Charles II., viz., of Sir Thomas Armstrong."—*Diary.*

† Roger Coke.

version of it the court of St. Germain chose to give. Even in their version the document was calculated to mislead men who were no diplomatists, and to excite partisans who had proved over and over again that they were wildly enthusiastic and fanatic. The commission, according to the Jacobite Memoir, was conceived in these words:—

"James R.

"Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby fully authorise, strictly require, and expressly command our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the Prince of Orange, the usurper of our throne, and all his adherents, and so seize for our use all such forts, towns, strongholds within our dominion of England, as may serve to further our interest, and to do from time to time such other acts of hostility against the Prince of Orange, and his adherents, as may conduce most to our service, we judging this the properest, justest, and most effectual means of procuring our restoration and their deliverance; and we do hereby indemnify them for what they shall act in pursuance of this our royal command.

"Given at our court of St. Germains en Liege, the 27th of December, 1695."*

But we have no authority except that of the party inculpated for the authenticity of this document, and, even as it stands, a word or two omitted or a word or two inserted—a mere stroke of the pen—might give it a different character. It has been generally, and perhaps wisely, agreed not to lend implicit credit to the testimony of the persons who became king's evidence. Men like Harris and Porter, when placed in such critical circumstances, are almost sure to swear to more than they know. But there are other incidents and circumstances which tend to fix the guilt upon the exiled king and upon those nearest to him. His own son, the Duke of Berwick, confesses "that he was, during his residence in London, informed by Sir George Barclay of a conspiracy which was carrying on against the person of the Prince of Orange;" and he says that he hastened his return to France that he might not be confounded with the conspirators, whose designs appeared to him—not dishonourable, not dastardly, not atrocious, such moral thoughts seem never to have entered his head—but *difficult to execute*. Nay, further, this illegitimate scion of royalty, or the writer of the Memoirs which bear his name, says that he did not *disapprove* of the conspiracy, and thought himself *bound in honour* not to dissuade Sir George Barclay from it; that, on communicating the project to Louis XIV. at Marli, that monarch gave orders that all things should be in readiness, and that the army of invasion should sail the instant the success of the conspiracy was known. But the Duke of Berwick saw James at Clermont at least two days before he saw Louis at Marli, and he must most assuredly have related the particulars of Barclay's enterprise to his father, who did not, thereupon, waver, or return, or dispatch messengers into England. On the contrary, he went on, and lay at Calais till news reached him (carried probably by Barclay himself) that the conspiracy had been detected, and most of the assassins seized. But there is another kind of excuse set up for James. It is said that now, as on former occasions, what was meant by falling upon the Prince of Orange was merely to seize his person, and bring him over a prisoner to France. The Duke of Berwick modifies his account of the plot in this manner, saying that he thought even Barclay (whose plots and determinations he must have known to the bottom, as he was concealed with him for some time in and about London) designed only to secure the person of William. Now, it required not the head of a soldier like Berwick to perceive that, if really projected, this design could not be executed without bloodshed. Forty assassins lying in ambuscade, and surprising the royal carriage when separated from the guard, might easily have assassinated the king, but not four hundred, nor four thousand, could have carried him off from the neighbourhood of his capital into France. We therefore cannot but agree with Burnet, who observes that assassination "is an odious word, and perhaps no person was ever so wicked as to order such a thing in so crude a manner; but the sending a commission to attack the king's person, was the same thing upon the matter." M. Mazure has brought to light a draft, or the minute of a warrant, dated 1693, which is in these words:—"As the Prince of Orange, against all the laws of God, the laws of nations, and against all the duties and engagements of natural affection, without any preceding provocation, without any pretence or colour of right to cover his ambition and evil designs, has unjustly invaded our kingdoms; and, by usurping a tyrannical and arbitrary power over the lives and property of our subjects, has exposed them to greater miseries than can be expressed; and as, unless we take care to prevent the consequences, the ruin of our kingdoms is inevitable; we authorise you, by this present, we require, and you are by this present authorised and required, to seize and secure the person of the Prince of Orange, and to bring him before us, taking to assist you such others of our faithful subjects in whom you can have most confidence; and we command you, and order all our lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, civil and military, to assist you in the due execution of what is herein contained; and this present will be your authority for so doing."* "Is it possible," to adopt the words of Mr. Hallam, "to consider this language as anything else than an euphemism for assassination?" It has been objected that this paper is only a minute; that it does not appear to whom it was addressed; and that it might have been written by a minister of King Louis, and not of King James. The last objection is futile; and, as to the other two, we would observe,—1. That such

* Life of James, from Stuart Papers, &c.

* Appendix to Mazure, Histoire de la Révolution de 1688.

minutes are not made and preserved in archives unless the subject-matter has been seriously entertained at some time. 2. That it matters not to whom the warrant was addressed, whether to Crosby or to any other spy, conspirator, or Jacobite. In James's Life, which denies or palliates everything, which is from beginning to end a course of special pleading, and in which we seldom know who speaks,—James or his priests,—it is said:—"It was a more than usual trouble to the king to see his project broke, his hopes blasted, and his friends ruined, by their pursuing methods contrary to his judgment, and without his consent; for he had (as we said) been long solicited to agree to something of that nature, but had still rejected it. About the end of the year 1693 a proposal had been made to the king, by one newly come out of England, of seizing and bringing away the Prince of Orange, and of making a rising in and about London; but his majesty would not hear of it, looking upon the project as impracticable, and exposing his friends when he had no prospect of seconding them; the same thing, some time after, was proposed again, and again rejected; notwithstanding which, in the beginning of the year 1695, it was a third time moved by one Crosby or Clench (as was mentioned before), who came from people that wished the king well (as he pretended), though another sort of men than those the king had hitherto corresponded with: these persons, he said, made no doubt of seizing the Prince of Orange, and bringing him off, but desired a warrant signed by his majesty to empower them to do it; this the king again rejected, and charged him not to meddle in any such matter, nor so much as to mention it any more when he returned for England, which he was then obliged to very soon, being only out upon bail; but notwithstanding this injunction, at his arrival in London, he drove it on what he could, and was so indiscreet and insolent as to encourage not only those people of his club to prepare, assuring them an order would soon be sent accordingly, but, having by some means or other found out several of the other club, as Mr. George Porter, Goodman, Sir William Perkins, and Charnock, engaged them to join with him; and, to gain the greater credit and reputation with them, assured them an order would speedily be sent to him for the executing of it. Some of them, indeed, gave no credit to what he said; but others, more credulous and zealous, sent about to hire a vessel for the purpose; but Mr. Charnock, doubting of the truth of what Crosby pretended, writ over to know, and was assured the contrary; upon which the project was laid quite aside by that club; but upon Sir George Barclay's being at London privately, to whom and others a power had been given to levy war and to head the rising (as was mentioned before), they proposed their old project to him, which it seems he accepted of, and prepared to attack the Prince of Orange with forty horse on the road as he went to, or came from, hunting at Richmond; whereas his commission imported no such thing." Yet, taking the words of King James himself,—where they are more easily distinguishable,*—it will appear that James does not deny in express terms that he had consented to the attempt to seize William's person in 1696. And we repeat once more, that he and his instruments must have known that such an attempt would end in murder. By the parliament of England, and by the vast majority of the people, the miserable old man was never allowed the benefit of a doubt; and the conspiracy did more good to William than anything which had yet happened. Both Houses immediately voted addresses of congratulation, with assurances that they would adhere to him against all his enemies, and in particular against the late King James; and declaring that they detested and would revenge so barbarous and villanous a design upon his enemies and their adherents if his majesty should ever come to any violent death. They suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and voted the banishment of all papists from London and Westminster. In imitation of the Protestant Association, formed when the life of Queen Elizabeth was supposed to be in danger from Catholic conspirators, the Commons proposed an association for the defence of King William. In the words of the bond, in consequence of "a horrid and detestable conspiracy, formed and carried on by papists and other wicked and traitorous persons for assassinating his majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, &c., we whose names are hereunto subscribed do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that his present majesty King William is *rightful and lawful* king of these realms." About four hundred members instantly signed this bond; but in the House of Lords the Tories still clung to their nice but confounding distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*; and they resisted the proposition of the Commons that the signing the bond of association should be indispensable for all who would pass for good and loyal subjects. The Lords, however, took up an expedient, and the Commons were obliged to content themselves with this compromise—"That his present majesty King William hath a right by law to the crown of this realm; and that neither King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same."† And in this shape the bond of association was generally signed, and that not merely in parliament,‡ but throughout the country. Ac-

* Extracts in Macpherson's State Papers.

† Burnet says that the Earl of Rochester offered the amendment, which was thought to answer the ends of the association, and at the same time not to revolt those Tories "who said they could not come up to the words '*rightful and lawful*.'" He adds that fifteen of the peers refused to sign the bond even with this compromise, and that in the Commons there were fourscore that refused their signatures. Ralph says that it was refused by ninety-two of the Commoners.

‡ "The association," says Burnet, "was carried from the Houses of Parliament over all England, and was signed by all sorts of people, a very few only excepted."

Under date of the 13th of May, Evelyn enters in his Diary, "The association, with an oath, required of all lawyers and officers, on pain of premunire, whereby men were obliged to renounce King James as no rightful king, and to revenge King William's death, if happening by assassination. This is to be taken by all the council

cording to Burnet, the bishops also drew up a form for the clergy after the model of that signed by the lords with some small variation, which he says was so universally signed, that not above a hundred clergymen all over England refused it. Shortly after, on the 3rd of April, the bond of association was presented to his majesty at Kensington by the House of Commons in a body, who solemnly prayed that he would order it, together with all other associations of the like nature, to be lodged among the records of the Tower, there to remain as a perpetual memorial of loyalty and affection. As yet, however, the signing of the bond was not enforced by any law. But on the following day they resolved in the House that whosoever should, by word or writing, affirm the association to be illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of King James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of his country. Nearly at the same time the Commons unanimously resolved that a Bill should be brought in for the better security of King William, having these heads:—1. That such as should refuse the oaths to his majesty should be subject to the forfeitures and penalties of popish recusants convict. 2. That penalties should be inflicted on such as should call in question William's being *lawful and rightful* sovereign or question the Act of Settlement. 3. That the association should be ratified and confirmed by all good subjects whatsoever. 4. That no person refusing to sign the association should be capable of any office of profit or trust, civil or military. 5. That the same penalties should be inflicted upon such as came out of France into England as upon those that went thither. Several clauses were afterwards added to the bill, which was eventually passed under the title of An Act for the Better Security of His Majesty's Royal Person and Government: it was enacted, for example, that no one that refused the bond could be returned to parliament, and that no persons should be admitted into the service of the Princess Anne or her husband that did not sign it. Anne, according to the *Gazette*, had already signed the bond.* An order of council was issued for reviewing all the commissions of the peace, and for turning out all such magistrates as had not signed when the act was voluntary; and it appears that some justices were displaced accordingly. The session of parliament was closed on the 27th of April, after five millions had been voted as a supply.

At the critical moment when Barclay was with his cut-throats in London, and James, with the French army of invasion at Calais, it had so happened—or probably it had been so arranged by intriguers and traitors—that all the shipping in the Downs consisted of one first-rate, two third-rates, eight fourth and fifth-rates, one fire-ship, and a brig; while all the rest of the ships of war that were in pay lay far asunder in different ports, poorly manned and provided.* But the French force did not move, and by the beginning of March Admiral Russell, who was again fully trusted, had collected eighty sail, small and great. Hoisting his flag on board the Victory, he sailed from the Downs and stood over to Calais, where he discovered some three or four hundred transports drawn close upon the shore, while about eighteen French men-of-war were at Dunkirk, close at hand. He bombarded Calais, left ships to blockade the coast, but did not venture upon the experiment which had been so successfully tried at La Hogue. The French people, exposed to fresh miseries and insults, cursed James as the cause of them, and declared that no enterprise would ever succeed under the influence of his evil star. The outcast sought consolation among the monks of La Trappe, in fasting and in self-inflicted flagellation. "But," says his biography, "whilst the king was thus turning his whole attention to the gaining a heavenly crown, to his great surprise an earthly one was offered him, not that which was his due, and which, for that reason alone, he desired, but one which gave the world a just idea of his merit, and how well he deserved to wear that which had been so unjustly torn from his head. Towards the end of this summer his most Christian majesty sent M. Pompone to the king, to acquaint him he had received an account from Abbé Polignac, who was then ambassador in Poland, that the people of that country had some thoughts of him in the election they were about to make of a new king, and that some particular diets had already named him: this, at the first sight, seemed not to be despised, and many of his majesty's friends of the court of France persuaded him to give into it, but he made no other reply at that time than that he should ever retain a grateful remembrance of the esteem and kindness those persons had shown him; but as soon as he saw his most Christian majesty (he) told him he could not possibly accept it, were it offered, much less use any endeavours to obtain it; that it would amount to an abdication, indeed, of what was really his due, and therefore he was resolved to remain as he was, though he had less hopes of being restored than ever, rather than do

by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Easter Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censured *as a very entangling contrivance* of the parliament, in expectation that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender."

* Just at this moment Anne's only living child, the Duke of Gloucester, then seven years old, and by the Act of Settlement next in order of succession to his mother, was elected a knight of the Garter.

* Burchet, Life of William.—Evelyn, writing on the 26th of February, just after the detection of the plot, says, "But as it pleased God that, Admiral Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channel, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be *got* together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very great deliverance and prevention by the providence of God. Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French army alienated many of his friends, and was like to produce a more perfect establishment of King William." And on the 1st of March he says, "The wind continuing N. and E. all this week brought so many of our men-of-war together, that though most of the French, finding their design detected and prevented, made a shift to *get into* Calais and Dunkirk Roads, we wanting fire-ships and bombs to disturb them; yet they were so engaged among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their great guns overboard to lighten their vessels. We are yet upon them."

the least act which might prejudice his family or be hurtful to religion. There could not be a greater instance that it was the public good and his obligation to the prince his son and family, and not a thirst after rule and dominion, that made the king never lay aside the endeavours of regaining his right; which, as it will render his memory glorious, so it will bring an eternal blemish upon the people of England, for having rejected their lawful hereditary monarch, though he was so well qualified to govern them, that an elective kingdom was disposed to make choice of him preferable to all the world besides."* But in truth there was no more chance of James's being elective king of the Poles, than there was of his becoming hereditary sultan and caliph of the Turks. The meaning of the message sent through M. Pompone was this:—Louis was already negotiating with King William that peace which was concluded a few months after, and he wished to turn James's thoughts away from England, and also, perhaps, to throw one sweet drop into the cup of his affliction.

William had arrived on the Continent early in May, but his campaign this year was far from being brilliant. A short time before his arrival in the allied camp the Earl of Athlone (Ginckel) and Cohorne had attacked and destroyed a vast magazine of ammunition and military stores which the French had collected at Givet. But this was the solitary exploit of the year: Marshal Villeroy and the king of England marched and countermarched, and never came to a battle. Upon the Rhine operations were equally bloodless and indecisive. But in Catalonia there had been some hard fighting, and M. de Vendome, who had succeeded Noailles, fought a pitched battle, and gained a dearly-purchased victory over the Spaniards. On the Danube, where the emperor, the nominal head of the confederacy, was obliged to keep up a great army, which prevented his reinforcing the allies in Flanders, the Imperialists fought one battle in the month of August, and then rested from their fatigues. It was at this moment that Russia or Muscovy, under the young Czar Peter I. first began to enter the lists as a European power. The surrender of Asoph to Russian arms seemed an important event, and an indication of coming changes which were then as welcome to the greater part of Europe as they have since been unwelcome and alarming. The Emperor Leopold was most eager for the alliance of the Czar against their common enemy the Sultan, and the whole family of European princes and states perceived that a hitherto half-barbarous and half-forgotten country must have its weight and influence in all future great political arrangements. Yet the event which was more immediately interesting to William and the English was the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who wavered again, and, it is said upon assurances secretly transmitted to Turin by the court of Versailles at the beginning of the year, that King James must inevitably be restored to his throne in consequence of extraordinary measures then concerted, went to Loretto as if upon a pilgrimage, and there, in great secrecy, signed a separate treaty with France.* This clandestine proceeding was soon suspected; and in the course of the summer the Duke of Savoy pulled off his mask, and declared his intention of establishing a neutrality in all Italy, which was a leading clause of his secret treaty. His late allies, the emperor, and the kings of Spain and England, complained loudly of his desertion, and refused to accede to the neutrality, which had, in fact, been recommended by the pope, in order to save the Peninsula from the ravages of a war which only went to determine whether French or Austrians and Spaniards should have the dominion of that beautiful land. Then the Duke of Savoy put himself at the head of the French army in Italy and of his own troops, invaded the duchy of Milan, then in the possession of Spain, and invested the fortress of Valencia. The court of Spain having no troops to spare, and being at the same time threatened by invasions and insurrections at Naples, her possession at the other end of the Peninsula was thus forced to accede to the neutrality; and thereupon the Duke of Savoy retired across his own frontier, and Louis XIV. ordered *Te Deums* to be sung at Paris for the happy termination of the war in Italy—for the *grand monarque*, who had figured so long as a conqueror, now took to himself the merit of peace-maker. William, at the same moment, was compelled to listen to the wishes of the Dutch, who had received overtures of peace from Louis. These overtures, made under the mediation of Sweden, were accepted by the States General; and on the 3rd of September their high mightinesses came to a solemn resolution that the concessions of France afforded a good ground for a treaty. The terms were communicated to the other members of the confederacy. Some of the minor powers would have accepted them, but the emperor and even the king of Spain, weak as he was, rejected them altogether, insisting that the declarations of France were not sufficiently explicit,—that the treaty of Westphalia ought to be renewed

* Life from the Stuart Papers, &c. Just about this time our old acquaintance Titus Oates, who was alive and flourishing upon a pension, "dedicated," says Evelyn, "a most villanous reviling book against King James, which he presumed to present to King William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved queen's own father."—*Diary*.

* The Duke of Savoy was considered, not without reason, as holding in his hands the keys of Italy; but his power and resources were too limited to make head in all the passes of the Alps against France and Austria, and at the same time to control the wavering and always jealous states that lay beyond his dominions in Italy. The witty Prince de Ligne was accustomed to say of him that his geographical position prevented his being honest. He had been tampering with the French ever since 1693, when he lost the battle of Marsiglia—the first battle, it is said, in which the attack was made (by the French) with the bayonet and sword alone. Prince Eugene, whose heart was with the confederates, tried to keep him to his treaty; but the prince was not much surprised when he heard that the duke had met at the shrine of Loretto with the private agents of France and Venice, who were disguised as monks. By his treaty with France he stipulated for the marriage of his eldest daughter with the Duke of Burgundy, son to the dauphin, and for the restitution of all his dominions, including even Pignerol, which the French had held for more than half a century. These conditions prove the importance to Louis of the neutrality or alliance of Savoy.

in all its parts as the only proper basis of a lasting peace,—and that the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, should join his forces with those of the allies, in case France should refuse to accede to that treaty.

William returned to England; and on the 20th of October, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, he informed the two Houses that overtures for peace had been made by the enemy. "But," said he, "I am sure we shall agree in opinion that the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands." Both Houses returned a cordial reply; but the Commons were warmest. After stating that this was the eighth year that they had assisted his majesty with large supplies for carrying on a just and a necessary war,—that this war had cost the nation much blood as well as treasure,—they added that the benefits procured to religion and liberty were not dearly purchased even at this price; and they pledged themselves to provide not only the necessary supplies for continuing the war with vigour, but also for the payment of the public debt, which had been gradually accumulating in consequence of the deficiencies of the revenue. That able Whig, Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, stepped forward with a very bold scheme. It appeared that six millions would be required for the current expenses of the year; and that the floating debt, which they undertook to discharge, exceeded five millions. If the chancellor of the exchequer had pursued the old routine, he could scarcely have got voted a greater supply than six millions; but he boldly proposed to provide the expenses of the year 1697 within the year, by means of a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a heavy capitation or poll tax; that the deficiency of funds, the low state of public credit, and the want of circulating medium, should be remedied by some new imposts, and by continuing some old ones about to expire to the year 1706, and by borrowing money upon state counters or exchequer tallies, bearing interest and being secured upon supplies voted in succeeding sessions:—and both Commons and Lords concurred in all these measures, and adopted the last and startling innovation, which continued to be acted upon in subsequent times till the national debt of England became one of the wonders of the world. Lord Bolingbroke, who fancied that this creation of funds by forestalling and borrowing would prove fatal to the liberties of the country, by annually increasing taxes and the power of the crown, says, "I am not, however, so uncharitable as to believe that the authors of these measures intended to bring upon their country all the mischiefs that we, who come after them, experience and apprehend. No: they saw the measures they took singly and unrelatively, or relatively alone to some immediate object. The notion of attaching men to the new government by tempting them to embark their fortunes on the same bottom, was a reason of state to some; the notion of creating a new, that is, a monied interest, in opposition to the landed interest, or as a balance to it, was a reason of party to others: and the opportunity of amassing immense estates by the management of funds, by trafficking in paper, and by all the arts of jobbing, was a reason of private interest to those who supported and improved this scheme, if not to those who devised it."* At the same time the privileges of the infant Bank of England were considerably extended, and an increase in its capital took place.

Sir John Fenwick, who had been deeply engaged in the late invasion plot, as in several others, and whose name had appeared in the proclamation, was seized at New Romney† in the course of the summer. He was preparing to sail for France, at that moment an offence all but capital in itself; and he was forthwith committed to the Tower. A letter was intercepted which he had written to his wife, and in which he had said that nothing could save his life except the family interest of the Howards, with whom he was allied through her, or the *securing of a jury*.‡ This was held, without sufficient attention to the strict laws of evidence, as a proof and confession of his guilt. When brought before the Lords of the Regency he stoutly denied the charges against him, but, at the production of the letter to his wife, he changed colour, faltered, and seemed inclined to admit his guilt, with some modifications. On the 10th of August, when he had been nearly two months in prison, Sir John gave a long confession, written in his own hand, to the Duke of Devonshire, making that nobleman pass his word that it should be communicated to King William only.§ "And I believe," says Devonshire, in enclosing the document, "your majesty, when you read it, will not wonder that he exacted that promise from me. I may truly say I should have been very glad not to have been trusted with this secret, being very unwilling to believe what is there suggested of persons for whom I have a great respect, and which, as your majesty may please to observe, is for the most part hearsay. All that I can say is, that, whether your majesty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and, in consideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, *some of them being in places of the highest trust, and in all*

* Letters on History.

† "He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke Dabernon, in Surrey, near Slyfield Mill, as I was told by the great grandson of Mr. Evelyn.—W. B."—*Note to Evelyn's Diary.*—One Webber, an attorney, who was also lying in wait for an opportunity to escape into France, was taken with him.

‡ According to Burnet, Fenwick's notion of making sure of a jury was, "that some of the jury should be hired to starve out the rest."

§ "It appears," says Burnet, by his discoveries, "that the Jacobites in England were much divided; some were called compounders, and others non-compounders. The first sort desired securities from King James for the preservation of the liberties and religion of England; whereas the second sort were for trusting him upon discretion, without asking him any terms,—putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generosity: these seemed, indeed, to act more suitably to the great principle upon which they all insisted—that kings have their power from God, and are accountable only to him for the exercise of it. Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, was the only eminent clergyman that went into this: and, therefore, all that party had, upon Sancroft's death, recommended him to King James to have his nomination for Canterbury." But this is rather a general description of the two classes of plotters than a précis of what is in the confession or confessions of Fenwick.

appearance very firm to your interest now, I humbly beg leave to assure your majesty that, whatever part of this paper you would have kept secret shall remain so inviolably for me."* Fenwick, in fact, confessed that ever since King James's departure from Ireland there was a select number of his friends entrusted by him to manage his affairs here, who held a constant correspondence with him and his secretary of state, and who used all methods possible to advance his interests by engaging men in place, in the government, fleet, and army, and by remitting accounts to France that might encourage Louis to attempt his restoration; that, up to the winter preceding the business of La Hogue, no member of William's government, except Lord Godolphin, was known by him as holding a constant correspondence with St. Germain; that Lord Middleton had been going and coming, and treating in London with Shrewsbury and Godolphin and other men in office; that, when James and the French were at La Hogue, Captain Lloyd, a groom of the bedchamber to King James, was sent over to his majesty from Lord Marlborough and Admiral Russell, with an assurance of their interest in the army and fleet if he would only grant them his pardon for what was past; that the Duke of Shrewsbury, in returning to office under King William, had assured James that it was only to be more capable of doing him service, &c. But of all these double dealers none was so strongly denounced as Marlborough, whom Fenwick described as being entirely depended upon by the exiled monarch. There was, however, scarcely a word in this confession that could be new to William, who weighed well the advice of the Duke of Devonshire, and determined neither to proceed against Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Russell, and their satellites, nor to interfere to save the life of Fenwick. In fact, with the exception of Marlborough, most of the denounced traitors enjoyed at the time that portion of his confidence and favour which the king was wont to bestow on such personages; and, by making such a confession in those circumstances, Fenwick whetted the axe for his own neck. The prisoner, persevering in this fatal course, delivered a second confession, which, however, seemed chiefly meant to make it appear that neither King James nor any of the gentlemen that adhered to him had ever sanctioned Crosby's plan for seizing William, it being always understood that thereby nothing could be intended but assassination. On the 8th of September the inculpated Shrewsbury writes to King William to rebut the charges;—by which it is pretty evident that the Duke of Devonshire had not kept his promise of secrecy to the prisoner. Shrewsbury cannot find words to express his surprise at the impudent and unaccountable accusations of Sir John Fenwick: he, however, allows that he had seen Lord Middleton several times; but this he excused on account of the nearness of their alliance. He goes on to say—"One night at supper, when he (Middleton) was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked me if I would command him no service: I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself or his friends service; and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven." In this letter Shrewsbury makes sure of William's forgiveness, but wishes it were as easy "to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world." "When such an invention," says he, "shall be made public, *they* may perhaps make me incapable of serving you; but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which your majesty has used me upon this occasion shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power." On the 18th of the following month of October, only two days before the meeting of parliament, Shrewsbury wrote again to the king, humbly and earnestly begging his majesty to allow him to return the seals, "it being not fit that a person labouring under such suspicions should serve in so nice an employment as that of his majesty's secretary." Shrewsbury was entreated or commanded to remain in the ministry; and the destruction of Fenwick was made so much the surer.* Burnet says that Fenwick offered no evidence except his own word,† which he had stipulated should not be made use of; that he took especial care to charge none of his own party (that is, the non-compounders or thorough-going Jacobites, who desired no security and made no bargains except merely personal ones with James); that he offered not the least shadow or circumstance to support his accusations; that, afterwards, when examined by the lords of the regency upon oath, he took care to name none of his own side but those who were committed by other evidence, or who were safe and beyond sea; that the most his discovery could signify was to awaken old jealousies; and, finally, that his main design in making it was to gain time in order to practise upon the witnesses. And it is quite certain that these practices were not only resorted to, but employed with great success. By means of his wife, Sir John began with Captain Porter, who was ready to swear that the prisoner had been engaged in Barclay's plots. Porter was offered a good sum in hand and an annuity for life if he would go beyond sea, and so invalidate the testimony—for there was only one other witness, and in cases of treason the law absolutely required two. But Porter, who had at the time, or shortly after, a pension from the government of 260*l.* a-year, pretended to entertain the proposition, and drew Lady Fenwick and the friends who were acting with her to bring the money that he

* Dalrymple, Appendix.

* Dalrymple, Appendix.

† "It is now well known that Fenwick's discoveries went not a step beyond the truth. Their effect, however, was beneficial to the state, as, by displaying a strange want of secrecy in the court of St. Germain's. Fenwick never having had any direct communication with those he accused, it caused Godolphin and Marlborough to break off their dangerous course of perfidy."—*Hallam, Const. Hist.*

was to receive to a certain apartment, where he had provided witnesses to overhear all that passed. At a given signal the secreted witnesses rushed in and seized Lady Fenwick and the rest with their money-bags. This practice was fully proved, and the persons concerned in it were censured or punished. But this did not prevent Lady Fenwick from practising with Goodman, the other witness, who was prevailed upon to go out of England.

A. D. 1697.—Sir John Fenwick now thought his life safe; but the confessions he had sent to the king had arrayed against him an implacable and a most formidable band, who resolved to strike him by attainder in parliament. Admiral Russell, one of those upon whom his accusations lay the heaviest, rose in the Commons, and, as he said, by the king's permission, laid the two written confessions of the prisoner upon the table. After a reading which excited a tempest, in which the guiltiest were the loudest, Fenwick was brought before the House; and, as he refused to give any further account of the matters contained in them, unless upon condition of a full pardon, the papers were voted false, scandalous, and made only to create jealousies; and a bill of attainder was brought in presently. This bill, however, encountered at every stage great opposition in *both* Houses. "The debates," says Burnet, "were the hottest and held the longest of any that ever I knew." The Tories, the semi or entire Jacobites, fought for the unhappy prisoner, and insisted upon a delicate regard to the laws of evidence and the laws of treason, which they had over and over disregarded when they were in power; and the Whigs strained these laws and made up evidence somewhat in the fashion of which they had formerly complained so loudly, and of which some of their party had been the victims upon the scaffold. Goodman, before he had fled or been bought over, had signed a pretty ample confession made in the course of an examination before Secretary Vernon, and he had, besides, on the trial of some of the Barclay conspirators who had suffered death, sworn point blank to Sir John Fenwick's being engaged in that conspiracy; and it was resolved by a majority of the Commons that all this should be received as legal evidence; as also the depositions of two grand-jurymen, as to the confessions he (Goodman) had made upon oath before them previously to their finding the bill of indictment against Fenwick. It was easy to prove—and the crown counsel and the supporters of the bill in the Commons did prove—that Lady Fenwick had tampered unsuccessfully with Porter, and successfully with Goodman, to get them out of the way.

At the final division of the Commons upon the guilt of Fenwick (which was clear enough, though it could not be proved except by resorting to a blameable and dangerous straining of the rules of law), and upon the consequent passing of the bill of attainder, the Whig majority was only 189 to 156. In the Lords, after a most vehement debate, it was carried only by 68 to 61.* The Duke of Devonshire, who had received Fenwick's confession in the Tower, voted against the bill, and Shrewsbury had the delicacy to absent himself from the debate—though it is possible that this absence might be occasioned by a severe fit of sickness which he was then suffering. The Lords Godolphin and Bath, two others of those whom Fenwick had accused, voted against the bill, and appeared earnest for the preservation of their accuser; but Marlborough had none of this generosity or decency; he supported the bill, and induced the Princess Anne's husband to do the same; and this is said to have been the very first instance in which Marlborough voted with the Whigs against the Tories. Archbishop Tennison and Bishop Burnet, who would have done well to remember the ancient canon of the church which prohibited church-men from sitting on a case of blood, both voted with the majority.† The royal assent was soon given to the bill, for which, however, William had not been anxious. Fenwick then made all possible application to the king for a reprieve; but the majority who voted his attainder were eager for his death: the royal ear was filled by these men, and Fenwick was beheaded upon Tower-hill on the 28th of January. "He died," says Burnet, "very composed, in a much better temper than was to be expected; for his life had been very irregular. At the place of his execution, he delivered a paper in writing, wherein he did not deny the facts that had been sworn against him, but complained of the injustice of the procedure, and left his thanks to those who had voted against the bill. He owned his loyalty to king James, and to the Prince of Wales after him; but mentioned the design of assassinating King William, in terms full of horror." The eccentric and unscrupulous Earl of Monmouth (Peterborough) was implicated in this business, and was sent for a short time to the Tower, for having, as it was said, encouraged Fenwick to persist in his accusation of his own personal enemy Shrewsbury.

On the 16th of April William closed the session, and took leave of his parliament, with an assurance that the administration of affairs would be

* "The Lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their absent members to come up: they sent messengers for them to bring them up, which seemed to be a great breach on their dignity; for the privilege of making a proxy was an undoubted right belonging to their peerage; but those who intended to throw out the bill resolved to have a full House."—*Burnet, Own Time.*

† Burnet says that he had a much larger share in this "unacceptable affair" than might seem to become a man of his profession; but that the House of Lords, by *severe votes*, obliged all the peers to be present, and to give their votes in the matter. But this compulsion ought to have had no more power over Burnet and Tennison than it had over the bishops who kept away. Burnet acknowledges that he delivered an *elaborate speech against* Fenwick: he says, "Since I was, therefore, convinced that *he was guilty of* the crime laid to his charge, and that such a method of proceeding was not only lawful, but in some cases necessary; and since, by the search I made into attainders and parliamentary proceedings, when I wrote the History of the Reformation, I had seen further into those matters than otherwise I should ever have done; I thought it was incumbent on me, when my opinion determined me to the severer side, to offer what reasons occurred to me in justification of my vote. But this did not exempt me from falling under a great load of censure upon this occasion." Forty-one peers protested against the attainder, and in this number were *eight* bishops.

left during his absence on the continent in the hands of such persons as he could depend on. It was strange to see Lord Sunderland put forward as one of these trustworthy men: that adroit and treble-sided politician was now made Lord Chamberlain and one of the council of regency. Admiral Russell had been gratified with the blood of Fenwick, and he now received the further gratification of being raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of Orford: and at the same time the lord-keeper was made Lord Chancellor and a peer, with the title of Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham. The summer passed over very quietly in England, for the Jacobites were now humble and silent; and the Marlboroughs, the Russells, and the rest had had a happy escape from the charges of Fenwick, whose accusations were perfectly true, though he was unable and unwilling to substantiate them. Besides, the hopeless reprobated condition into which King James had fallen, and the evident symptoms of an earnest desire for peace on the part of France, did at last pretty well dissipate their doubts and fears of a restoration. And when there was nothing to gain by dishonesty and double dealing, and nothing to lose by the opposite conduct, these model politicians made up their minds to be honest—though their honesty after all was comparative, and still modified, in most cases, by that spirit which was denominated by the Commonwealth men "self-seeking."

The campaign in Flanders was opened by the French with unexpected vigour; or rather, the allies, trusting too much to diplomacy, had neglected arms. M. Catinat, who had been allowed by the cessation of hostilities in Italy to come into Flanders, invested the town of Aeth before William reached the continent; and when his majesty took the field, he found the French besieging army covered by another under Villeroy and Boufflers. Aeth was taken, but the French were prevented from advancing towards Brussels, which they intended either to take or to bombard. The allied forces, and the French under Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers, then chose advantageous camps and lay inactive all the rest of the summer. We shall presently see, however, that the pen was not so inactive as the sword. In Catalonia the French, reinforced under the command of the Duke of Vendome, took the important city of Barcelona, an event which forced the court of Spain to think of peace, and to lower the loftiness of its tone. On the Rhine even less was done in the way of fighting than in the Low Countries; but on the Danube the army of the emperor, now commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, thoroughly defeated the Turks, led by the sultan in person, at the great battle of Zenta. His imperial majesty instantly dispatched a courier to the States General, hoping that the news of this signal victory might induce them to break off those negociations with France to which he was as averse as ever. Poland had become the scene of French intrigues, and plans had been formed there which might have tended greatly to strengthen Louis XIV. John Sobieski, the brave reliever of Vienna, had died the preceding year. The candidates for that elective and most troublesome crown were, as usual, very numerous; and at one moment the Abbé Polignac, the French ambassador, had, it was thought, by lavishing vast sums of money among the mercenary nobles, secured the election of the Prince of Conti. Nay, the primate of Poland proclaimed that French prince, and sang *Te Deum;* and Conti even set out from Paris to take possession of that crown and kingdom. But, on the other hand, the Bishop of Cujavia proclaimed Augustus Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, and sang *Te Deum* in another place; and when Conti arrived, he found Augustus master of the capital and kingdom. Of the venal and factious nobles that generally made a market and a fight of a new election, each faction accused the other of corruption and treachery: the Polish people, who were mere serfs, looked on with stupid indifference, or only felt the curse of the system which eventually ruined what ought to have been one of the finest nations of Europe, when they were pillaged and plundered by the contending parties, and made to bear all the worst evils of that frightful anarchy. The Prince of Conti, after a short struggle, returned to Paris, and the Elector of Saxony, the accommodating Augustus, who changed his religion to qualify himself to be king of the Catholic Poles, remained on the throne till driven from it by that heroic madman Charles XII. of Sweden. During the election there was a talk of a *James;*—but it was James Sobieski, son of the deceased king, and not James Stuart. At this moment Poland hung together only because her neighbours were either not strong enough to attack her, or were engaged in other extensive wars; but Sobieski, in the course of his hard struggle with the Turks, had been obliged to purchase the alliance and assistance of Russia with the fatal treaty of Moscow, signed in the year 1686, by which he ceded in perpetuity to the Russians the greater part of the Ukraine and of the rich country watered by the Borysthenes (or Dnieper); and now the young Czar Peter looked forward with a confident hope to much vaster aggrandisements, and to the occupancy of the post of the first power of the North.*

* It was during this present year (1697) that that wonderful Muscovite, in search of the means of civilising himself and his people, came into Holland, where he occupied himself for some time in learning practically the art of ship-building. Peter and William met at Utrecht; and after a conference of two hours, they separated with expressions of mutual friendship and esteem. The Czar having expressed an earnest desire to pass into England, the king ordered three men-of-war and a yacht under the command of an admiral to conduct him to the Thames. Under the date of the 30th of January, 1698, Evelyn enters in his diary,—"The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hired my house at Say's Court, and made it his court and palace, new furnished for him by the king." Evelyn had made Say's Court, which was close by the dock-yards at Deptford, a beautiful place, and had bestowed great pains on the gardens and grounds. The hard-drinking, half-barbarous Muscovites made a sad havoc, not respecting even a magnificent hedge-row of hollies, which was very dear to the old owner's heart. Whilst the Czar Peter was in his house, one of Evelyn's servants writes to him,—"There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Czar lies next your library, and

While the armies of the French and the confederates enjoyed their ease in Flanders, the Earl of Portland and Marshal Boufflers were busily engaged, at first in a small cottage in the plains of Halle, and subsequently at Brussels, in adjusting the terms of a treaty. Preliminaries were soon signed, and the King of England, after signifying to all the plenipotentiaries assembled at Brussels that he had settled his *separate concerns** with France, retired to his country house at Loo. Then the treaty was carried on slowly and cautiously to a conclusion, at Ryswick, a house belonging to William, between the Hague and Delft. The diplomatists of Spain were humble; but not so those of the emperor, who prolonged discussion on many essential points. The chief of the English diplomatists was the Earl of Pembroke, a man of eminent virtue and of some learning, particularly in the mathematics. "This," says Burnet, "made him a little too speculative and abstracted in his notions: he had great application, but he lived a little too much out of the world, though in a public station." The King of Sweden, Charles XI., had been accepted as mediator, but he died before any great progress was made in the treaty. His son, Charles XII., a youth of fifteen, was admitted to succeed him in the mediation, and the first act of the reign of that most warlike of sovereigns was of a most peaceful character. He intimated, through his ambassador and plenipotentiary at Ryswick, that his father had persevered till death in his purpose of fulfilling his engagements as mediator and guarantee, and had recommended from his death-bed the same line of conduct to his successor, who inherited the same inclinations for a pacific settlement of this long war.

The helpless court of St. Germain was soon made aware of the inevitable result of the negotiations, which could be no less than the acknowledgment and recognition of William. James appealed to the emperor by means of an agent "dispatched privately away to Vienna with the approbation of the court of France;" and, if we are to believe that very doubtful authority, the Jacobite Life of James, Louis XIV. authorised this secret agent "to propose to the emperor the setting up of a separate treaty with his most Christian majesty, who promised better terms than could be expected by a general one,"*—that is, by the treaty going on at Ryswick, where Louis's negotiator, Harlay, was professing at the time a most edifying sincerity and singleness of purpose to all the allies. James's agent, who was probably a priest or a monk, addressed himself to one Father Edera, a Jesuit of his acquaintance, who had great credit at the court of Vienna. The emperor, however, refused to admit the envoy to a private audience;† but he appears to have read a memorial, wherein James described his pitiful case. "So," continues the Jacobite Memoir, "he appointed his confessor, Father Millingatti, to acquaint him that he had done nothing but what was both conscientious and allowed of by common practice of Christian princes; that he entered into that league against France for self-preservation against an unjust aggressor; that he did not attack King James, or go about to invade his right, but made use of the force of a man in power to preserve his own state from oppression and ruin; that, in acknowledging the Prince of Orange for king, he followed the consent of the whole nation and the example of other princes, who had done the like to Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell; that he entered not into any league with the Prince of Orange till that prince was settled in England; that it was not the first time Catholic princes had made such leagues," &c. Applications to the pope were equally unsuccessful; for, besides other considerations, what Innocent most wanted was a lasting peace; and the pacification of Italy was a matter of far greater importance to him and his country than the restoration of James, which, if to be procured at all, could be brought about only by a renewed and a long war. After the failure of these efforts James pressed hard to have his plenipotentiary received at Ryswick; but that conference unanimously refused to admit him in any way as a party to the negotiations. Then the court of St. Germain put forth a manifesto professing to give a faithful account of the Revolution of 1688, and of the crying injustices James had suffered all along. "His majesty hoped that the confederate princes would have some regard to their own security, in discountenancing such wicked attempts on the right of sovereignty; and that they would, for the sake of truth and justice, which had been

dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at ten o'clock and six at night; is very seldom at home a whole day; very often in the king's yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The king is expected there this day: the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The king pays for all he has." And after the departure of Peter, Evelyn himself deplores the miserable condition in which the Czar had left his house, after making it his court for three months.

* According to Burnet, the subject of the "separate concerns" and of the private conferences between Portland and Boufflers was the exiled family. The bishop says, "They met four times and were long alone: that lord (Portland) told me himself, that the subject of those conferences was concerning King James. The king desired to know how the King of France intended to dispose of him, and how he could own him and yet support the other. The King of France would not renounce the protecting him by any article of the treaty; but it was agreed between them that the King of France should give him no assistance, nor give the king any disturbance on his account; and that he should retire from the court of France, either to Avignon or to Italy. On the other hand, his queen should have 50,000*l.* a-year, which was her jointure, settled after his death, and that it should now be paid her, he being reckoned as dead to the nation; and in this the king very readily acquiesced. These meetings made the treaty go on with more dispatch, this tender point being once settled." M. de Torcy, who had his information from Boufflers himself, confirms Burnet in saying, "For the future security of his master, the Earl of Portland demanded that this unfortunate prince (James) should be obliged to remain out of France, to follow his unlucky star to Rome, or to whatever part of the world he might prefer." But he adds that Boufflers insisted that a general act of grace should be granted by William to all the English who had followed the fortunes of James, and that they should all be restored to their estates, &c.

* According to the same authority, "the restitution of Lorraine by Louis seemed to be what the emperor most insisted upon; yet there was so much diffidence on both sides, and the person sent by the king not sufficiently instructed or entrusted by the court of France, that it (*the private treaty*) vanished likewise."

† "Under pretence," says the Memoir, "of a letter lately written to that court, full of deep resentment, from the Prince of Orange, for their having admitted a person from St. Germain's, with the privacy of the court of France, to treat of affairs very prejudicial to his interest."

so visibly abused, their own honour, the public peace, and good of religion, endeavour his restoration." The Prince of Orange was accused of destroying and persecuting the Catholics; and, in proof of James's attachment to the faith, it was asserted that, if he, the king, had been willing to have given the young prince, his son, to be educated as a Protestant, the Prince of Orange would have been disappointed. James further declared that, as to the expedient which had been proposed, of permitting the Prince of Orange to possess the throne for his life, and appointing his son, the Prince of Wales, to succeed him, nothing could be more contradictory to reason, and the duty his majesty owed himself, his posterity, and his people. And here the old doctrine of divine right blazed forth as hotly as it had done when he was the master of a crown, and of fleets and armies: his misfortunes and humiliations had suggested no notion of the divine right of the people to be well governed. "To admit of such a compromise," said the manifesto, "were to suffer the fundamental laws of the kingdom to be altered by *a tumultuous assembly of revolted subjects*,—to suffer himself to be deposed, and his son to owe that to their gift which is *his own* by *right of inheritance*, and the uncontested laws of a successive monarchy: and therefore his majesty was incapable of so low and degenerate an action."* The Jacobites pretended great astonishment that so plain a representation should not have altered the decisions at Ryswick and the politics of all Europe, and complained bitterly that James was totally neglected and given up by Louis XIV. himself, who was so bent upon a peace as to forget his former resolution of restoring James by force of arms, and to recognise, like the rest of the contracting parties in the treaty, the title and right of the usurper William. Pride, however, forbade their admitting that, though kindly and delicately treated by the French court, their exiled king had been but as a mere card in the hands of Louis, who used him according to the turns of the game. Recourse was had to a new protest, that most useless of all diplomatic papers: and "James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland," &c., informed all princes, potentates, &c., that he disclaimed and denied all proceedings adopted, and all articles inserted, in the treaty of Ryswick, which had been concluded without his participation. *The princes of Christendom were once more reminded how dangerous the precedent of the English Revolution might prove to themselves*, and that his cause was the common cause of all sovereigns; they were called upon to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, and were told to reflect "how glorious such a revolution would be, and how suitable to the true interest of those who are *born to govern*." For himself and his lawful heirs James solemnly protested against the usurper, —against all treaties of alliance, confederacy, or commerce made with England since the usurpation,—against all acts whatsoever of the *pretended* parliaments of England. What did him better service (and it might have done him more good than it did if he had consented to remove from France, or if Louis had enforced the conditions in regard to which William was so liberal) was the arrangement already mentioned, entered into through the tender care of Louis, that he should be allowed, or that his queen should be allowed, a pension of 50,000*l.* a-year.

By the treaty of Ryswick, which was signed on the 20th of September, England obtained better conditions than had been offered in the winter of 1695; so that William had not persevered so much longer in the war for nothing. The great principle of the treaty was restitution or a return towards the *statu quo ante bellum*. Spain and Austria had long insisted that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be renewed to the letter;* and though that was found impracticable, those treaties were, in a manner, the basis of the present. Louis XIV. restored to the empire, to Spain, to Holland, to the Duke of Lorraine, and to minor potentates, nearly everything that he had taken from them; but Strasburg, described by Louis himself as one of the principal ramparts of the empire and of heresy, was yielded up absolutely by the emperor and by the empire to France, which was also allowed to retain several important fortresses along the Flanders frontier. The French diplomatists tried hard to keep Luxembourg, but it was restored to Spain. The French people,

* According to the writer of this portion of James's Memoirs, and also according to the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, the project of appointing the young Prince of Wales successor to William was seriously entertained by Louis, and was not rejected by William: but James was indignant at it, and his wife declared that she would rather see her son lie dead before her than become the usurper of his father's throne. "His most Christian majesty," says the Life, "*had underhand* prevailed with the Prince of Orange to consent, ... That mercenary prince, it seems, had no great regard to the pretended ends of his coming, nor to the acts of parliament which excluded the Prince of *Wales and all of that persuasion from the succession*." We scarcely need hint at the very unsatisfactory nature of this evidence. Such an arrangement, instead of securing William on his throne for his life —the selfish motive which is attributed to him—would have precipitated him from it at once, and the English parliament and people would never have received back a Catholic child bred up in abhorrence of their religion. It is true that William had no great affection for the Princess Anne, his successor by the act of settlement; but Anne, as a Protestant, would not only be acceptable to the nation, but also bound, *bon grè mal grè*, to persevere in his darling system of politics, and to stand on the continent as a head of the confederacy hostile to France. We have less difficulty, though not *much less*, in believing another story, told in the Memoir, to this effect:—In the preceding year James had "some glimmering views towards a restoration, on account of the Prince of Orange's ill health, whom he conceived to be the only obstacle; and at that moment the Princess Anne, who had all along kept up a fair correspondence with the king, full of assurances of duty and repentance, . . wrote to the king to know whether he would please to permit her to accept it (the crown), should the Prince of Orange die, and it be offered to her. . . . . She accompanied this request with a seeming sense of her duty, and a readiness to make restitution when opportunities should serve; and that, should she refuse it, considering the present disposition the kingdom was in, it would only remove his majesty the further from the hopes of recovering his right, by putting the government into worse hands, out of which he could not so easily retrieve it." But, according to his biography, "this suited no ways with the king's temper: . . . besides, he knew that, of all restitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown." If Anne really made this offer, nothing can more clearly prove the imbecility and fatuity of the Jacobites who suggested it, or afterwards entertained it as a means of promoting the restoration of James. If Anne had ever attempted any such restitution, she must inevitably have gone to join the exiles at St. Germain.

* Spain had even pretended to treat in a loftier manner, and to renew the articles of the peace of the Pyrenees; but finding that such exorbitant pretensions could not be listened to, she restricted her claim to the restitution of all that had been conquered from her.

though long weary of the war and sadly exhausted by it, complained bitterly of the moderation of their negotiators, not failing to accuse them of treachery and corruption. They said that Louis could not have made a worse peace if he had been vanquished; and, looking only to the bright part of his career, they, with their usual vivacity, asserted that he had been uniformly victorious. But the plain truth was, that the *grand monarque* was absolutely in need of a truce—he, at least, never intended that the peace of Ryswick should be more—and behind the Pyrenees he was watching events and making preparations which he doubted not would give Spain to one member of his family, though his ambitious hope of gaining the empire for another prince of his blood had been frustrated. The treaty of Ryswick left as they were the pretensions of the House of Bourbon to the Spanish succession, arising out of the marriage of Louis XIV. to the Infanta Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV. Diplomacy had not touched those pretensions, nor provided for the proper and national filling of the Spanish throne; and at this moment Louis well knew that the child of the old age of Philip IV., by a union with his niece,—the sickly, imbecile, and childish Charles II.,—a constant prey to indigestion, sickness, melancholy, and a consuming and harrowing superstition, was hastening to the splendid tomb which his forefathers had prepared for royalty under the palace of the Escurial. During eighteen years, or ever since the marriage of Charles with the beautiful Louisa of Orleans, the niece of Louis, the intrigues of the French had been incessant, and now the web seemed complete. Louis knew that the treaty of Ryswick would dissolve the league,—that the forces of the confederates would be dispersed and in good part disbanded: he knew that the constitutional jealousies of the English parliament would prevent William from keeping up a standing army, while he himself, unchecked and absolute, might keep the mass of his own forces together, or increase and improve them. To collect again the armies of the confederacy would be a work of time; but the French, united within their own frontiers and quartered on the road to the Pyrenees, would be ready to march and to act at once. The result proved that these calculations were correct, and that Louis had been moderate at Ryswick only to grasp at the whole Spanish succession. But we shall find that William was presently aware of these intentions, and that, unable to oppose them by arms, he attempted to gain, by a bold diplomacy, a partition of the Spanish dominions, so that France should only have a portion, while the rest of that vast inheritance should be divided, with a view to the balance of power.

The treaty of Ryswick was, in consequence of the brilliant victory obtained by Prince Eugene of Savoy, soon followed by a treaty which restored peace between the Turks and the Austrians, with terms honourable and advantageous to the latter: and thus the seventeenth century, after long wars and infinite bloodshed, was left to terminate in tranquillity.

William returned to England in the month of November. His entrance into London on the 16th was triumphant and joyous: the people blessed him as the restorer of a happy peace. "Some progress was made in preparing triumphal arches, but he put a stop to it; he seemed, by a natural modesty, to have contracted an antipathy to all vain shows; which was much increased in him by what he had heard of the gross excesses of flattery, to which the French have run, beyond the examples of former ages, in honour of their king."* Addresses of congratulation were presented from every part of the kingdom upon the conclusion of a peace in which honourable and reasonable terms had been acquired by the wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance of his majesty. The parliament met on the 3rd of December; and William, doubly justified by the state of affairs abroad and by the state of affairs at home, where he saw himself still surrounded by plotting and factious men, frankly declared to the two Houses, "that, for the present, England would not be safe without a land force." "And I hope," said he, "that we shall not give those who mean us ill the opportunity of effecting that, under the notion of a peace, which they could not bring to pass by a war." Had there been nothing else to justify this declaration, the slowness of the French in evacuating the fortresses and territories which they were bound to cede, might have seemed enough. But this consideration and all others were lost sight of in the national detestation of a standing army; and the feeling of the nation gave weight and consideration to those men in parliament, who, some from patriotism, some from timidity, but many more from merely factious motives, denounced the king and the government as harbouring intentions to destroy that liberty and constitution which he had preserved from absolute wreck, by keeping on foot a host of mercenaries with whom his will was law. By almost unanimous consent the Earl of Sunderland was accused as the principal promoter of this plan; for though he was nominally only lord chamberlain, he was believed to have almost the influence of a prime minister over the king. The Commons, in their address, congratulated his majesty on his having, by the late honourable and advantageous peace, completed the glorious work of the nation's deliverance; but as to the necessity declared by his majesty of keeping up a land force for the present, they said not a syllable. William was hurt and disconcerted—for every day brought alarming news from the continent, with sure indications that Louis XIV., who still kept the exiled Stuarts at Versailles, had in no sense given up the cause of that family; but he said not a word more about the business than the Commons had done; he sent none of those "quickening messages"

* Burnet.

which the princes of the House of Stuart had so frequently resorted to, and with such fatal effect. He calmly waited the deliberations of parliament. The important question came on in the Commons in the course of a few days, and loud was the debate. It was affirmed, without any nice distinction as to number or officering, that a standing army—that any standing army—was utterly inconsistent with a free government, and absolutely destructive of the English constitution; that a standing army once established was established for ever; that the records of every country had shown that the establishment of a military force, apart from the people, had been ever fatal to liberty; that a people are no longer free when the sword is taken out of their own hands and put into the hands of mercenaries; and, finally, that, if a standing army were once established in England, all that Englishmen would have gained by the Revolution was a precedent in favour of resistance to arbitrary power—which they would never again be permitted to quote or to use. Scoundrels who would have thrown the country prostrate at the feet of the shallowest and most vindictive of despots, who would have brought in James by means of a French invasion, were enthusiastically eloquent upon these points. When the question came to a division in the Commons, it was carried by a majority of 185 to 148 against the court, and the resolution was adopted—that all the forces raised since the year 1680 should be forthwith disbanded. This determination, however, fell far short of the original intention of many, who had proposed that the public defence should be intrusted solely to the militia; for it allowed of 8000 regular troops, the number on foot in 1680. The king confined his complaints to his friends Lord Portland and the Dutch Grand Pensionary Heinsius.* Sunderland, who was about equally odious to both factions, though both allowed his ability for business, had argued, with many others, during these debates in favour of the necessity of keeping up a greater force; and now, pressed hard by the Tories, and apprehending that the Whigs would defend him very faintly, he resolved to prevent a public affront by retiring voluntarily from the court and from business. William earnestly requested him to continue still about him; but Sunderland had made up his mind, and he went to his pleasant retirement at Althorp. He probably thereby escaped an impeachment. Before the passing of the bill, or immediately after signing the treaty of peace, William had ordered the disbanding of a large part of the army; a reduction which was carried on in conformity with the demands of the two Houses, and in spite of the increasing alarms on the continent, until the land forces actually on foot did not exceed 15,000 or 16,000 men. But there William appears to have stopped. Parliament, however, in this session settled a revenue upon the king *for life*, and carried the amount to 700,000*l.* instead of 600,000*l.*, as originally intended.*

During this session the English parliament, still far from adopting any wide or general doctrine either in commerce or religion where Ireland was concerned, fell with a heavy hand upon that luckless country. William Molyneux, a gentleman of Dublin, had published a book entitled "The Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England," attempting to refute sundry old notions, and to get up a determined spirit of resistance to Poyning's Law, which kept the Irish parliament in shackles. But Molyneux's arguments were in some respects excessively faulty; for, while he denied the dependence of Ireland upon the parliament of England, he represented Ireland to be a conquered country, subject to the will and pleasure of the crown. There is this, however, to be said in exculpation—Molyneux must have known that far more was to be expected from the tolerance of William than from the intolerance of the English parliament; the king had, at least, the merit of intending well and kindly; but parliament had never voted or acted except to add oppression to oppression, and even the wise and generous had appeared to lose their wisdom and their generosity whenever the affairs of that kingdom were in question. Now, inflamed by Molyneux's book, which at first appeared anonymously, the English Commons appointed a committee to inquire what proceedings in Ireland had given occasion to the writing, and voted an address to the king, praying that his majesty would be pleased to give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. Their committee also unanimously resolved "that the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the people and kingdom of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland has, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." And they went on to complain that the Irish House of Commons had unwarrantedly and impudently made alterations in an act "for the better security of his majesty's person and government" already passed by the English parliament, and had moreover enacted divers things to which they were not competent, and in

* Burnet, however, tells us the king complained *to him* of the ill usage and jealousies of the parliament: "This gave the king the greatest distaste of anything that had befallen him in his whole reign; he thought it would derogate much from him, and render his alliance so inconsiderable, that he doubted whether he could carry on the government after it should be reduced to so weak and so contemptible a state. He said that, if he could have imagined that, after all the service he should have done the nation, he should have met with such returns, he would never have meddled in our affairs; and that he was weary of governing a nation that was so jealous as to lay itself open to an enemy rather than trust him, who had acted so faithfully during his whole life that he had never once deceived those who trusted him. *He said this, with a great deal more to the same purpose, to myself;* but he saw the necessity of submitting to that which could not be helped."

* "It had been promised," says Burnet, "at the treaty of Ryswick, that King James, being now as dead to England, his queen should enjoy her jointure, that was, 50,000*l.* a-year; and it was intended to settle a court about the Duke of Gloucester, who was then nine years old; so, to enable the king to bear that expense, this large provision was made for the civil list: but, by some great error in the management, though the court never had so much, and never spent so little, yet payments were ill made, and, by some strange consumption, all was wasted."

so doing had given occasion and encouragement to the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book. Four days after this, the English Commons, in a body, presented an address to his majesty, asserting that very dangerous attempts had been made of late by some of his Irish subjects to shake off their subjection to, and dependence on, this kingdom, &c. To this William mildly replied that he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired.* But the parliament of England fancied it had other grievances to complain of besides the assertion of an abstract principle, which was not likely to have much weight until the Irish, from the weaker, should become the stronger party, or until a healing amalgamation should take place and destroy the jealous distinctions between Englishmen and Irishmen, Protestants and Papists—an event still rather in the region of prayer than in that of hope. It was rumoured in England that the Irish were making coats for their own backs—nay, that they had even had the audacity to set up extensive woollen manufactures, "to the manifest detriment of those which constituted the staple trade of England." At first the House of Commons ordered a bill to be prepared for quieting these national apprehensions; but, giving up this course, they voted another address to the king. The tone of this address, which will disgust every liberal mind, was like a political anathema and excommunication. According to this document the Irish owed the universal gifts of light and air, life and a soil to tread upon, more to the English parliament than to God Almighty. It stated "that, being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend on the preserving the woollen manufactures as much as possible entire to this realm, they thought it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not without trouble observe, *that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by, England in the enjoyment of all they have*, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and as profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations; that the consequence thereof would necessitate his majesty's parliament of England to interpose to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty, by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England by making the subjects of Ireland pursue the joint interests of both kingdoms: wherefore they implored his majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employs in Ireland to use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, (except to be imported hither,) and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland; to which the Commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance." To this address his majesty made answer, "that he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland."

In another matter this session of the English parliament was indirectly the cause of considerable expense and suffering to Ireland. "The flame both within doors and without, about a standing army," was kept up by constant additions of fuel, not always drawn from those depths where truth is said to reside; and the patriots proclaimed that the reduction had not been carried far enough—that there was still in England a force sufficient to put in jeopardy the liberties of the people. The course to be taken was apparent; a considerable number of horse, foot, and dragoons, were drafted off to Ireland. It was assumed, however, by some in the House of Commons, that this was in reality giving an unwarrantable benefit to the Irish, who would receive the money spent by the soldiery!

Towards the close of the session the Commons addressed his majesty, demanding that a list should be laid before that House of the troops disbanded, and intended to be disbanded, together with a list of all the officers who were put or to be put upon half-pay. So jealous were the people of any approach to that object of their unvarying hatred, a standing army, that they complained loudly of the half-pay system, which they represented as insuring and keeping together the nucleus of an army—for where the officers, the most essential part, were kept together, it would be easy to raise the private soldiers again in a few weeks or to make new ones in a few months. Trenchard, ex-secretary of state to William, who wrote "The History of Standing Armies," and who exerted himself on the patriotic side, was an honest and conscientious man, but the majority of those who acted with him in this matter were actuated exclusively by factious motives. Some boasted that they would break the cold stern heart of the king by depriving him of all his forces except a troop of horse, and by rendering him utterly unable to take any further part in continental affairs.

On the 5th of July William prorogued the parliament without betraying any symptom either of grief or ill humour; but on the 7th he dissolved it by proclamation, and summoned a new one to meet on the 24th of August. We may make use of this interval to pass into Scotland, which, in the course of the present year, came in for a share of heavy grievances as well as Ireland. The king had never been and never became popular with the Scots, who were far too zealous for one particular faith to love the only consistent friend of toleration in his kingdom. They—we mean the vast ma-

* Ralph.

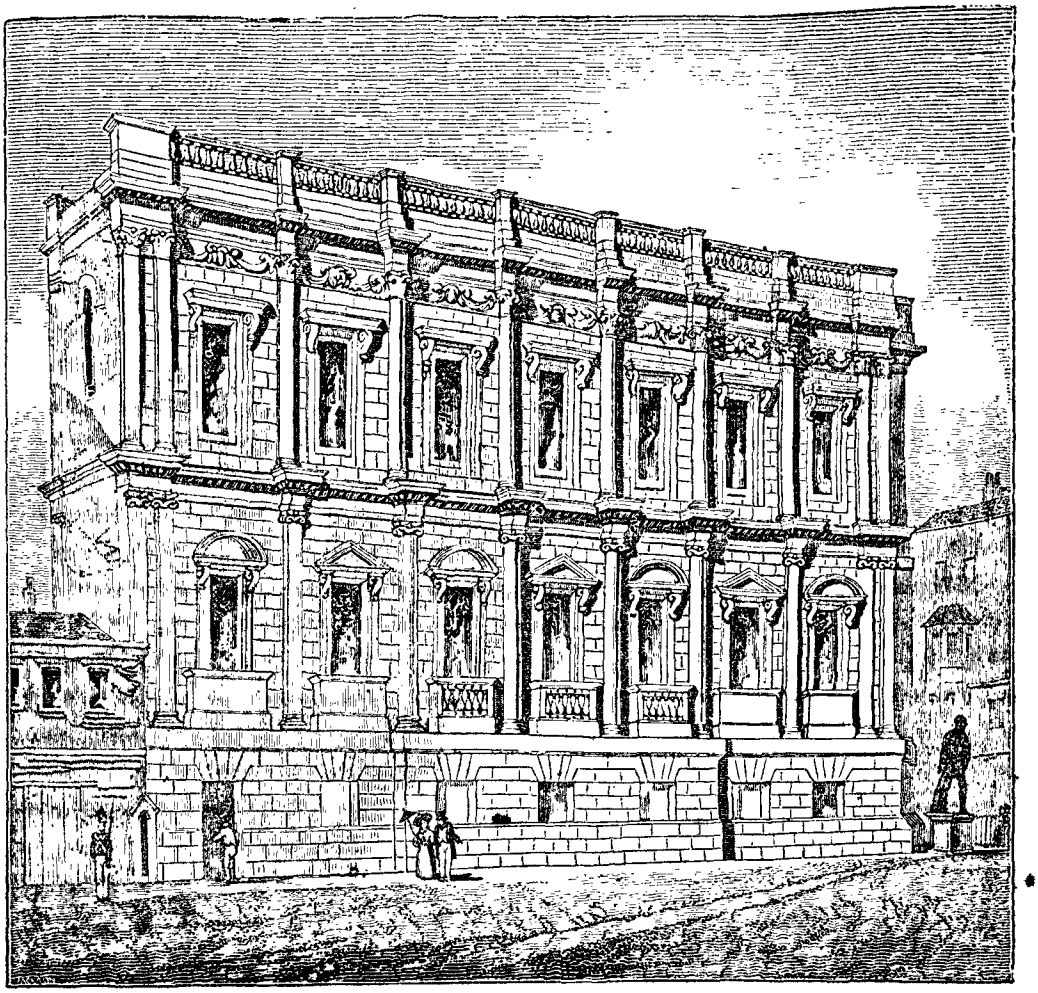
jority of the Presbyterians—would scarcely have allowed bread and water to the ministers of the episcopal church, whom they had dispossessed and driven from their livings with violence and contumely. When these priests of Baal were in the ascendancy, what had they received from them but idolatrous ceremonies, false interpretations of the blessed word, stripes, imprisonment, torture, banishment? and had not the blood of their brethren been made to run like water in the war about lawn sleeves, altars, and liturgies? Thus reasoned the enthusiasts, who had every part of scripture in their mouths except those texts which teach the forgiveness of past injuries. But the Scots had other grounds of complaint, and upon some of these they were indisputably entitled to sympathy and respect. Proud and high spirited, and justified in their national pride by their long preservation of their independence against a far greater and richer country, they now saw that in all matters of government Scotland was made subordinate to England. This, under the circumstances, was inevitable, and nothing was left that could make the odds even except an entire incorporation and union with England. But the word union still sounded like anathema maranatha in their ears, and their hearts still clung to the name and separate insignia of old Scotland. On all subjects where the interests of the two nations clashed, the English parliament treated the parliament of Scotland with nearly as much disrespect as it showed to that of Ireland; the Scottish council of state appointed by the king not unfrequently drove matters without a very delicate attention to the rights and usages of the country; and the Court of Session was corrupt and partial, the judges setting an example of subservience to the higher powers which has been too frequently followed by Scottish judges down nearly to our own times. It was thought by some that the king might have removed at least a part of the unpopularity which attached to him personally if he had gone occasionally into Scotland, and opened their parliament in person, &c.; but William was not fitted to court favour in this way; his manners were not captivating; and it may be that the remembrances of the dynasty of the Stuarts, which he had displaced, blew like a cold blast from their old home, Scotland, making the country uninviting. However this may be, to Scotland he never went. As often as the parliament had assembled there he had made his excuses for not meeting them in person, by pleading his constant occupation in his military capacity; but now the war was at an end a session was to be held at Edinburgh, and he had a favourite point of his own to carry; and yet, instead of going down, he appointed the Earl of Marchmont, then lord chancellor of the kingdom, to open it by commission. On the 19th of July, the day before William left England for Holland, this Scottish session began. In his letter read by Marchmont the king told them "that their enemies abroad, and those who were disaffected to the government at home, were still ready to lay hold on all opportunities for carrying on their bad designs; and that, therefore, his majesty judged it absolutely necessary for their preservation that the forces upon the present establishment should be continued; and he did not doubt but they would provide suitable supplies for maintaining them." He then recommended the raising of supplies for making up deficiences in former funds for paying arrears due to the troops, and repairing the forts and garrisons. Less jealous of a standing army than were the English, this parliament readily voted that the present standing forces were necessary to be continued, and then passed to a vote of ways and means. But Paterson, the projecting financier, and his schemes had thrown the whole Scottish nation into a new ferment. The merchant-adventurers and others who had acted upon the large charter of trade and colonization granted by William in the year 1694 laid a representation of grievances before the Scottish parliament, stating that, "whereas the wisdom of the king and parliament had thought fit, by two several solemn acts and letters patent under the great seal of the kingdom, to establish their company with such power, privileges, and immunities as were needful to encouraging any such new undertaking in that nation; *and particularly to raise a joint-stock in such manner as they should think fit*; and for that end to enfranchise such foreigners as would become partners with them; and to enter into treaties of commerce with any in amity with his majesty for that effect: that those of their number who were then intrusted with the management of that affair did think it most natural to make the first offer of sharing their said privilege with their countrymen and other neighbours in England, as living under the same monarchy; and that they not only readily embraced the offer, but in nine days subscribed 300,000*l.* sterling, as the one-half of the capital stock then proposed, and actually paid in the first fourth part thereof, part in specie, part in bank-notes payable upon demand: that both Houses of Parliament of England, taking umbrage at those proceedings, had not only jointly addressed his majesty for frustrating the ends of the said acts, but the House of Commons had also appointed a committee to examine what methods were taken for obtaining the said acts of parliament for establishing their company, who were the subscribers thereunto, and who were the promoters and advisers thereof—with power to send for persons, papers, and records: and that, pursuant thereto, the said committee had given orders to summon not only the English subscribers, but even some persons residing then in Scotland; as by the said address, votes of the House of Commons, and copy of the said summons, did appear. By all which, together with some other measures then taken, their friends in England were, to their great loss, disappointment, and retardment, forced to

relinquish their enterprise." The representation or remonstrance then went on to show that, notwithstanding the discouragement interposed by the English House of Commons, most of the nobility, gentry, merchants, and the whole body of the royal burghs of Scotland, had, upon the inducement and public faith of the said acts of the Scottish parliament and the said letters patent of his majesty, contributed as adventurers in raising a far more considerable joint-stock than any that had ever been raised in that kingdom for any public undertaking or project of trade whatsoever, which made it now the universal concern of their nation: that they had also hopes of foreign aid and contribution, especially at Hamburgh, where the merchants had contracted to join at least 200,000*l.* sterling with them; when, of a sudden, and to their great surprise and loss, the English minister there resident had, under pretence of a special warrant from his majesty, put a stop to the whole business, by presenting a memorial to the Hamburgh senate, which not only disowned the authority of the said Scottish act of parliament and letters patent, but also threatened both the senate and the merchants with the king of England's utmost displeasure if they should persevere in the project: that, after this memorial of the English ministry was presented, the Scottish deputies had been advised and prevailed upon by the Hamburgh merchants to open books in the said Merchants' Hall, where for some days the Hamburghers signed considerable sums pursuant to their previous contract, though under condition to be void if they (the Scots) should not procure some declaration from King William that might render them secure from the threatenings and insinuations contained in his minister's memorial: that, as the reasonable and unquestionable prospect of a powerful assistance from Hamburgh and several other places had induced them (the Scots) to make a far greater and more expensive preparation for colonies and trade than they otherwise would have done, so the rendering these measures abortive had weakened their stock, lessened their credit, retarded their expedition, disheartened the shareholders and contributors, and thrown a damp upon all branches of foreign and domestic trade and improvement in Scotland. The old nationality was appealed to in an effective manner:—"We humbly conceive," continued the remonstrants, "that the honour and independency of the nation, as well as the credit and authority of our parliament, is struck at through our sides." Still preserving the secret as to their destination, they suggested "*that, the ships being then at sea on their intended voyage,*" the estates of parliament should not neglect to provide for their security against the *old enemies* of their company, who either directly or indirectly might ruin all their designs; and they called upon the estates to vindicate the honour of the Scottish nation and provide for its good by insisting on their former acts and his majesty's letters patent. The Scottish parliament hereupon drew up an address to his majesty; but it was short and general, and so cold as to look almost like indifference. It purported that, having considered a representation made by the council-general of the Scottish company trading to Africa and the Indies, which mentioned several obstructions, and particularly a memorial presented to the senate at Hamburgh, tending to lessen the credit of the rights and privileges granted to the said company, they earnestly entreated and expected that his majesty would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the said company: and that, as they were bound to return thanks for the assurances his majesty had given them of all due encouragement for promoting the trade of Scotland, so they were thereby encouraged to recommend to the more especial marks of his royal favour the concerns of the company trading to Africa and the Indies, &c., in which they and the nation which they represented had a more peculiar interest. But long before this address was ready William was in Holland, busied in revolving one of the boldest or least scrupulous of his continental schemes. His Scottish ministers endeavoured to qualify the heats which this commercial fever had caused, but their efforts were not very successful, and in the beginning of September they adjourned the parliament to the 25th of November. In that interval the Scottish speculators ascertained from Stevenson, their agent at Hamburgh, that their affairs there lay under the same difficulties and discouragements as before. They presented a letter or memorial to Lord Seafield, secretary of state. But Seafield could do nothing for them, and when the Estates re-assembled it was found that they could not do much more. Meanwhile the company's ships at sea went on their course.*

During William's last stay in England the palace of Whitehall, which for a long course of years had been the residence of our kings, was all burnt to the ground except the Banqueting House;† and

* Dalrymple, Memoirs.

† Part of Whitehall had been consumed by fire eight years before this. Evelyn, under date of the 10th of April, 1691, says, "This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone gallery at Whitehall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauched both King Charles II. and others, and were his destruction. The king returned out of Holland just as this accident happened. Proclamation against Papists, &c."—*Diary.* The second fire, mentioned in the text, gave rise to a malicious witticism. A statue of the dethroned King James had been left in Privy Gardens, where it still remains. During the conflagration this figure was surrounded with flames; upon which it was said that this was the first time James had ever stood fire. Ralph says that, in consequence of this fire, all the royal apartments were destroyed; "and our sovereigns have since chosen to keep their court in that irregular unsightly heap which at this day, by the courtesy of England, is called the royal palace of St. James's."—*Hist.* William's favourite residence, however, was Kensington, which Evelyn describes as "yet a patched building, with a garden: however, it is a very sweet villa, having to it the park, and a straight new way through this park." William, who had bought the place of Lord Nottingham, made very considerable alterations and additions, and stocked the house with a choice collection of pictures, &c. In 1696, when it had been seven or eight years in his majesty's possession, Evelyn thus describes it:—"I went to see the king's house at Kensington. It is very noble, though not great. The gallery furnished with the best pictures, from all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Correggio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassan, Vandyke, Tintoret, and others; a great collection of porcelain; and a pretty private library.



BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL.

my Lord Marlborough, who had been so long in the shade, and active only in protesting against ministers, was restored to his places both in the privy council and in the army. The Princess Anne, whose strange attachment to Lady Marlborough was more vehement than ever, had exerted every interest in her power at court, with ministers and others, to procure the reappointment of that fair lady's disgraced lord.

In the preceding year (1697) Anne's only surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, had attained the age of eight years, a period at which it was thought imperative to confide to some nobleman the charge of his person, and to some bishop or learned doctor the care of his education. William offered the first office—or the post of governor—to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who, on account of the accusations of Sir John Fenwick and of ill health, was soliciting permission to resign the fatiguing office of secretary of state. Shrewsbury, however, declined the appointment. Anne then put forward the husband of her favourite; but William's well-grounded objections to Marlborough were not overcome until Anne and Marlborough had secured Lord Sunderland and Lord Albemarle, a new favourite of the king, and the warm recommendation of the Tories, who were again making their influence felt, and looking confidently to the not distant formation of a pure Tory cabinet. But even at last William only consented because he saw that, if he rejected Marlborough, he must consign the young prince to his maternal uncle, Lord Roches-

The gardens about it very delicious."—*Diary.* But Kensington Palace was visited by fire as well as Whitehall. In November, 1691, part of it was burnt; and another fire broke out some years afterwards, which had well nigh consumed the king himself in his bed. One popular way of accounting for these frequent conflagrations was, to talk of the carelessness, drunkenness, and stinginess of William's Dutch attendants; but there were not wanting some who saw the finger of the pope in them all, and who called for new measures gainst the Roman Catholics at every conflagration.

ter, the blazing head of the high-church party, the stanchest or loudest of all Tories, and a man whom William hated more than he did the plotting and venal, but accommodating Marlborough. Having once made up his mind, he conferred the office in the most gracious manner upon the fortunate and aspiring soldier, who had many more accomplishments than virtues. "Teach him," said William, "to be like yourself, and he will not want accomplishments." As if to balance the Toryism of this governor—for Marlborough was still a professing Tory—the king gave the preceptorship to the celebrated Dr. Burnet, the historian, then bishop of Salisbury, and a Whig of the first water.*

The very evening after his appointment Marlborough was restored to his military rank and to his place in the council; and, striking up a sudden friendship for the Whig bishop, he continued to divide with Burnet the care of the Duke of Gloucester, who, like all princes that die young, is represented as being of a most promising disposition—as another Marcellus. "All my endeavours," says Burnet himself, "to decline this were without effect; the king would trust that care only to me, and the princess gave me such encouragement that I resolved not only to submit to this, which seemed to come from a direction of Providence, but to give myself wholly up to it. I took to my own province the reading and explaining the scriptures to him; the instructing him in the principles of religion and the rules of virtue; and the giving him a view of history, geography, politics, and government." The Tories, not much satisfied with Marlborough, were absolutely furious at the bishop; and a motion was made in parliament for an address to remove Burnet in consequence of the censure passed by the House of Commons, some years before, on a Pastoral Letter of his, which had been ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.† But here Marlborough stepped in to the support of his colleague; and, chiefly, it appears, through his great interest, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority, and Burnet left in his anomalous position.‡

Early in the year William had dispatched Lord Portland on an embassy to Paris, with instructions that were known to none except the king and his friend and adviser, the pensionary Heinsius. To make an impression on the French court and people, who had contracted a great liking for such things during the stately and gorgeous reign of Louis XIV., William departed from his usual plainness and simplicity, and fitted out this embassy and retinue in a most splendid manner, and at a vast expense. Those who grumbled at everything he did complained loudly at this; and those perhaps the loudest who had most blamed him for parsimony and meanness, and a disregard to the dignity of the nation. Portland was attended by the celebrated wit and poet, Mathew Prior, as his secretary. The embassy made its public entrance into Paris on the 27th of February, making the Parisians stare and wonder. It is said that they criticised the dresses, equipages, &c.; but this is rather an old habit than any proof of their want of better taste. Portland represented his master with good effect, being stately, cool, and dignified, and resolute not to yield any of those points of etiquette which were so important in the court and diplomacy of France at that time. He wrote to William,—"Not understanding ceremonials, I make up for it in obstinacy, which is rather necessary here." The stage dignity of Louis, and all his imposing manners, were thrown away upon this firm and cool-headed Dutchman; and the *grand monarque*, for the first time these many years, saw a diplomatist that would hold the master he served his equal in all things. Nor was Secretary Prior wanting in his part. One of his sayings was proper to make an impression on a witty, epigrammatic nation. As he was passing through the splendid gallery at Versailles, covered with paintings by Le Brun, representing the victories of Louis XIV., he was asked by one of the courtiers whether his master, King William, had any such paintings as those at Whitehall. "No, sir," said the wit, "my master's actions are to be seen everywhere but in his own house." Portland, with little circumlocution, complained of the countenance still shown by the court of Versailles to the Duke of Berwick and "other assassins," who had the bad taste to be there at his presentation and after-visits. The French court replied that the Duke of Berwick had only been engaged in the matter of invasion; and that, as for the rest, if they were proved to be assassins (that is, to have been accomplices with Barclay, Perkins, and the other Turnham-green men), his most Christian majesty would withdraw his protection from them.

* Coxe, Life of Marlborough.—Burnet.

† Provoked by the Jacobites and Tories, who, in spite of the Act of Settlement, sought all occasions of calling the right of William in question, several friends to the Revolution were urged into imprudent measures, and even declared that, let the matter be questioned as it might, the throne of England belonged to William by right of conquest. Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Worcester, in a sermon preached before their majesties on the 5th of November, 1690, propounded this doctrine. Burnet adopted it, and carried it *out in* a pastoral letter; and one Mr. Blunt, under the sanction of Bohun, the licenser of the press, published a bold pamphlet, entitled 'King William and Queen Mary Conquerors.' On the 20th of January, 1692, the House of Commons fell upon these offenders, and resolved that the assertions of conquest were of most dangerous consequence, &c.; that Blunt's pamphlet should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and that Bishop Burnet's pastoral letter should undergo the same fate. It was debated whether Bishop Lloyd's sermon, which had also been printed, with large additions inculcating the divine right of conquest, should not be burned also; but either out of respect to their majesties, or thinking they had already set a sufficient brand on the doctrine, they let that motion drop.

‡ The bishop, as a matter of course, professes, as we have seen, an unwillingness to accept of this additional charge and court office. He says—"I used all possible endeavours to excuse myself; I had hitherto no share in the princess's favour or confidence; I was also become uneasy at some things in the king's conduct; I considered him as a glorious instrument, raised up by God, who had done great things by him; I had also such obligations to him, that I had resolved, on public as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any opposition to him; and yet I could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did, and that he was giving his enemies handles to weaken his government. . . . These considerations disposed me rather to retire from the court and town than to engage deeper in such a constant attendance for so many years as this employment might run out to. The king made it, indeed, easy in one respect; for, as the young prince was to be all the summer at Windsor, which was in my diocese, so he allowed me ten weeks in the year for the other parts of my diocese."

Portland named Sir George Barclay himself, who, since his flight from England, had been treated with as much consideration as ever by the court of St. Germain. The French minister merely told him that Barclay had been deprived of his military command. Lord Portland then demanded the removal of King James to Rome or Avignon, insisting that this removal had been verbally agreed to by Marshal Boufflers when negotiating the treaty at Ryswick. Boufflers rather equivocated than denied the fact; but Louis, who wanted to keep England in a state of uneasiness, declared that nearness of kindred to the dethroned sovereign, compassion, and the point of honour, forbade him sending James out of his dominions. After such a declaration, and with the notoriety of the fact that the court of St. Germain continued to be stocked by men who had proposed or actually engaged in plans of assassination, it was hardly to be expected that William should send James's queen the pension of 50,000*l.* a-year. If the English parliament had been less jealous upon the subject of the army,—if Louis had not at this moment proposed a grand scheme, which for a time misled him, it is pretty certain that William would not have stopped at the mere suspension of a payment to the exiled family, but would have demanded, as a *sine quâ non*, the removal, from the neighbourhood of the English shores, of that focus of conspiracy and intrigue. The scheme in question was the memorable "First Partition Treaty," of which so much has been said and written. It is declared, or artfully implied, by some writers, that this plan originated with William. But, on the 3rd of January, when Portland was preparing to go to France, William, in writing to his intimate adviser, the Pensionary Heinsius, with whom he had no state secrets, alludes to a scheme suggested in France, and seems to wonder what it can be. "What the French ambassadors have said to you," says William, "that something must be done by the Republic, France, and me, towards maintaining the peace, *surprises me much;* but I am of opinion with you, that it relates to the guarantee between the emperor, the empire, and us. The Earl of Portland will readily be able *to get to the bottom of this affair in France;* and this is a further reason for hastening his departure as much as possible." On the 15th of March, or about a fortnight after his arrival at Paris, Portland writes to his master,—"Yesterday, Messieurs de Pomponne and De Torcy came to see me, and told me that it was by order of the most Christian king to tell me that he was willing to make use of me in *a thing of the greatest importance, and which demanded the greatest secrecy;* and that his majesty had an entire confidence in me. After I had answered as I ought, M. de Pomponne said that, as the sentiments of the king, his master, were sincere for the maintenance of the peace, and as they were fully persuaded that your majesty's sentiments were the same it was necessary to take care of those things which might cause the interruption of that peace, and to come to an understanding how to prevent it: that *the death of the King of Spain*, which might happen suddenly, and which would bring on the same trouble from which we had just freed ourselves, was of that nature that the most Christian king desired to enter with your majesty into engagements which might prevent so great an evil; that, Spain falling into the hands of the emperor, he might make himself master of all Italy, and so absolute in the empire as to become an object to be feared; that, for this end, his most Christian majesty wished to enter into an understanding and agreement with your majesty touching the said succession, desiring to know if your majesty were inclinable thereto, and what conditions and securities you would require. I replied that I was surprised at this proposition, though I could not but consider the death of the King of Spain as a thing that would indubitably throw us back into a war; that, however, we considered the circumstance as an inevitable evil, only hoping that it might not happen quite so soon; that I saw that the interest of England and that of Holland was opposed to an accommodation, both as regarded the maritime force and the trade of all the world; that I did not see how it was possible for your majesty to give any other answer than a general one to such a proposition, unless I was informed of the sentiments of the most Christian king with regard to the particulars which he had to propose. He (M. Pomponne) replied that he could not enter into particulars until your sentiments in general were understood, and that, even then, they must know from you what you would judge suitable for the interest and security of the two nations of England and Holland. I told him I was sure that, if I wrote to your majesty in the general terms he spoke about, I could expect, at the most, no other answer than that your majesty would be willing to listen to what should be proposed to you. And as I saw, at length, that I could get nothing more out of him, I told him, as if for talk, my own private sentiments as to what I believed would be considered as contrary to our interests. . . . . To which he said, that, as for what concerned the Low Countries, it would be easy to agree in a manner to give satisfaction to both parties; that, for Spain itself, they would give sufficient securities that that kingdom should never be under the domination of the same king with France; but for the Indies, and about the security of our trade in the Mediterranean, on which two things I touched a great deal, he would answer me nothing, demanding only that I should render an account to your majesty of all that he had proposed to me, declare the sentiments of the king his master, and beg to be informed of yours, sire.'"* In continuation, the wary diplomatist informed William that he had not dropped a word which might lead them to judge of his majesty's intentions, and that he would endeavour to engage Pomponne in some other

* Hardwicke State Papers.

discourse, from which he might learn, beforehand, the real intentions of Louis. And in the same letter he announces the departure (on that very day) of the Comte de Tallard, who was bound to St. James's, ostensibly only to congratulate William, but in reality to lead him into the grand and secret plan of Louis. Tallard, an experienced negotiator, arrived at London on the 19th of March, and soon after a negociation of the Partition Treaty was entered upon with vigour, but still with the utmost secrecy—at least as far as England was concerned; for there are reasons for believing that Louis, for objects which will be soon made apparent, let some of the grandees of Spain into the mystery. Louis himself and King William, Lord Portland, Count Tallard, and the Pensionary of Holland did all the business without the knowledge of any English minister or any English subject whatever. Sunderland, that man of all counsels, was passed over in this; and even the steady, close, and true Chancellor Somers, though not kept totally in the dark, was admitted only to a *demi-jour* sort of light. But Somers, be it said,—perhaps we may add Montague,—was the only one of the cabinet that William could have trusted;—Admiral Russell, now Lord Orford, Shrewsbury, and the rest, would have sold or betrayed the secret if they had been trusted with it. But such close proceedings suit ill with a constitutional form of government. "The exclusion of all those," says Mr. Hallam, "whom, whether called privy or cabinet counsellors, the nation holds responsible for its safety, from this great negotiation, tended to throw back the whole executive government into the single will of the sovereign, and ought to have exasperated the House of Commons far more than the actual treaties of partition, which may probably have been the safest choice in a most perilous condition of Europe."* But that perilous condition of Europe was really such that no statesman could look at it without dread; and so unable was William to take a warlike attitude that he almost ran the risk of a civil war by leaving sealed orders with his council to keep up a paltry land force of 16,000 men. Unable to fight, he treated; and his conduct must always be regarded with reference to, and in connexion with, the whole circumstances and condition of himself, of England, and of Europe. He well knew that Louis had had his eye upon the whole Spanish succession for more than thirty years; and that the laws of the French monarchy, and the inclination of a powerful faction in Spain, would justify and facilitate an immediate seizure, whenever Charles II.'s dim lamp of life should go out. In a letter, dated in the month of March,† William says—"Should this death take place soon, there is nothing to be expected from this negotiation. The invincible difficulties that appear in the thing itself, the unprepared state the allies are in to begin a war, and the bad situation of Spain, *make me shudder* when I consider the affair; for certainly France is in a condition to take possession of that monarchy before we shall be able to concert measures to oppose it. The constitution here is such that I shall be able to contribute little towards the land forces, but I will do something towards the marine; for *the people* here will, I believe, be inclinable to it, though we shall have *great want of money*." Continuing in the same anxious tone, William tells his confidant Heinsius that all possible precautions ought to be taken by the allies, and that he did not know but it would be proper to assemble a kind of congress at the Hague again, or at Vienna, though at the latter place he saw great difficulties, on account of the distance. In conclusion, he says, "Expert ministers must be sent thither, as also to Madrid. It will also be necessary to give encouragement on all sides *to remain armed. I wish I could do so too.*"* On the first of April, writing from Windsor, William assures Heinsius that he approves of his correspondence with the Earl of Portland, and thinks that he has fully explained "this important matter to him." He doubts, however, whether the French will proceed to particulars, and doubts still more whether it will be possible to bring this important negociation to a good conclusion, seeing the different interests of the parties negociating. "Besides," adds William, "the greatest hardship that appears to me in this business is, *the little reliance to be made on engagements with France;* and her power will be thereby so much the more considerable, that she will be at liberty to pay just as much regard to the treaties as may suit her convenience, of which we have had but too much experience. On the other hand, I do not see a possibility of preventing France from putting herself in immediate possession of the monarchy of Spain, in case the king should happen to die soon. However, nothing else can be done than to take all those measures you mention; and principally we must labour to bring *the emperor* and *Elector of Bavaria*† to an agreement with respect to the succession, otherwise it will be

* Const. Hist.

† From Kensington to Pensionary Heinsius at the Hague.

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† Both the emperor and the Elector of Bavaria pretended to the Spanish succession, their claims, like those of Louis XIV. for his son, the Dauphin, depending on intermarriages and descent from different Infantas of Spain. It is sufficient in this place to state that the claim of the Dauphin of France was derived through his deceased mother, the Infanta Maria Theresa, who was the eldest sister of the reigning King of Spain, Charles II., but who had expressly renounced for herself and her posterity all right of succession to the Spanish crown on her marriage with Louis XIV.; that the claim of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was also derived through his deceased mother, the Electress Maria Antonietta, who was the daughter of Charles's second sister, Margaret, likewise deceased, married to the Emperor Leopold I.; that this claim was opposed by the electoral prince's grandfather, Leopold, on the ground that Maria Antonietta had renounced her right of succession, as well as her aunt Maria Theresa, on her marriage,—the fact being that the emperor had, indeed, compelled his daughter-in-law to make such a renunciation, but that the act had never been confirmed either by the king or the Cortes of Spain, on which account it was generally considered invalid; and, finally, that the Emperor Leopold I., assuming that his grandson's pretensions were thus set aside, claimed the inheritance of the Spanish crown for himself, both through his mother, Maria, who was a daughter of Philip III., and as the true heir male of Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of the monarchy; but at the same time he offered to renounce this right, both for himself and his eldest son, in favour of his second son, the Archduke Charles.

impossible for us to take measures right." In the same letter he speaks anxiously about the naval equipments of France. Up to this point, and indeed long after, William looked rather to war than to negociation; but the discordant views, the poverty, and indecision of the members of the late confederacy, and the temper of his own English parliament, utterly precluded all hope of any successful recourse to arms; and, to diminish the evil, he drove on his secret diplomacy. The Count de Tallard followed him into Holland; and in the quiet, rural retreat of Loo the fate of Europe was debated, and the partition of the vast and in good part unamalgamated dominions of Spain was decided upon—not so much (as far as William was concerned) for any self-aggrandisement as for preventing the whole from falling to Louis. The first glimpse of these negociations was communicated by Lord Portland, who had joined the king at Loo, and who, about the middle of August, wrote to Secretary Vernon, enclosing a letter from the king to Chancellor Somers. Portland's letter let out only one-half the secret. "While I was in England," says this negociator to the English Secretary of State, "I often heard that Count Tallard should say that an accommodation might be found out, in relation to the succession of Spain, in case of that king's death. . . . . 'Tis true I heard the same thing talked of while I was in France. . . . . The king, to avoid a war by previous accommodation, has sounded France upon what terms an agreement might be made, to which they do not seem averse; and, as his majesty *would not enter too deeply* into this matter without knowing something of their opinion in England, he has commanded me to impart it to you; and you may speak to my Lord Chancellor about it." Portland then divulged the conditions of this First Partition Treaty, which were in substance, that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, the Spanish part of the Low Countries, and all the dependencies of the Spanish crown, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province of Guipuscoa on this side the Pyrenees, Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, called *Presidii*, of which Spain stood then possessed; and all which were to go to the dauphin, in consideration of which France was absolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the succession, and Milan was to be given to the Archduke Charles, the emperor's second son.* The king's letter to Chancellor Somers was in these words: "*I imparted to you before I left England that in France there was expressed to my Lord Portland some inclinations to come to an agreement with us concerning the succession o the king of Spain;** since which, Count Tallard has mentioned it to me, and has made such propositions, the particulars of which my lord Portland will write to Vernon, to whom I have given orders not to communicate them to any other besides yourself, and to leave to your judgment to whom else you would think proper to impart them; to the end that I might know your opinion upon so important an affair, and which requires the greatest secrecy. If it be fit this negociation be carried on, there is no time to be lost, and you will send me the full powers under the great seal, with the names in blank, to treat with Count Tallard: I believe this may be done (so) secretly, that none but you and Vernon, and those to whom you shall have communicated it, may have knowledge of it; so that the clerks who are to write the warrant and the *full* powers may not know what it is. According to all intelligence, the king of Spain cannot outlive the month of October; and the least accident may carry him off every day. I received yesterday your letter of the 9th. Since my lord Wharton cannot at this time leave England, I must think of some other to send ambassador to Spain; if you can think of any one proper, let me know it, and be always assured of my friendship." At this moment, when all the particulars of the treaty had been settled at Loo, without any concurrence or advice of the English cabinet, Chancellor Somers was at Tonbridge Wells taking the waters for the benefit of his health. Three days after the date of the king's letter the chancellor replied to it, stating that he had thought the best way of executing his majesty's commands would be to communicate to my Lord Orford, and Mr. Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, the subject of my Lord Portland's letter, letting them know at the same time how strictly his majesty required an absolute secrecy; that Mr. Montague and Mr. Secretary Vernon had come down to him at Tonbridge Wells, and had there humbly suggested three things for his majesty's guidance:—1. That the entertaining a proposal of this nature seemed to be attended with very many ill consequences, if the French should not act a sincere part;—"but," adds Somers, "we were soon at ease as to any apprehension of this sort, being fully assured your majesty would not act but with the utmost nicety in an affair wherein the glory and safety of Europe are so highly concerned." 2. That prospects were very bad indeed if the death of the King of Spain, which seemed probably to be very near, should happen before any provision or arrangement, the King of France having so great a force in readiness that he was in a condition to take possession of all Spain before any other prince would be able to make a stand; and that in as far as related to England there was "a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally," for none were disposed to the thought of entering into a new war,

* In one of the letters written to Heinsius from England in the month of April, William says—"I gave him (*Tallard*) to understand that I foresaw no accommodation, unless at least all the Spanish possessions in Italy should be ceded to the emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria, not in the condition they now are, but with a stronger and greater barrier, which might be discussed hereafter; and for us (the English) some ports in the *Mediterranean and in the West Indies, for the security of our commerce.*"—*Hardwicke State Papers.*—But William evidently could not get these terms considered.

* Somers had therefore not been left quite in the dark.

but all seemed to be tired out with taxes "*to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections.*"* "This," adds Somers, "is the real truth of the fact, upon which your majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken." 3. It would remain to consider what would be the condition of Europe if the scheme proposed in the Partition Treaty took effect. "Of this," says the chancellor, "we thought ourselves little capable of judging. But it seemed that, if Sicily was in the French hands, they will be entirely masters of the Levant trade; that, if they were possessed of Final, and those other sea-ports on that side, whereby Milan would be entirely shut out from relief by sea or any other commerce, that duchy would be of little signification in the hands of any prince; and that, if the king of France had possession of that part of Guipuscoa which is mentioned in the proposal, besides the ports he would have in the ocean, it does seem he would have as easy a way of invading Spain on that side as he now has on the side of Catalonia. *But it is not to be hoped that France will quit its pretences to so great a succession without considerable advantages;* and we are all assured your majesty will reduce the terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is possible in the present circumstances of things, such as may be some foundation for the future quiet of Christendom; which all your subjects cannot but be convinced is your true aim. If it could be brought to pass that England might be some way a gainer by this transaction, whether it was by the Elector of Bavaria (who is the gainer by your majesty's interposition in this treaty) his coming to an agreement to let us into some trade to the Spanish plantations, or in any other manner, it would wonderfully endear your majesty to your English subjects." Somers also gave it as the suggestion of Montague, and Secretary Vernon, and himself, that it did not sufficiently appear, in case the negociation proceeded, what was to be done on William's part in order to ensure its due execution; or whether any more was required than that the English and Dutch should sit still and leave France to see it executed. "If that be so," adds the chancellor, "what security ought we to expect from the French that, while we are neuter, they will confine themselves to the terms of the treaty, and not attempt to take farther advantages?" And then Somers concluded his letter in these words: "I humbly beg your majesty's pardon, that these thoughts are so ill put together: *these waters are known to discompose and disturb the head, so as almost totally to disable one from writing.* I should be extremely troubled if my absence from London has delayed the dispatch of the commission one day. You will be pleased to observe that two persons (as the commission is drawn) must be named in it, but the powers may be executed by *either* of them: I suppose your majesty will not think it proper to name commissioners that are not English, or naturalised, in an affair of this nature." And then came a most important postscript, announcing that the commission, with full powers and the names in blank, had been passed under the great seal of England. "The commission," says Somers, "*is wrote by the secretary*, and I have had it sealed in such a manner that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing besides the persons named." But Somers, suspicious of after-consequences, had not only made Secretary Vernon write the commission, but had also asked him to give a warrant for affixing the seal to it. The secretary, however, declined giving this warrant, and Somers used the great seal without it, taking care to keep the king's letter as a justification or an excuse for this clearly unconstitutional act. As soon as the sealed powers arrived at the Hague William appointed Lord Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson his two commissioners; and on the 11th of October, or about six weeks after the dispatch of the *carte blanche* from England, the memorable First Partition Treaty was signed by Portland, Williamson, the Count de Tallard, and the Pensionary Heinsius. By the first article the parties contracting (that is, England, France, and Holland) renewed and confirmed the treaty of Ryswick; and the next avowed and declared that the desire of preserving the public tranquillity, and preventing the umbrage which might be taken from the overgrown power of any one prince, were the sole motives of the partition of the dominions of Spain. They bound themselves by the 8th article to communicate the treaty to the emperor and the Elector of Bavaria immediately after the exchange of ratifications; and, upon the death of the King of Spain, the emperor and the elector were to be invited to approve thereof. And by subsequent articles it was provided that, in case either the emperor or the elector should reject the present treaty, and should, nevertheless, make any attempt to take possession of the *share* (*partage**) therein allotted

* While the king was negociating at Loo the elections were in progress for a new parliament, and every candidate was unpopular that did not pledge himself to peace, economy, and a reduction of taxes. With this state of England on the one hand, and the wavering and weakness and selfish policy of his allies on the other, what could William do but endeavour to lessen the mischief by treaty, and treat in such a way as might effect a tolerable compromise and satisfy the allies? Even before he left England, and before the elections came on, he told Heinsius that the English, in case of a war, would contribute little or nothing except in a fleet, and leave the struggle by land to the Dutch and the other allies, who would never be able "to carry through" without more assistance from England. He doubted even whether he could secure that old battle-field the Spanish Netherlands against the French. "I see," said he, "no likelihood of bringing the parliament to give money sufficient to keep so considerable a body of troops in the Spanish Netherlands as I had last war: and without that I see no possibility of defending them."—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

* The several *partages* or shares were finally thus arranged in the treaty: "That the dauphin, in lieu of his claim to the whole succession, shall have for his share (*son partage*), in full propriety, possession, &c., to have and to hold to him and his heirs for ever, free from all molestation upon any pretence or any claim on the said succession whatsoever, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the *places on* the coast of Tuscany, or the islands adjacent, then belonging to Spain, namely, St. Stefano, Porto Ercole, Orbitello, Jelamone, Porto Longone, and Piombino, in the same manner as they were then had and held by the Spaniards, together with the town and marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, situated in that province, and

to him, or of any other part of the inheritance of Spain, by force, the present contracting parties should oppose such attempt with all their force; and in the mean time any share allotted to the brother or son of the prince so rejecting this present treaty should remain, as in sequestration, in the hands of such as should then be viceroys or governors of the said territories; that the present treaty should be made good by force of arms against all opposers whatsoever; that all kings, princes, and states might become parties to the treaty if they thought fit, or even guarantees of the same; and that the ratifications should be exchanged within three weeks from the day of signing, or sooner if possible. But there were certain separate and secret articles, namely, 1. That the Elector of Bavaria should be tutor and administrator to his young son, and should have the administration of all his territories during his minority. 2. That if the said prince, his son, should die without issue, then the elector should succeed to all the said kingdoms, &c. 3. That in case the duchy of Milan should come to be sequestered, the administration thereof should be vested in the Prince de Vaudemont, its present governor, and upon his decease in Prince Charles de Vaudemont, his son. These secret articles were signed by Tallard, Portland, and Williamson only, Heinsius being omitted; but six other ministers besides Heinsius signed the body of the treaty on behalf of the Estates General. The ratifications were exchanged within the time prescribed; and as William, at an earlier part of the present year, had entered into a new triple alliance with Sweden and Holland on a defensive plan, which provided not only that in case either of the contracting parties was attacked the others should immediately assist, but also declared and imported that the scope of this triple league was to preserve the peace of Europe against any aggression whatsoever, he for a moment flattered himself with the hope that he might pass the short remainder of a declining life—his constitution was breaking fast—in repose and tranquillity, appearing, indeed, to have believed that the great object of his existence was accomplished, and that some limits were set to the ambition of Louis XIV., which, at the beginning of his career, when called upon to defend his native dykes, had seemed as irresistible as it was boundless. But there was little sincerity in one of the parties to this new triple league; and Sweden, two months after signing it, being probably advised in secret by France, and made jealous of the Partition Treaty then negociating, concluded another treaty, rendering the triple one nugatory, with Louis. And in reposing upon the arrangements made at Loo William rested upon a mere reed, though it is just *possible* that, but for an event which he could not foresee,—namely, the death of the young Bavarian prince,—those arrangements might have been somewhat more effectual. The manner in which the Partition Treaty had been carried on and concluded was, in England, clearly unconstitutional; and much or most of the treaty itself is indefensible. Yet we cannot but think that it has been condemned with too much rancour, and that sufficient allowance has hardly ever been made for the perplexing and insurmountable difficulties of William's position. Political enormities of a more recent date—the several partitions and dismemberments of Poland—have rendered the very word *partition* harsh and odious to all liberal ears, and have served to convert every treaty in which it occurs into a bye-word and reproach. Yet the proposed division of the inheritance of the Spanish king differed most essentially from the partition of Poland. It was not proposed to cut up and parcel out one nation and people:—Spain, at least, was to be left as a whole, untouched by the diplomatic knife, except on the Trans-Pyrenean territories of Navarre, &c., which had long been as much French as Spanish, and which were occupied by a people of a different race or races, speaking different languages, having different laws, customs, and interests. It did not go to dissever the essentially Spanish colonies in South America and the West Indies from the mother-country: it merely lopped off that which Spain should never have had, and which she had acquired by no very honourable means—the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, Sardinia, and a few ports, with scarcely any territory adjoining them, on the Tuscan coast. The diplomatic critics in those days merely complained of these decisions and transfers being made without the knowledge and consent of the King of Spain, or of this or that other prince; but the party most interested (as were the Poles at a later date) seem scarcely to have been considered at all. And it is indisputable that the dominion of Spain had been

especially the port of Passages comprised in it; with this exception, that if any places belonging to the said province lay on the other side of the Pyrenees, and the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biscay, they should belong to Spain; and, contrariwise, all such places belonging to Spain as lay on this side the said mountains should belong to France; the passes of the said mountains to be equally divided between the two kingdoms: the whole of the said premises, together with the fortifications, ammunitions, powder, ball, cannon, galleys, &c., which should be found belonging to the king of Spain at the time of his death, without issue, to be annexed to the kingdoms, places, islands, and provinces, which are to compose the share of the dauphin: in consideration of which said share so composed, the most Christian king, for himself, the dauphin, his children male and female, his heirs already born or to be born, as also the dauphin, for himself, his children, heirs, &c., did promise to renounce, and on these conditions did then renounce, all their rights and pretensions to the said crown of Spain, and all other the realms, isles, estates, countries thereunto belonging, &c. That the crown of Spain, together with the other kingdoms, islands, states, countries, and places belonging thereto (except those before excepted), should be given and assigned to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, in full propriety and possession, to have and to hold to him and his heirs for ever, as his share of the said inheritance, against all rights, claims, and pretensions, &c. &c., either on the part of the most Christian king, the dauphin, &c., on one part, or the emperor, the King of the Romans, the archduke, &c., on the other; in consideration of which, the said Elector of Bavaria, as well in the quality of father, as of lawful tutor and administrator to the said electoral prince, his heirs, &c., should hold himself satisfied with the said share, and renounce all rights, claims, and pretensions whatsoever on the shares assigned to the dauphin and the archduke; as the said electoral prince was also to do, when out of his minority. The duchy of Milan was assigned to the said archduke, as his share of the said inheritance, and in extinction of the claims of all his family: for as he, the said archduke, by the said article, was to renounce, when he became of age, all the kingdoms, provinces, &c., already disposed of, so, by the next article, the emperor, for himself and his heirs, and the King of the Romans, were severally to declare and execute the like renunciations, on the death of the Catholic king, in consideration of the allotment of the said duchy to the archduke."

a curse to the Italian people, and that Naples and Sicily and Milan had miserably decayed and retrograded under the government of Spanish viceroys, who had been for the most part the most stupid and worst despots of the seventeenth century. The French, during their brilliant but brief successes in that fair peninsula, had not acted in a manner to leave a good name behind them; but, to the suffering Italians, any change, any chance, seemed preferable to that dead-weight of the Spaniards, which paralysed their blood and heart; and, if the *people* had been consulted, they would at that moment have preferred a French king—like the dauphin or his son—to those blundering and plundering Spanish viceroys who had misruled them ever since the time of Ferdinand the Catholic.* That heavy reproach—the malediction of an injured, denationalised people—which falls upon the partitioners of Poland, cannot therefore be made to apply to William, who must be held exempt from the worst of the charges implied by the word *partition*.

After concluding the long negociation at Loo, the king amused himself for a short time in reviewing the Dutch troops and interchanging compliments with the princes of Germany; not neglecting, however, the important treaty going on at Carlowitz for a permanent peace between the sultan and the emperor, the King of Poland and the Venetians. [He sent Lord Paget to Carlowitz, where the negociations were not finally concluded till the end of the year.] It was the 4th of December before William reached London, and on the 6th he opened his new parliament, which he soon found to be composed of very turbulent materials. Both parties professed to feel that the choice of a speaker would not only show their relative strength, but in a degree determine the character of the session and the issue of their debates; and the press, as usual, had been at work before the meeting of the two Houses. A paper entitled 'Considerations upon the Choice of a Speaker' had made a considerable impression, and the doctrines of its author were taken up and repeated on all sides; as, for example—that, whenever slavery should be fixed upon England, as it was upon our neighbours, it must be by the twofold influence of a corrupt parliament and a standing parliamentary army, according to the dictum of the great Lord Burleigh, "that England could never be undone except by a parliament;" that a corrupt Speaker was the fittest person to corrupt and otherwise influence the proceedings of the House; that men holding offices in the government were most unfit to be Speakers of the Commons; that this disqualification also lay against all bargainers and tricksters like "that old prostitute of the exploded pensioned parliament in Charles II.'s reign, who had, from that time till now, been tricking the House in so shameful a manner that three several periods of his life might be marked out by the bargains he had made with the court, when the court came up to his price." This description was intended to designate Sir Edward Seymour, one of the Whigs spoken of for Speaker; and the remark about men holding places under government was directed against Sir Thomas Littleton, the other Whig favourite. Yet, when the house met, it was found that the Tory idol, Mr. Harley, had withdrawn, as having no chance in a contest; and then the choice fell upon Littleton, —"which looked like a good omen on the side of the court, promising a smooth and happy session."* The king, in his speech, told them that two things principally seemed to require their consideration,—the first, what strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up at land, for the quieting of people's minds at home, and for preserving to England the weight and influence she had acquired in the counsels and affairs of the continent.—["It will be requisite," said he, "that Europe should see you will not be wanting to yourselves."]—The second was the making of some further progress towards a discharge of the debts which the nation had contracted by reason of the long and expensive war.—["I think," said he, "that an English parliament can never make such a mistake as not to hold sacred all parliamentary engagements."]—The Commons instantly took fire at these allusions to continental politics, land forces, &c.; and, leaping over the usual parliamentary courtesy of an address to the sovereign in reply to his speech, they fell upon the old ground of standing armies, which no public man, patriot or traitor, honest or a scoundrel, had ever yet taken up without rallying the masses of the English people round him. The ministers of the crown were too weak to make any resistance, and a resolution was soon adopted—"That all the land-forces of England, in English pay, exceeding 7000 men (and those to consist of his majesty's natural-born subjects), should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, excepting 12,000 men (and those natural-born subjects, to be kept and maintained by the kingdom of Ireland itself), should be likewise forthwith disbanded." This went to deprive William even of the services of his Dutch guard, which had followed him through good and bad fortune, which was dearer to him than almost any other object, and which was far too insignificant in number to excite any reasonable jealousy. Yet, without the slightest regard to his feelings, the representatives of the people whom he had rescued from a tyranny and a despondency in which they had seemed unable to help themselves framed a bill upon the obnoxious resolution, carried it through all its stages, and sent it up to the Lords. Perhaps it is necessary to be a soldier to feel in its full force the bitterness of such a draught as this. By writers of all parties William's feeling is described as having been intense. In his first agitation he even threatened again to quit the kingdom for ever, leaving the government to be vested in

* Giannone, Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli.

* Ralph.

such persons as parliament might please to appoint. In a letter to the Pensionary Heinsius he says, "I am so chagrined at what passes in the House of Commons with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foresee that I shall be obliged to come to resolutions of extremity, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I thought."* Nay, he even went so far as to write out, with his own hand, a speech to announce his purpose. It still exists, as penned by himself, among the manuscripts in the British Museum. Like all William's productions, it is plain and simple, without the least attempt at eloquence or rhetorical flourish. Its import in English is as follows:—"My lords and gentlemen, I came into this kingdom, at the desire of the nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties; and for this object I have been obliged to sustain a long and very burdensome war for this kingdom, which, by the grace of God and the bravery of this nation, is at present terminated by a good peace; in which you may live happily and in repose, if you would contribute to your own security as I recommended at the opening of this session; but, seeing, on the contrary, that you have so little regard to my advice, and take so very little care of your own safety, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin in depriving yourselves of the only means which may serve as necessary means for your defence, it would neither be just nor reasonable for me to be a witness of your ruin, not being able on my part to avoid it, being in no condition to defend and protect you, which was the only view I had in coming to this country; and thus I must require you to choose and name to me such persons as you may judge capable, to whom I may leave the administration of the government in my absence, assuring you that, though I am at present forced to retire out of this kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination for your advantage and prosperity; and that, when I may judge that my presence here is necessary for your defence, and that I can conceive I have the proper power to undertake it with success, and that you will contribute by putting me in my proper place, then I shall be induced to return and hazard my life for your security, as I have done in time past. I pray God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with what is necessary for the well-being and safety of this kingdom."† The speech was not delivered, and doubts were entertained whether he ever seriously intended to withdraw. "It was considered," says Burnet, "only as a threatening, so that little regard was had to it." But Chancellor Somers, who knew more of what was passing in the king's mind than any one, wrote to inform the Duke of Shrewsbury that he thought William was in good earnest.* We know not how the popular mind might have been affected: probably, however,—as the English people almost invariably take the more generous side, and are susceptible of all the generous passions,—they would have felt both pain and regret if he who had preserved them from a degrading despotism, who had led them in the field, who had retrieved the long-tarnished honour of their flag, and raised their military reputation to its ancient lustre, had been obliged to retire when the work was done, without his reward, and with the embittering conviction that he had served an ungrateful race. But, as for the majority of the truckling statesmen, they betrayed no generosity of sentiment on the occasion, but spoke of the facility of making a new king at their will and pleasure. A generation or two after, an anecdote was current that the Earl of Sunderland, upon being told that William threatened to throw up the crown, exclaimed, "Does he so? Well, there is Tom Pembroke, who is as good a block of wood as a king can be cut out of! We will send for him and make him our king.†

A. D. 1699.—According to Lord Hardwicke, William was moved from his resolution by his chancellor.‡ When the Lords had passed, without amendment, the bill sent up by the Commons, William went down to the parliament (on the 1st of February, 1699), and there, with a good grace, gave it the royal assent. "I am come," said he, "to pass the bill for disbanding the army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though in our present circumstances there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops, and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over to me, to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which I must own would have

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† Sir Henry Ellis's Collection. The editor informs us that "the Countess of Suffolk, lady of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline, told the late Dr. Morton that she communicated this original draft to the queen, who chose to keep it, returning her only a copy. After the queen's death it came into the possession of the Princess Amelia, who gave it to Lord Berkeley of Stratton, for the Museum." The original, in the Museum, is in French, and in French of a very indifferent quality, both as to grammar and orthography; but Sir Henry Ellis's copyist or the printers have certainly added sundry errors of punctuation, &c. Dalrymple gave an English version of the letter in his Memoirs; but the authenticity of the document appears to have been doubted till Sir Henry Ellis found the original in William's handwriting.

* Shrewsbury Correspondence.

† Dalrymple, Memoirs. By Tom Pembroke was meant the Earl of Pembroke. A similar story is, however, told of the Duke of Devonshire at a somewhat later period. The editor of the Oxford edition of Burnet says, "It appears, from Carte's papers in the Bodleian Library, that the Duke of Devonshire, in consequence of his dislike to settling the crown on the House of Hanover, said, it would be better to place it on Long Tom's head, as they commonly called the Earl of Pembroke." But Devonshire, who was not remarkable for wit or originality, might have repeated an old jest.

‡ In a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, written about this time, Somers says, "At present the king is without anything which has the appearance of a ministry. The plain consequence is, that everybody (seeing the little credit those have who serve him) is in a manner invited to endeavour to ruin or expose them." Lord Hardwicke thus describes the chancellor's behaviour at this crisis:—"Lord Somers told the king upon it, that before his majesty made that declaration to parliament he should humbly desire to resign the great seal; he had received it from him as his sovereign, and begged to return it to him while he continued so. This manly speech checked the king's hasty project, which would have been construed as a sort of abdication."—*Note to a letter of the king's in Hardwicke State Papers.*

been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted, for the restoring and securing of their liberties. I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that *no* ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much exposed. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom and the preservation of the peace which God hath given us." The Commons hereupon voted an address of thanks, in which they expressed a sense of their great obligations and their gratitude to him who had rescued their religion and liberties, and given peace to Christendom; and the Lords also voted an address in the same tone, both Houses engaging to defend his *sacred* person and support his government. But when William, encouraged by these honeyed words, sent down to request that his Dutch guards might be allowed to remain, the Commons rejected his prayer with something like contempt: they resolved to adhere to the letter of the act; and it was decided, by a majority of 175 to 156, that the foreign troops, who were actually embarking at the moment, should be sent on their voyage to the continent. "It is," said the majority, in a new address, "an unspeakable grief to your loyal Commons, that your majesty should be advised to propose anything to which they cannot consent, with due regard to that constitution which your majesty came over to restore, and did, in your gracious declaration, promise that all those foreign forces which came over with you should be sent back: in duty, therefore, to your majesty, and to discharge the trust reposed in us, we crave leave to lay before you, that nothing conduceth more to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom than an entire confidence between your majesty and your people, which can no way be so firmly established as by intrusting your sacred person with your own subjects." But, whatever confidence William might repose in the generous and kindly feelings of the mass of the English people, he had had melancholy proof that there were many of his *subjects*—subjects eminent in name and rank,—men in the highest commands in army and navy—that had plotted his destruction; and he could not but know that, when that double traitor Marlborough, in the year 1692, strove in parliament to get his foreign guards removed, it was in order to rob him of his crown and to restore the fatal line of Stuart. And, putting apart the weighty consideration of foreign wars and intrigues at every instant ready to break out afresh,* was it not natural, was it not excusable, that he, whose life had been repeatedly threatened by assassination in the streets and in the immediate neighbourhood of his capital, should be desirous of keeping about his person those countrymen of his own who had served him so faithfully and so long? The jealousy against standing armies has, no doubt, been a blessing to England, but still every generous mind must agree that this sending away of the Dutch guard was, what it has been described by one of the best of our living writers—"an act of unkindness and ingratitude."* If we look into the base and party motives of the majority that carried the act, we shall feel inclined to speak still more harshly of the whole transaction. Dalrymple states, on the authority of what he calls "a well-vouched tradition," that, when the account of the refusal of the Commons to leave him his Dutch guards was brought to him, William walked some time silently up and down the room, with his eyes fixed on the floor, then stopped, and, glancing wildly around, exclaimed, "If I had a son, by God these guards should not quit me!" But, though we have the authority of Burnet to prove that William, in spite of his habitual coolness and great command over his passions, would sometimes betray violent feelings in violent and indecorous language, we are not disposed to give implicit credit to this tradition. He, however, made no further effort to retain the foreign troops; and Dutch, French Huguenots, and all, proceeded to Holland. The condition of the latter—the exiles for conscience and religion—ought to have made the deeper impression, as about this time the persecuted Vaudois or Waldenses were again driven out of Savoy to seek for refuge and a home among the Protestant princes of Germany.

The tottering Whig ministry was now assailed on all sides. "And it is certain," says Burnet, "that this act (an act lately carried by Montague and the Whig majority for establishing a new East India Company), together with the inclinations which those of the Whigs who were in good posts had expressed for keeping up a greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made use of, over England, by the Tories, to disgrace both the king and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added—that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money that was given for the service of the nation both to the supporting a

* Bolingbroke, though connected with the Tory party, who had voted for the measure, candidly admits that the hurried reduction of the army was a capital political blunder. "France," he says, "continued armed by sea and land after the peace. She increased her forces, whilst other nations reduced theirs; and was ready to defend or to invade her neighbours, whilst, their confederacy being dissolved, they were in no condition to invade her, and in a bad one to defend themselves."—*Letters on History.*

* Hallam, Const. Hist.—In a letter to Lord Galway (Rouvigny), dated January 27, 1699, when the subject was under debate, the king says, "There is a spirit of ignorance and malice prevails here beyond conception." In the same communication he speaks of a *secret* design to get three French regiments, and perhaps *Miermont's* dragoons, sent over to Ireland to be kept there; but subsequently he gave up this design. And he also says to Lord Galway in another letter—"It is not possible to be more sensibly touched than I am at my not being able to do more *for the poor refugee officers (the French Huguenots)* who have served me with so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid the good God will punish the ingratitude of this nation. Assuredly, on all sides, my patience is put to the trial. I am going to breathe a little beyond sea, in order to come back as soon as possible."—*Tindal, Hist.*

vast expense and to the raising great estates to themselves: this was sensible to the people, who were uneasy under heavy taxes." The reader will not have forgotten the conduct of Admiral Russell, now Earl of Orford, and both first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy. It was upon this personage that the Commons made their first attack, charging him with keeping large sums of money on hand for his own private use, and to the great prejudice of the seamen and the public service. The accounts were produced, and the charges seemed *primâ facie* well made out. It appeared that there remained a balance in the earl's hands of 460,000*l.*; but, according to his own showing, about the whole of this sum was then in course of payment.* The Commons forthwith voted an address to his majesty, complaining of delays in granting convoys, of allowances improperly made to officers, &c., of a misapplication of the public money, of many new and unnecessary charges introduced into the navy; and representing that it was inconsistent with the service for the same person to be one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral and treasurer of the navy at the same time; that passing of accounts without regular vouchers, &c., was of dangerous consequence; and that they must desire his majesty to be graciously pleased to take effectual care that these mismanagements might be prevented for the future. William sent a short and proper answer; but Orford resigned, quitting both fleet and admiralty—"as if from a foresight of the storm which was gathering against him in the House of Commons." The Tories were desirous of getting Sir George Rooke put in his place, but the Earl of Bridgewater, a nobleman but little acquainted with sea affairs, was appointed, and Priestman, one of the junior lords, who was removed at the same time, was succeeded by Lord Haversham, another "land admiral," as the sailors began to call the admiralty commissioners. It was decided by the votes of the House that the naval forces should be strictly limited to 15,000 seamen; and, for fear the king might augment his land-forces in the form or under the name of marines, it was specified that the said 15,000 men should consist of seamen only. For the several demands for navy and army, disbanding, &c., they provided by one single bill, granting 1,484,015*l.* 1*s.* 1½*d.* to be raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound. But in the same act, "very much against the grain of the court," a clause was attached for empowering commissioners "to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland by the last rebellion, in order to their being applied in ease of the subjects of England." William, since the last time these Irish forfeitures were the subject of parliamentary debate, had given many of the Irish estates to his favourites, contrary to his promise to the Houses, being encouraged thereto by the long silence, and by the proposal made in the Commons that a part of the property should be left to the disposal of the crown. Proceeding on their principle that the Lords could not alter a money bill, the Commons further named in the bill the commissioners for carrying their purpose into effect. The Lords, who found themselves precluded from entering into the merits of the bill, reluctantly passed it, nine of their number—being a mixture of Whigs and Tories—protesting strongly against the procedure:—"First, because the clause in question comprised a matter foreign to the bill; and, secondly, because the practice of tacking clauses of this nature to money bills was contrary to the ancient method of proceeding in parliament, subversive of the freedom of debate, and derogatory to the privileges of the House." William, though hurt and offended, gave the bill the royal assent, and prorogued parliament on the 4th of May. The ministry was now completely broken up. The Duke of Leeds, who had sunk into contempt ever since the discovery of his dealings with the old East India Company, was now dismissed from the Presidency of the Council, which was conferred on the Earl of Pembroke, or "Long Tom," as he was called, who pretended to be neither Whig nor Tory, and who was respected by both parties. The Duke of Shrewsbury resigned, and Lord Jersey was put in his place. Sir John Lowther, now Lord Lonsdale, who had pushed his way to honours and riches through the patronage of Danby and the Tories, got the privy seal.

A few days after the prorogation William passed over to Holland, and fixed himself at his quiet retreat at Loo. But the tranquillity of that place could scarcely extend to his own mind; events were rolling on with astounding rapidity. The treaty of Ryswick and the Partition Treaty were both beginning to appear of no effect; the whole Spanish inheritance seemed again inevitably falling to France; and, while he was precluded from keeping together the nucleus of an English army, Louis was increasing his forces, with the resolution of defending with his sword what he was gaining by intrigue and diplomacy. But before proceeding to the great continental question we will briefly narrate events and circumstances nearer home which immeasurably increased William's old unpopularity in Scotland.

The ships mentioned as being already at sea in the last session of parliament there were five stout ships carrying 1200 men, under the guidance of Paterson, who had sailed from Leith Roads on the 26th day of July (1698). That extraordinary projector had transported the ordinarily cool and calculating Scots almost out of their senses. From high to low all his countrymen were visited by day-dreams of sudden and enormous wealth, by visions of gold, and of nothing but gold. The new company, which included some of the noblest and most

* He stated that the balance in hand was 460,190*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*—but not all in cash—part in tallies; that "the money due for wages, amounting to 382,532*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*, was then paying off; and that 60,031*l.*, due to the yards (the tallies for which he had just received), would likewise be paid as soon as they could be converted into cash."—*Ralph.*

intellectual of the Scottish nation, had caused the stout ships to be built in Holland, and many of the aristocracy had embarked their younger sons, confident that they were putting them on the sure road to wealth and distinction. Several lords denuded their estates to send out their vassals or tenantry; and many officers who had been disbanded by the late peace had ventured their persons and their little property. The whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith to witness the departure of the colony, and hundreds of soldiers and sailors, who had not been engaged, and for whom no provision was made, were with difficulty prevented from forcing themselves into the ships. Ten days after their departure the Scottish parliament unanimously addressed the king, begging his support for the company, which still would not doubt of the validity of the charter, and of the letters patent which his majesty had granted it. The Lord President, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, brother to Lord Stair, and the Lord Advocate, Sir James Stuart, jointly drew up memorials to the king, in which they defended the rights of the company upon the principles of constitutional and international law. Paterson, who had not only visited the shores of that country, but had also been acquainted there with Dampier, the buccaneering captain, and Lionel Wafer, the surgeon to the Buccaneers (who had lived many months among the native Indians), and who knew more of the isthmus than any European, led his little squadron straight for Darien. In the month of October they arrived at Golden Island, a place famed in the annals of the Buccaneers. It has been said, and with some reason, seeing what had been done on shore by a handful of English marauders, that these twelve hundred brave and hardy men, who for the most part had been trained to arms and inured to the fatigues and dangers of the late war, might, if they had been so disposed, have marched from one end of South America to the other, without finding any Spanish force capable of opposing them. But Paterson, who paid more respect to treaties of peace and the laws of nations than had been shown by the Morgans, Sharpes, and Dampiers, quietly landed at Acta, in a convenint harbour, one of the sides of which was formed by a long narrow neck of land. This neck of land they cut through, and, having thus formed a sort of island, they erected upon it their little fort, which they christened "New St. Andrew's," or, according to other accounts, "New Edinburgh." Some forty or fifty guns were landed from the ships and planted round the fort. On the opposite side of the commodious harbour there was a mountain commanding a very extensive view both seaward and landward, and here they erected a signal-house, and placed in it a corps of quick-sighted Highlanders to give notice of the approach of any hostile force. The first public act of the infant colony was a declaration of freedom of trade and *of religion* to all nations. This great and ennobling idea, which as yet had not been acted upon by any of the English colonies in the New World, with the curious exception of that of Maryland, planted by the Catholic lord Baltimore,* seems to have originated with Paterson, who, whatever were his birth and education,† possessed an enlightenment and liberality really extraordinary, and notions about commerce and conscience which had hitherto been confined to a few speculative and inoperative philosophers.‡ Acta, or New St. Andrew's, was admirably situated on the northern coast of the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, about midway between Portobello and Carthagena, being about fifty leagues distant from either town. The magnificent natural harbour was capable of receiving the greatest fleets, and was defended from storms by numerous islands and islets. On the other side of the isthmus the little frequented and unoccupied shores of the Pacific were indented with bays and harbours equally commodious: but the land communication from sea to sea lay over rough and lofty mountains, and through wild forests: the river of Santa Maria, which ran across a great part of the isthmus into the South Sea, was scarcely navigable by canoes except at certain seasons of the year, and for short distances: there was almost every variety

* See vol. ii. p. 540. Lord Baltimore, of course, would not exclude persons of his own religion from his colony, and would not have been permitted to exclude Protestants; so that he had *no* resource but to tolerate both religions.

† Dalrymple says that Paterson's birth was unknown; that he was bred to the Scottish Church, but, having a violent propensity to see foreign countries, he made his profession the instrument of indulging it, by going to the western world under pretence of converting the Indians; that there he became acquainted with Dampier and Wafer, and other Buccaneers; that at first his intention was to offer his plan for a settlement on the isthmus of Darien to the English government, but, being discouraged, he turned his attention to the scheme for erecting the Bank of England, the model of which he assisted to make; that he afterwards proposed his colony to the Dutch, the Hamburghers, and the Elector of Brandenburg; and that, on forming an intimate acquaintance with that wise and patriotic Scot, Fletcher of Saltoun, he trusted the fate of his project to his own countrymen.

‡ This appears from Paterson's own papers, which exist in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and from which Dalrymple has published some very striking extracts. We quote the following passages as being far in advance of the age in which he lived:—"The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greatest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactures will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with anything of a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood, of Alexander and Cæsar. In all our empires that have been anything universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such as can much more effectually bring empire home to its proprietors' doors. But from what hath been said you may easily perceive that the nature of these discoveries is such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people, with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case of Spain and Portugal, who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as go to, or dwell in, the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated and ruined their countries therewith; so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Portugal than they have conquered the Indies; for, by their permitting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to these remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable and good for nothing. Thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countries, and yet not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation; and, in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world than ever they did, or possibly could have done, by the sword."

of natural difficulty to overcome; the whole line was fitted for ambuscades and hostile surprises; and, if the Spaniards at any time chose to move from the towns of Santa Maria or Panama, there were passes and places where five hundred men might have arrested the march of five thousand. In the year 1680, when Dampier and his brother buccaneers landed at Darien, and crossed from sea to sea, in order to launch for the first time on the great Pacific, and to plunder the town of Santa Maria, they experienced tremendous difficulties. Though carrying nothing but four cakes of bread called dough-boys, a light gun, a pistol, and a hanger each man, they were four days before they gained a point whence the river of Santa Maria was navigable. There some of them embarked in canoes furnished by the friendly Indians, hoping to glide easily down the stream: but this mode of travelling, owing to the scarcity of water and other impediments, was as wearisome as marching across the mountains and woods; and, after enduring tremendous fatigue, it was not till the eighth day that they reached a point of land where the river, being joined by another stream, became broad and deep, permitting them to glide, in deep water and with an easy current, down to the Pacific.* And here was one of Paterson's capital mistakes; for he had concluded that cargoes of goods landed at Acta, or New St. Andrew's, could easily be transported by land and river carriage from sea to sea, and then re-shipped in the gulf of Panama for all the great countries of the East. A great European nation, at the expense of a war with Spain, and with the allies to that crown, who would assuredly have been called into the field by jealousy of the vast advantage, might have overcome all these difficulties in time, and with the outlay of enormous sums of money; but such an achievement was altogether beyond the force of such a company as Paterson had been able to create.

Although the Spaniards had for ages pretended an exclusive right to all those parts of the globe, they had, properly speaking, no possession of the isthmus, which was scantily occupied by the Mosquito Indians, who were constantly waging war against them; but the Spaniards held the country on both sides, and their towns of Panama and Santa Maria stood upon one of the edges of the isthmus. Dampier and his friends seem to have considered that they were justified, as allies of the Mosquitoes, in attacking and plundering the Spanish towns; and now Paterson and his companions assumed that these Indians had a right to sell or otherwise dispose of parts of their own unconquered territory; and contracts of this kind were made with the chiefs of the savages, one of whom Dampier had decorated with the well-sounding title of King Lacenta, sovereign lord of the isthmus. But, even in the state of decrepitude and imbecility into which the court of Spain had fallen, it was scarcely possible to expect that she would recognise transactions and principles of this kind, or submit to have such a neighbour as the Scottish colony in the midst of her American empire. A writer who has taken some pains about this subject, and who had access to all the papers of the Scottish Company,* seems to think that a free passage across the isthmus might have been obtained by a treaty, and the payment of such tolls or transit duties as the King of Spain might demand: but it is quite certain that the Spanish court would on no account have entered into any such treaty; and that nothing but force of arms could have opened to Scotland or England, or to any other country whatsoever, "that door of the seas and key of the universe." From all that is before us we are disposed to believe that it was this insuperable obstacle on the part of Spain, and the necessity he was under of respecting the general feeling of the nations of Europe, that determined William to check, discourage, and uproot Paterson's settlement. But several writers confidently affirm that the prayers of his English subjects trading with the East, and the Dutch East India Company, had more to do with this decision than any considerations about Spain or the *jus publicum* of Europe. These influences, however, may have been considerable as secondary agents. Whatever were his motives—and all political motives are complicated—William, as soon as he knew the real intentions of Paterson and the Company, directed the Earl of Seafield, secretary of state for Scotland, to inform the colonists that, "the particalar design not being communicated to his majesty," he must delay giving them any assistance till he should receive surer information. Upon this the Company in Scotland notified to Seafield that their ships had reached their destination on the coast of Darien, and had fairly obtained, by treaty with the natives, a tract of country which had never been in the possession of any European power. But the king, who knew better how the Spaniards interpreted that matter, sent out orders to Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, who, early in the month of April, 1699, or about seven months after the settlement of New St. Andrew's, issued a proclamation importing that his majesty was not informed of the designs of the Scots in relation to Darien; that, those designs being contrary to treaties subsisting between his majesty and his allies, all his majesty's subjects in those parts were forbidden to hold any correspondence with those colonists upon any pretence whatsoever. Similar proclamations were issued by the gover-

* Narrative by Basil Ringrose.—Burney's Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. iv.—Dampier himself has given us no account of this expedition; but his Voyages contain a narrative of his return over-land from the Pacific to the Atlantic the following year. "Thus," he concludes, "we finished our journey from the South Sea to the North in twenty-three days; *in which time, by my account*, we have travelled 110 miles, *crossing some very high mountains*; but our common march was in the valleys, among deep and dangerous rivers. . . . . Our first landing-place on the south coast was very disadvantageous, for we travelled at least fifty miles more than we need to have done, could we have gone up Cheapo river or Santa Maria river; for at either of these places a man may pass from sea to sea in three days' time with ease. The Indians can do it in a day and a half."—*New Voyage Round the World*, i. 23.

* Dalrymple.

nors of the other islands possessed by the English; and it was to these West India islands that the unfortunate colonists looked for supplies of provisions, assistance, and co-operation. The slowness of all Spanish proceedings had, long before this, passed into a proverb; yet it seems scarcely credible that that court should not have taken notice of this affair before the month of May, when the Marquess de Canales, minister residentiary, is said to have *first* presented a memorial to the court of London, remonstrating in the strongest terms against the Darien settlement, which was described as not merely a violation of friendship, but as an actual rupture of the alliance subsisting between the two crowns. The English court replied by producing the strict orders sent out to the governor of Jamaica a month before the presentation of the ambassador's memorial.* Nor were those orders meant for a mere blind to Spain; on the contrary, they were strictly executed in the West Indies: and, in consequence of them, Paterson and his followers were soon reduced to extreme misery, having consumed the provisions they had brought with them, and having no other supplies at hand than the very scanty ones afforded by the hunting and fishing of the poor Mosquito Indians. Bad food soon produced disease; the climate assisted in these ravages; the hardy mountaineers of Scotland perished by dozens a day; and at last, when the sad residue, despairing of succour from their native country, took to their ships, there were scarcely a hundred men with health and strength enough to work them. It is said that the last man to embark was Paterson. The Scottish Company, after the presentation of the Spanish ambassador's memorial and the production of William's rigid instructions to his governors, but before any news reached them of Paterson's having left that fatal isthmus, sent out another colony of 1300 men to support an establishment which no longer existed. But this time their vessels, prepared in a hurry, were not stout ships: one of them was lost at sea, and another was injured by fire, and wrecked on the Spanish Main. And those of the passengers that reached their destination, instead of welcoming countrymen and friends, found nobody but a few wild Indians,—a desert and a waste where they had expected to see a thriving little town. As if to overset at once Paterson's beautiful scheme of universal toleration, and as if to throw burning torches into the abounding materials of inflammable matter, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland had sent out four fiery Presbyterian ministers, with orders "to take charge of the souls of the colony, and to erect a presbytery, with a moderator, clerk, and record of proceedings; to appoint ruling elders, deacons, overseers of the manners of the people, and assistants in the exercise of church discipline and government, and to hold regular kirk sessions." Such an authority as this was not only inconsistent with Paterson's plan, but also extremely odious to many of the gentlemen colonists, who neither were Presbyterians, nor wished to become so. Shunned by this superior class, the four preachers fastened upon the adventurers of inferior rank, and soon sowed both spiritual and political divisions in New St. Andrew's. At the same time they almost put a stop to the indispensable labours of the colonists, by requiring their almost constant attendance at kirk and prayers.*

When this second colony had been about three months on the isthmus it was joined by Captain Campbell of Finab, with a company of his own tenantry, chiefly men whom he had commanded in the wars in Flanders, and who were glad to follow their old officer and landlord in a ship of his own. On his arrival at New St. Andrew's, Captain Campbell learned that a Spanish force of 1600 men, brought from the opposite coast of the South Sea, lay encamped at Tubucantee, not far from the colony, expecting the arrival of a Spanish squadron of eleven sail, in order to a joint attack by land and sea. Campbell, who obtained the chief command on account of his reputation as an officer, and of his high birth, resolved to anticipate the Spaniards, and to fall upon the troops before the ships should come up; and, accordingly, on the second day after his arrival he marched briskly upon Tubucantee with 200 men, stormed the camp at the dead of night, and scattered the Spanish force with considerable slaughter. In a military point of view this was the best thing he could have done; but, at the same time, it was making the Scots the aggressors, and beginning a war, not

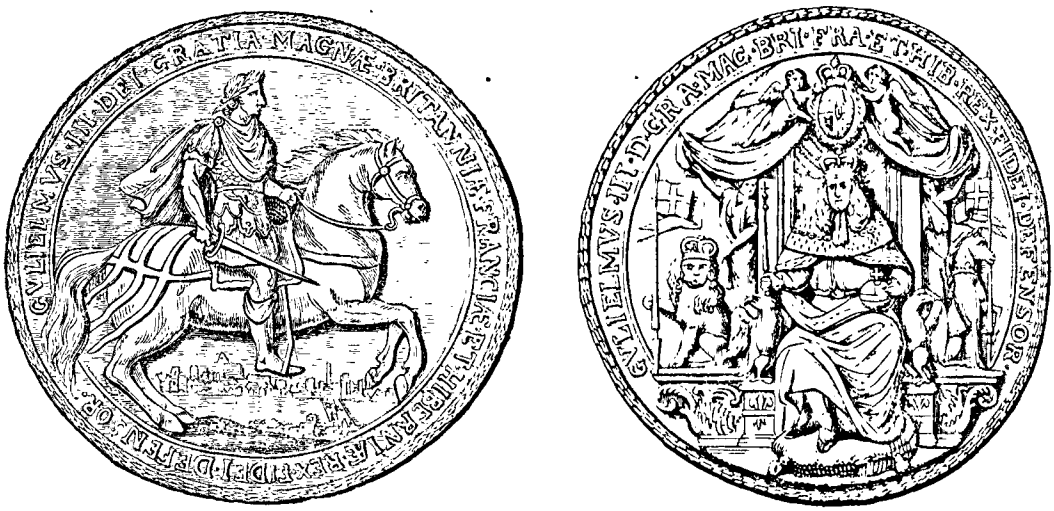
* Dalrymple, who hotly embraces the hypothesis that the English and the Dutch were more fatal to his countrymen than were the Spaniards, says, "that during the space of two years, while the establishment of this colony had been in agitation, Spain had made no complaint to England or Scotland against it (*but Spain could not complain before she knew where this colony was to be planted*); that the Darien council, or the council of the Company, even averred in their papers (which are in the Advocates' Library) *that the right of the Company was debated before the king, in presence of the Spanish ambassador, before the colony left Scotland.*" But Dalrymple does not produce his evidence from the Advocates' Library; and the statement is so incredible as to require far more support than the averment of a hot-headed, dreaming, enthusiastic body corporate like the Company. Continuing the same line of argument, Dalrymple says, "But now, on the 3rd of May, 1699, the ambassador presented a memorial to the king.... It was believed that this memorial proceeded more from the suggestion of the English and Dutch ministers than from his own court, because it was observed that the orders to the English governors were dated before the memorial of the Spanish ambassador."—*Memoirs.*

* "They exhausted the spirits of the people by requiring their attendance at sermon four or five hours at a stretch, *relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers.* The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercise, which was a Wednesday, they divided into three parts—thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And, as the service of the church of Scotland consists of a lecture, with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon an average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours; *during which space of time the colony was collected and kept close together in the guard-room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate, and in a sickly season.* They presented a paper to the council, and made it public, requiring them to set aside a day for a solemn fasting and humiliation, and containing their reasons for the requisition, in which, under pretence of enumerating the sins of the people, they poured abuse on their rulers. They damped the courage of the people, by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. Carrying the Presbyterian doctrine of predestination to extremes, they stopped all exertions, by showing that the consequence of them depended not on those by whom they were made. They converted the numberless accidents to which soldiers and seamen are exposed into immediate judgments of God against their sins."—*Dalrymple, Memoirs.*

only without a commission from, but against the positive orders of, his sovereign. Campbell returned safely and triumphantly to New St. Andrew's; but during his short absence the Spanish squadron had come up, their ships of war and transports were lying at the mouth of the harbour, troops were landed, and positions were taken up which cut off the communication of the Scots, and soon hemmed them in within their frail, hastily constructed fortifications. Yet, in this desperate situation, without hope of help or provisions, Campbell defended the place for nearly six weeks, and then the garrison capitulated upon honourable terms. Campbell got to his ship, sailed away to New York, and thence made his way back to Scotland, where he was received as a hero; but nearly all the rest of the officers were dead before the capitulation. The survivors, whom Campbell had left behind, were embarked by the Spaniards in one of their ships called the "Rising Sun," but they were so weak as not to be able to weigh their anchor without assistance. The Spaniards behaved humanely, but the governors of the English possessions where they were obliged to touch treated them like felons and outcasts; and, in the end, between war, shipwreck, and disease, only thirty of these unfortunate adventurers ever saw Scotland again. Of the four Presbyterian preachers, however, three survived and returned to explain this wrath of God to their countrymen. These ministers had quitted the settlement before the Spaniards marched to attack it, and, to excuse their deserting the post of difficulty and danger, they wrote letters to the general assembly of the kirk, throwing the blame on the colonists, whom they described as an accursed crew, worse than the people of Sodom, running their way to hell and eternal judgment, till they should be ripe for the sickle of the wrath of God. One of these indecent railers and most unchristian zealots subsequently published in Scotland a sort of history of the colony, in which he exulted over the sufferings of his countrymen, whose greatest crime in his eyes probably was a dislike to the intolerance and gloomier tenets of Calvin, and a fondness for liberty of conscience. He calls the four ministers, including of course himself, "God's jewels," and he assures his readers that, when the last of the four was got out of that damnable place by a kind of miracle, like a brand out of the fire, then perdition fell upon it;—"as when once Lot was got out of Sodom into Zoar, then, without any longer delay, the Lord rained destruction from heaven upon those cities of iniquity." Poor Paterson, who had gone homeward on the ruin of the first colony, "looking more like a skeleton than a man," went mad on his passage; but he recovered both in mind and body, and, still ardent and confident of success, he presented a new plan, according to which England was to share with Scotland the dominion of the isthmus, and a new joint-stock of two millions sterling was to be raised, one fifth part to belong to Scotland, and the other four fifths to England. He survived many years in neglect and poverty—haunted, if he were a man of feeling, by the recollection of the hundreds of his countrymen whom he had unwittingly led to destruction.*

In the month of September, while the company in Scotland only apprehended, but did not know, the conclusion of the tragical drama in Darien, they transmitted an address or petition to William, complaining of the injuries they had already received, and the mischiefs they had to apprehend, from the Spaniards; and beseeching his majesty's favour and protection. To this an evasive answer was returned; and thereupon the Scottish company remonstrated in strong terms, averring "that they were not within the pale of the royal protection;" complaining of the proclamations which had been issued to the governors of the West India plantations, and which had produced the most fatal consequences to the company; and entreating that his majesty would be pleased to take off the force and effect of those proclamations, and allow his parliament of Scotland to meet at as early a period as possible, in order that he might have the advice and assistance of the great council of the nation in such a weighty and general concern. Lord Seafield, the secretary, replied for William, that his majesty much regretted the loss which that kingdom and company had lately sustained; that his majesty would upon all occasions protect and encourage the trade of Scotland; and that they should enjoy the same freedom of commerce with the English plantations as formerly: but, as for the parliament, it was adjourned till the month of March; yet he would cause it to meet when he judged that the good of the nation required it. This answer was of course very unsatisfactory; the national ferment grew and spread on all sides; and, when news arrived of the attack and surrender of New St. Andrew's, of the harsh treatment received by the Scottish fugitives at the hands of the English authorities in the West Indies, of a number of Scottish subjects being detained prisoners at Carthagena, and of the heart-breaking fate of nearly every individual that had been concerned in the Darien colony, the whole of Scotland was excited almost to a state of madness, and nothing less was talked of than a war with England and a declaration that the throne of Scotland was forfeited by William's conduct in this business. And, indeed, that conduct seems scarcely to admit of any excuse or palliation. It is represented that some of the Scottish ministers knowingly deceived him; that the extravagantly sanguine and enthusiastic promoters of the plan—and among these were men of the highest rank most trusted by William—inserted in the parliamentary acts more than they were authorised to do; that the royal assent to these acts and the

* Dalrymple, Memoirs. This writer adds—"After the union of the two kingdoms Paterson claimed reparation of his losses from the equivalent money given by England to the Darien Company, but got nothing; because a grant to him from a public fund would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job."



Great Seal of William III.

letters patent were got from the king in a hurry; and that the most important of the signatures was actually affixed in the trenches before Namur, when William's attention was absorbed by the operations of the most important siege he had ever undertaken. But, after all this, there was time to come forward frankly and openly, and stop the fatal expedition; and when the orders were sent out to the English governors in the West Indies—orders which went to famish and destroy hundreds of brave men, who doubtless, for the most part, believed that they were acting under the sanction of their king and parliament,—and still more when his majesty disclaimed to the Spanish ambassador any participation in the scheme—assuredly the least that ought to have been done, in justice or humanity, was to have dispatched a convoy to bring the unhappy colonists and the wreck of their property safely home. It may be more than probable that the English parliament, in their jealousy of the Scots and in their desire to thwart the king in all things, would have opposed any such merciful expedition, but William might have taken so much upon himself by right of his prerogative; but this he did not do, nor does it appear that he ever suggested any such measure either to the parliament or to his ministers.

Part of this Scottish storm did not burst over his head till after William's return from the continent; but his summer retreat at Loo was disturbed and made stormy by other elements. The Partition Treaty,—apparently by France, the first projector of it,—was made known to the court of Madrid, where it excited feelings favourable to Louis and a most intense hatred against William. In the preceding year (1698), in spite of the intrigues of the French party, Charles II., who considered himself authorised to dispose by will, and without any consent of the Cortes, of nations and of many millions of people of different races and interests, whom he had never been able to govern, executed a testament in which he called the young Electoral Prince of Bavaria (one of the parties provided for in the Partition Treaty) to the universal succession of the Spanish monarchy, appointing his father, the Elector of Bavaria, sole regent during the boy's minority. The wretched Charles, who had scarcely known a day's health from his infancy upwards, and who now, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, looked like a man of seventy, ascended his dishonoured throne, and announced this nomination of the young Bavarian to the counsellors of state and presidents of the supreme tribunals of Spain, informing them that his choice of a successor had been guided solely by motives of conscience and justice, and by the advice of the most learned and upright men in his kingdom. The French ambassador complained and protested; but the Count of Oropesa reminded him that Louis XIV., on his marriage, had consented to the renunciation of the Spanish crowns made by his queen, the Infanta Maria Theresa, and that hence the right had passed to Maria Theresa's younger sister, the Infanta Margarita, grandmother to the young Prince of Bavaria, who had never been bound to make any such renunciation of the Spanish succession.* But the young Bavarian had been scarcely named in the will and declaration when he suddenly fell sick and died, in the eighth year of his age. The bereaved father, the elector, who had been indulging in the most brilliant prospects for himself and family, suspected that his son had been carried off by poison,

* Dunlop, Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II. As already mentioned, her daughter, the mother of the electoral prince, had been forced by her own father, the Emperor Leopold, to renounce her claim to the Spanish succession upon her marriage with the Elector of Bavaria; but the act had not been recognised, and was not considered valid in Spain.

and in his agony he charged the French king with the diabolical act.* But, as the young prince had been equally an obstacle to the pretensions of his grandfather, the Emperor Leopold, or to his scheme of devolving his own claims to the succession upon his second son, the Archduke Charles, it was reported and believed in France that the young Bavarian had perished in consequence of means employed by the Austrian cabinet.† This unexpected death not only rendered nugatory the First Partition Treaty, which had cost William so much pains and so much obloquy, but also, and in various ways, favoured the plans of Louis. From this moment, indeed, it was a struggle of intrigue, deception, bribery, and corruption between France and Austria—a sort of struggle in which the French have generally defeated all antagonists. Neither party had any conscience, any bowels, any the slightest visitations of compassion for the dying Charles, whose last days they rendered terrible as the life of the damned, and whose death they hastened, not so rapidly (there would have been mercy in that!), but as surely, as if they had hired assassins to drive a dagger through his heart. William must have been miserably served by his diplomatic agents at Madrid, else he must have known what was going on there, and that knowledge would have prevented him from engaging with the insidious Louis in a new Partition Treaty, for which the French, pretty sure of their game by other cards, pretended a great earnestness as soon as the death of the Bavarian Prince was known. And this time the emperor, apparently fearing the result of the struggle going on at Madrid, was fain to lower his pretensions and to correspond with the negotiators who met round William, Portland, and de Tallard, at Loo. But these negotiations, like the preceding ones, were soon made known to the Spanish court. The dying king had still spirit enough left to remonstrate in strong terms against these scandalous negotiations *in a memorial presented to the English ambassador at Madrid*, and to order the Spanish ambassador at London to present a still more stirring document to the council of regency, or lords justices, who managed affairs during William's absence. In this second memorial the Spaniard, after appealing to the justice and honour of the English nation, added, insolently enough, "If these proceedings, these machinations and projects, are not speedily put a stop to, we shall, without doubt, see a dire and universal war over all Europe, difficult to stop when wished, and most sensible and prejudicial to the English nation, which has newly tried and felt what innovations and the last war had cost them;" and he further declared that the ambassador extraordinary of Spain would manifest to the parliament, when it should assemble, the just resentment which he now expressed. When this memorial was transmitted to Loo, the Spanish ambassador was informed by Secretary Vernon that his master found its contents so insolent and seditious that he must order him to quit his dominions within eighteen days. At the same time orders were dispatched to Madrid, commanding Mr. Stanhope to cease all diplomatic intercourse with that court, and return home. All this was sure gain to France, and it encouraged the shallow-headed Austrians, who neither knew how to gain or how to resign their point, to complain of the insolence of England and Holland in presuming to divide and parcel out the monarchy of Spain. When M. Hop, or Hope, the Dutch minister at Vienna, complained of the memorial presented by the Spanish ambassador at London, as gross and insolent, particularly in its appeal from the sovereign to his subjects in parliament, the Spanish minister there, who was present, said, gravely, that it was scarcely possible to regard in the same light with the subjects of other kings the English people, who had dethroned one king, and elected another,—who had even put a third king to death, and who had openly acted in defiance of the will of the present sovereign, alluding here to the affair of Darien. There was, indeed, this great difference between the subjects of England and those of Spain: the former cut off one king's head, and had driven out another; the latter had stood by and seen their kings, inquisitors, and despotic ministers put to a sort of lingering death a noble kingdom, and drive out the virtues and energies, the industry and genius, of a most capable and naturally high-spirited people.

William himself returned home on the 18th of October, to find a dispirited and breaking ministry. Montague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned, and Lord Tankerville, better known under his former title of Lord Grey of Werk, was placed at the head of the Treasury, one Smith, another of the commissioners, being made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of the real Whigs, not one remained at his post except Lord Somers, the chancellor, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was induced to accept the office of Lord Chamberlain, previously held by Sunderland—a household appointment, but one which had never been filled in this reign except by an individual in possession of great influence and authority in council. On the 16th of November William opened the session of parliament with a speech in which every expression was carefully avoided that might give any cause of offence. But he used the words—"Since our aims are wholly for the general good, let us act with confidence with one another; which will not fail, by God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people." And the Commons caught angrily at these words, as if by recommending this mutual confidence he meant to imply that they had been deficient towards him in this respect; and in their address they stated this captious feeling with very little periphrasis. "We do esteem it," said they, "our greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of your majesty and your government, both

* Mémoires de Torcy. † Mémoires de St. Simon.

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by sea and land, any jealousy or distrust hath been raised of our duty and affections to your sacred majesty: and we beg leave humbly to represent, that it will greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between your majesty and your parliament, that you will be pleased to show marks of your high displeasure towards all such persons as have or shall presume to misrepresent our proceedings to your majesty." William, who must have seen that they were in a humour to quarrel about straws, coolly replied, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent to him the proceedings of either House, and that, if any such calumnies should be attempted, they would not only fail of success with him, but the authors of them would be treated as his worst enemies.

The Tories were resolved, at all hazards, to drive Lord Somers from his almost solitary post, and, "after much casting about," they accused the Lord High Chancellor of being a pirate on the high seas! If it had been a few ages earlier, they would probably have accused him of witchcraft and dealing with the devil. Some short time before, upon representations made to the king by Lord Bellamont, governor of New York, that the American coasts and islands were sorely infested by corsairs, William had countenanced a scheme for fitting out a ship of war by private subscription, to be sent to look after those marauders. There was nothing illegal or even irregular in this letter of marque; Somers the chancellor, the Earl of Orford, the head of the admiralty, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Romney, and others contributed to the fund;* and at the recommendation of Lord Bellamont, Captain Kydd, said to be a native of Greenock, in Scotland, but long a resident of New York, in America, and a very able sailor, was appointed to the command of the "Adventure Galley," which was well manned, and armed with thirty guns. In addition to the usual letter of marque given to privateers, the captain was furnished *with a warrant under the great seal*, authorising him to make war upon and destroy the pirates,† &c.; but the choice of the commander was singularly unfortunate in a very material respect, for Kydd, who had probably been a buccaneer before, turned downright pirate as soon as he got into the American seas. This was reversing the case of Captain Morgan, in the days of Charles II., who was proclaimed to be hanged as a pirate first, and knighted and made governor of Jamaica afterwards. Lord Bellamont, however, had at last succeeded in taking his protegé and several of his crew prisoners, and was ready to send him over to England for trial.‡

Nevertheless, the Commons, on the 6th of December, agreed to a motion, "That the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce." A long and shrewd debate followed, the Tories striving to make it appear that Somers had wittingly affixed the great seal to Kydd's commission, in order to enrich himself, his friends, and his sovereign, by the fruits of piracy; but, "having aggravated their charge to the end that it might ring the louder, they were so much less able to verify any part of it. . . . . The chancellor's character for wisdom and integrity had as yet such weight with the house, that no imputation would stick; and upon the issue the motion was rejected; though the clamour was not let fall."*

But the point upon which the Tories laid still greater stress was the inquiry, ordered the preceding session, into William's grants of the Irish forfeitures. Seven commissioners had been appointed, who were all presumed to be anti-courtiers. Three of them, however, the Lord Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving, were for the court; while the other four, Trenchard, Annesley, Hamilton, and Langford, were violently against it, and disposed to stretch and torture the evidence and everything relating to the case, in order to inflame the report. All the seven commissioners, though they had frequent disagreements, had signed the several books which contained the particulars of their inquiry: but when the secretary drew up the report or abridgment of the whole, which was to be laid before parliament, the minority of three dissented from eight several articles, entered a sort of protest against them, and moreover joined in an appeal to each House of parliament, representing that the report had been drawn up without their full concurrence, and in a manner not warranted by the act of parliament, nor justified by the proofs which had been produced. They also complained of the overbearing conduct of the majority of four, who had laboured to influence them by transmitting private letters, instructions, and directions, which they affirmed they had received from several members of the House of Commons, &c. But this case was one

* A tenth of the profits made upon prizes, &c., was reserved for the crown; as usual when privateers were commissioned.

† The commission or letter of marque from the admiralty, dated January 26th, 1695, authorised Kydd to act against the French, with whom we were then at open war; the commission under the great seal authorised him to make war on certain notorious pirates therein named, and all other pirates infesting the coast of America and other seas.

‡ "On the 8th of July," (1699) says Ralph, "his lordship sent an account of the whole proceeding to the Secretary of State and the Lords of Trade, desiring that the prisoners might be sent for home, in order to their trials; there being no law in New England for punishing piracy with death, and the whole colony rather inclining to favour them, as being, in those days, little better than accomplices, if receivers of stolen goods deserve that name." The Lords of the Regency immediately dispatched the Rochester man-of-war to bring home the prisoners: but unfortunately she was unfit for such a voyage, and, after sustaining a storm, she was obliged to put back to Plymouth—a circumstance which was made use of to the discredit of the court; men saying that, as the whole adventure of Kydd was a piratical job, so the return of the Rochester was a mere collusion.

* Ralph. This writer, who turns the facts as much as he possibly can against the court, says, that the clamour chiefly originated with, and was kept up by, the old East India Company, furious at the loss of their vast monopoly. But the whole Tory faction had joined in the cry, insisting that all concerned in the affair ought to be turned out of their employments. "Such black constructions," says Burnet, "are men who are engaged in parties apt to make of the actions of those whom they intend to disgrace, even against their own consciences: so that an undertaking that was not only innocent but meritorious was traduced as a design for robbery and piracy."

of William's gigantic errors, and no friendly commission could have covered the worst parts of it, though a little more decency and respect might have been observed. The report, which was presented by the four who had penned it in their own way, stated in strong terms that they, the commissioners, had met with great difficulties and hindrances in the inquiry they had been prosecuting in Ireland, which were occasioned chiefly by the backwardness of the people of Ireland to give information, out of fear of the grantees, *whose displeasure in that kingdom was not easily borne*;* and by reports industriously spread, that their inquiry would come to nothing. There was no doubt much truth in this statement; under the absolute Protestant ascendancy matters could not have been otherwise in Ireland; but, abstractedly, the fact was proper to cast an odium upon William and his government; and, though every member of the English House of Commons had been in some measure a bully to the Irish people, this did not prevent them from declaiming upon the monstrous evils of violence and intimidation. In continuation the report stated, "that nevertheless, it appeared to them, that the persons outlawed in England, since the 13th of February, 1689, on account of the late rebellion, amounted in number to 57, and in Ireland to 3,921. That all the lands in the several counties in Ireland, belonging to the forfeited persons, as far as they could reckon, made 1,060,792 acres, worth, per annum, 211,623*l.*, which, by computation of six years' purchase for a life, and thirteen years for the inheritance, came to the full value of 2,685,138*l.* That some of those lands had been restored to the old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and by his majesty's favour, and by reversal of outlawries, and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by gratifications to such persons as had abused his majesty's royal bounty and compassion: and that besides these restitutions, which they thought to be corruptly procured, there were seventy-six grants and custodiums, under the great seal of Ireland, of which they made a recital: as,—to the Lord Romney† three grants now in being, containing 49,517 acres; to the Earl of Albemarle,* in two grants, 106,633 acres in possession and reversion; to William Bentinck, Esq., Lord Woodstock,† 135,820 acres of land; to the Earl of Athlone‡ two grants containing 26,480 acres; to the Earl of Galway§ one grant of 36,148 acres, &c. That, indeed, the estates so mentioned did not yield so much to the grantees as they were valued at; because, as most of them had abused his majesty in the real value of their estates, so their agents had imposed on them, and had either sold or let the greatest part of those lands at an under value: but that, after all deductions and allowances, there yet remained 1,699,343*l.* 14*s.*, which they laid before the Commons as the gross value of the estates forfeited since the 13th day of February, 1689, and not restored. It further appeared from the report presented, that William had conferred the forfeited Irish estates of the late King James, estimated at 95,649 acres, worth 25,995*l.* a year, upon Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney, his mistress or favourite lady. Upon this point the commissioners had quarrelled most violently; and it is evident that the majority had exaggerated the extent of the grant, and had purposely lost sight of various leases and annuities with which it was charged.

A. D. 1700. To work up a counter storm, Montague, who had so lately resigned his Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but who still clung to his party and to the king, on the 15th of January rose in the House and bitterly complained that Mr. Arthur Moore, a member of that House, had written a letter to the Commissioners, urging them to make a separate and strong article of my Lady Orkney's grants, "because that might reflect upon *somebody*." This somebody was, of course, the king; and Montague insisted that this deserved the censure of parliament. The ex-minister, in the vehemence with which he took up this matter, was perhaps looking at the constitution and the rights of parliament rather in a Tory than in a Whig spirit; but, with at least equal inconsistency, the Tories on the other hand, in spite of their high notions about the sanctity of kings, treated the charge slightingly, and called upon Montague to produce his witnesses to the letter. He pleaded the obligations which lay upon him as a man of honour not to discover parties who had trusted him with the information in private conversation; but the House insisted, and, no excuse being allowed, Montague named Methuen, Chancellor of Ireland, as his informer. But this Methuen denied having ever mentioned any such thing; and then, in the midst of the perplexity and confusion of the

* But the three commissioners in the minority expressly declared that the books relating to the forfeitures in Ireland were so ill and confusedly kept, as much to delay them in their proceedings; that they did not attribute this delay so much to the commissioners of the revenue there, as to the shifting this inquiry from one commission to another, which had been done five times since the battle of the Boyne; so that no commissioners, however well disposed to it, could ever have made any steady estimate of the forfeitures. They agreed with the majority as to the backwardness of the Irish people; but they insisted that this did not proceed from any dislike to the business or disobedience to the authorities: and then they affirmed, still more strongly than the four had done, that the fear of the grantees and of the persons in power in Ireland, together with reports "industriously spread abroad and generally believed," was the cause of this backwardness, and hindered many persons from making considerable discoveries. They also affirmed that John Burke, commonly called Lord Bophin, had agreed to pay 7500*l.* for the use of my Lord Albemarle, in consideration of his lordship's procuring his majesty's letters patent to restore him to his estate and blood; and they enumerated wholesale seizures of horses, cattle, sheep, &c., taken from the Irish Catholics, but never accounted for to the crown by the Protestant captors.

† This Lord Romney was the Henry Sydney and Secretary of State of former times, and he who had done so much to bring William into England.

* This Earl of Albemarle was William's present favourite, and a graceful and accomplished courtier. He was the son of Pelling, Lord Keppel of Gelderland, who was raised from being a page to the highest offices; and was made Earl of Albemarle and knight of the Garter in 1696. According to Burnet, "he was a cheerful young man, that had the art to please, but was so much given up to his own pleasures, that he could scarce submit to the attendance and drudgery that was necessary to maintain his post. . . . . He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be; who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend."

† This was the son of Lord Portland.

‡ General Ginckel.

§ Rouvigny, the French Huguenot, and an excellent officer.

court party, their adversaries put and instantly carried a vote, that the said report about Mr. Arthur Moore's letter was false and scandalous; and that the four commissioners had acquitted themselves with *understanding and integrity*. But the three commissioners in the minority insisted upon being heard; their side maintained that it was prostituting the honour and justice of the House to pass such a vote till both parties were examined; and thereupon the debate was adjourned till the following day, when the three were ordered to attend. Of this minority, Sir Richard Leving was called in first. He represented the great differences of opinion which had existed among the commissioners as to many points of the report, which was not and could not be considered as a cool and rational document. But the matter upon which he principally dwelt, was that of the "private estates" or the lands in Ireland which had belonged to James and been given to the Countess of Orkney. He said that he had given it as his opinion that this article ought not to be reported at all, because it was not within the power of their commission by the act, which limited their enquiries to forfeitures incurred since the 13th of February, 1689; but that the contrary had been maintained by another of the commissioners, who urged that King James had not forfeited his estates before he had done so by coming into Ireland on March 15th, and committing treason against King William and Queen Mary. On the other hand, he, Leving, had represented that, this private estate in Ireland being part and parcel of the possessions of the crown of England, and the crown being vested in King William and Queen Mary by act of parliament, all the said possessions were necessarily invested in them together with the crown—and that, as a consequence, the king might dispose of the lands. Sir Richard Leving then went on to accuse severally the majority of four of disrespectful and violent language. He affirmed, for example, that Langford, one of the four, had said, with reference to the exact time of James's forfeiture, that "the 30th of January was a good day and a good deed;" (it was the anniversary of the decapitation of Charles I.;) that when Lord Drogheda, one of the minority, said that the report of Lady Orkney's grant would be flying in the king's face, Hamilton, who was on the other side, replied, "If you will not fly in his face, you cannot execute this commission;" that Trenchard and Annesley said they had letters of advice from Mr. Arthur Moore and Mr. Harcourt, urging them to reflect upon *somebody*, even as Mr. Montague had mentioned. Sir Francis Brewster, another of the minority of three, confirmed these statements, adding, moreover, that Trenchard had called the grant to Lady Orkney "a villanous grant," and had given him, Sir Francis Brewster, "ill language." "But my language," continued Brewster, "was not so bad, but he was forced to beg my pardon at the board; and I did not his. There he stands; let him deny it if he can." But Trenchard not only denied the words, but brought Langford and Annesley to do the same.* The letters of Arthur Moore and Mr. Harcourt were, however, produced and read, but no record of these documents has been preserved. Upon the whole matter the triumphant majority came to the following resolution:—"That there have been divers groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton, and Henry Langford, Esquires, four of the commissioners for the Irish forfeitures, the said four commissioners having acquitted themselves with understanding, *courage*, and integrity: that Sir Richard Leving, another of the said commissioners, has been the author of the said groundless and scandalous reports, &c., and that the said Sir Richard Leving shall be committed to the Tower of London for the said offence." And Sir Richard was committed accordingly.

After this manifest victory the Tories brought in their famous Bill of Resumption, by which the Irish forfeitures were to be applied to the use of the public, without any regard paid to the reservation of a third part to the king, which had been part of the bill they had sent up eight years before to the Lords. Ministers proposed the insertion of a clause for reserving at least some portion of the said forfeitures to be at the free disposal of his majesty; but they would not hear this proposition out, and proceeded to give another blow, by resolving that the advising, procuring, and passing the grants in Ireland had been the occasion of contracting great debts and laying heavy taxes upon the people; that the said grants highly reflected upon the king's honour; and that the officers and instruments concerned in procuring and passing them had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. Not satisfied with all this, the Commons, on the 6th of February, moved in more explicit terms that the procuring of grants belonging to the crown, by any public minister, for his own use or benefit, was highly injurious to his majesty, prejudicial to the state, and a violation of

* Trenchard, who was a practised debater, a thorough man of business, and yet something of a wit, said, "Sir, it is true, I did ask his pardon; and the occasion was this: as Mr. Annesley has acquainted you, I was provoked by his opprobrious language to reply, I feared him in no capacity, but as an evidence, which he took very heinously: he repeated the word 'evidence:' he said, it was below a gentleman, below a man of honour: that such a one ought to be shunned by all civil conversation; that I had better have stuck a dagger in his heart than have called him an evidence; which now I think, Mr. Speaker, he won't resent so highly. This put the board in great disorder; and one of the commissioners whispered to me, (I think it was the absent member; but I am sure all agreed in it,) You know he is *a very simple old fellow*; and though he gave the affront, you are in the wrong, that you are capable of being angry with him. Truly, Sir, I was conscious to myself, that I was much to blame to suffer myself to be provoked by him, and therefore, that the debate might be interrupted no longer, I asked his pardon. As to the other part I am charged with, that I called the grant of the private estate a villanous grant, I directly deny it! 'Twas possible I might say, it was an extravagant grant, an unreasonable grant, an unconscionable grant: that the king was *imposed* upon and deceived in this grant, to give that for 5,000*l.* per annum, which is worth between 25,000*l.* and 26,000*l.* These are words that amount to it, and might fall from me; but that I used the word villanous, 'I positively deny:' 'Tis a word I don't use in my ordinary conversation; a word that never comes out of the mouth of a gentleman, and is false."—*Ralph*. The debates and proceedings of the Houses are badly reported, at this interesting juncture, in the printed accounts; but Ralph says, that the present debates upon the resumption bill were carefully taken down in short-hand.

the trust reposed in him. But here the Tories had committed themselves upon unsafe ground; and the Whigs, adopting the motion, retaliated upon their adversaries by attaching to it a very significant amendment,—a kind of resumption of their own, based upon the same principles as the original Tory bill, and which that party had not the effrontery to resist. The proposition was simply this: "To resume the grants of all lands and revenues of the crown, and all pensions granted by the crown since the 6th of February, 1684, and for applying the same to the use of the public." The 6th of February was the inauspicious day of James II.'s accession; and from that day, down to the night of his flight from England, the Tories had monopolised the favours, grants, and pensions of the crown, and they were now bound to disgorge them all. It was known that, in the Upper House, "the king was a little more civilly used," and it was feared that there the Resumption Bill would be thrown out altogether. To prevent this the Commons had again recourse to the device of making it part of a money bill; and they appended the resumption to the grant of a land-tax, the produce of which was indispensable for the payment of the fleet and army. The Lords were indignant at this proceeding, which in a manner tied their hands and tongues; but, encouraged by the court, they ventured to oppose the bill, and to offer some amendments, which were just and reasonable in themselves, and suited to check an immense amount of wrong to private individuals who had bought property in Ireland from the grantees, &c.* "The court," says Burnet, "upon some previous votes, found they had a majority among the Lords: so, for some days, it seemed to be a design to lose the bill, and to venture on a prorogation or a dissolution rather than pass it. Upon the apprehensions of this the Commons were beginning to fly out into high votes both against the ministers and the favourites; the Lord Somers was attacked a second time, but was brought off by a greater majority than had appeared for him at the beginning of the session. During the debates about the bill he was ill, and the worst construction possible was put upon that; it was said he advised all the opposition that was made to the measure in the House of Lords, but that, to keep himself out of it, he feigned that he was ill; though his great attendance in the Court of Chancery, the House of Lords, and at the council table, had so impaired his health, that, every year about that time, he used to be brought very low, and disabled from business. The king seemed resolved to venture on all the ill consequences that might follow the losing this bill, though those would probably have been fatal. As far as we can judge, either another session of that parliament, or a new one, would have banished the favourites, and begun the bill anew, with the addition of obliging the grantees to refund all the mean profits: many in the House of Lords, that in all other things were very firm to the king, were for passing this bill, notwithstanding the king's earnestness against it, since they apprehended the ill consequences that were like to follow if it was lost."* When the Lords sent down their amendments to the Commons they rejected them, and gave their reasons in a paper which was delivered at a conference of the two Houses. The Lords then prepared answers to these reasons, and in a second conference presented them in writing; but the managers for the Commons declined pursuing this course of literary argument, and left the bill in the hands of their lordships, who were warned on many sides that they must pass it, or bring on a perilous crisis. The king became sullen upon all this: on the 5th of April he told Lord Portland that, if the bill was not stopped in the Upper House, he should count all as lost; and on the same day he declared that he was resolved not to pass the bill, and that the only question was, whether he should prorogue the parliament on the morrow or Monday next. Yet, when he coolly reflected upon all the bearings of the case and the danger of further resistance, he solicited the Lords by a private message to pass the bill; and the Lords having consented, not without some pangs, in which their own purses were concerned, he went down to the House, and gave the royal assent without a murmur on the 11th of April.† But, immediately after passing the other bills that were in readiness, he commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, in the absence of Chancellor Somers, who was still sick, to prorogue the parliament, which was accordingly done without a speech.‡

* "The case of the Earl of Athlone's grant was very singular: the House of Commons had been so sensible of his good service in reducing Ireland, that they had made an address to the king to give him a recompense suitable to his services: and the parliament of Ireland was so sensible of their obligations to him, that they, as was formerly told, confirmed his grant of between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* a-year. He had sold it to those who thought they purchased under an unquestionable title; yet all that was set aside, no regard being had to it; so that this estate was thrown into the heap. Some exceptions were made in the bill in favour of some grants, and provision was made for rewarding others, whom the king, as they thought, had not enough considered. Great opposition was made to this by some, who thought that all favours and grants ought to be given by the king, and not originally by a house of parliament; and this was managed with great heat, even by some of those who concurred in carrying on the bill."—*Burnet.*

† William wrote to Lord Galway (Rouvigny, the French Huguenot), "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings give me: and, I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure is not the least of my griefs. There have been so many intrigues in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of everything, it cannot be conceived. I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall yet find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."—Tindal.—Ralph.—Sir Henry Ellis; in his Collection, gives the original in French, as it is preserved, entirely in William's hand-writing, in the British Museum.

‡ At the very moment the Commons were preparing a resolution,

On the 12th of February the celebrated Matthew Prior had written to the Earl of Manchester,—"To-morrow is the great day when we expect that my Lord Chancellor will be fallen upon, though God knows what crime he is guilty of but that of being a very great man and a wise and upright judge. Lord Bellamont, you will read in the Votes, was fallen upon to-day: thus, every day a minister, till at last we reach the king." And on the 10th of April, the day before the prorogation, the same wit wrote,—"My Lord Chancellor is very sick."*

Towards the close of the session another attempt had been made to couple Somers with Captain Kydd; but a motion for his removal had been negatived; and the House satisfied themselves with examining copies of the several commissions given to Kydd, of his majesty's warrant for a grant of the prizes taken from pirates to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of an indenture between his majesty and Bellamont; of a letter from the Lords of the Treasury to that governor about sending over the property seized in Kydd's ship; and with bringing in a bill for the more effectual suppression of piracy; followed by an address, upon information of Kydd being on his way home, that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned until the next session of parliament; and that Lord Bellamont might transmit all instructions and papers relating to the said pirate. But, before they could hang the pirate, Chancellor Somers was dismissed, or reluctantly resigned, the great seal, —thus leaving the cabinet entirely in Tory hands. The seals were soon after given, with the title of Lord Keeper, to Sir Nathan Wright, an obscure Tory serjeant-at-law,—"in whom there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had lately filled it." William tempted the Whig Shrewsbury with an offer of the government of Ireland; but the duke, instead of accepting it, resigned even his office of lord chamberlain, and went away into Italy, at a moment when the king he had helped to make seemed in danger of being unmade. It is said that even Sunderland was invited once more—but in vain—to take office. William's household was even deserted by my Lord Portland, who had grown enormously rich, and who was anxious to keep what he had got. Lord Jersey was appointed chamberlain, and Lord Romney groom of the stole.†

This year the king did not leave Kensington for Loo till the month of July. In Scotland the parliament met on the 21st of May, when the excitement about the business of Darien was at its greatest height. In the preceding month of December the council of the Darien Company informed the Scottish secretary, Lord Seafield, who was at court, that they had prevailed on Lord Basil Hamilton to go up to London with an address to his majesty in behalf of those Scots who were confined at Carthagena; and that they must request the secretary to introduce Lord Basil to the king. Seafield replied that his majesty did not refuse to receive the petition, but could not allow Lord Basil Hamilton to be the presenter of it, as that nobleman had not yet *owned* his majesty's government. This reply to the council of the company was followed up by an official note to the privy council of Scotland, stating, that though access had been refused to Lord Basil Hamilton, his majesty was resolved to demand from the Spanish court the release of the prisoners at Carthagena; and that it was his majesty's intention to advance the trade of Scotland, and to allow the subjects of that kingdom the same liberty of commerce that others enjoyed with the English plantations. The directors of the company, in a second letter to Lord Seafield, expressed their deep regret at access to the throne being refused to my Lord Basil, who was perfectly versed in the state of their affairs, and provided with ample documents concerning them, and who, as far as they had heard, had never done anything inconsistent with the duty of a loyal and peaceful subject. William, however, persevered in his objection; and when Lord Basil went up to London without permission, and attempted to put a memorial into his hands as he passed from his apartment to the council chamber, and to address him on the important subject, he put him back sternly and refused to hear him. In the month of March the Marquess of Tweeddale presented an address which ran in the name of the whole Scottish nation, and which was signed by an immense number of persons of all ranks, petitioning for or demanding a speedy session of parliament, in order that the Indian and African Company of Scotland might be enabled to prosecute their undertaking with greater assurance and better success than they had hitherto been able to do. It was in consequence of this address that the present session was opened sooner than ministers had intended; and it was scarcely opened ere a remonstrance was presented from the Darien Company, which was followed by petitions and addresses from all parts of the kingdom: and forthwith a resolution was moved that the colony in Darien was a legal and rightful settlement in the terms of the act of 1695; and that the parliament would maintain and support the same. The Duke of Queensberry, the king's commissioner, hereupon adjourned the parliament for three days, but he could do nothing during that short interval to moderate that exceeding heat, and at the end of the three days the Estates met, if possible in a worse temper than before. Queensberry then ventured to adjourn them for twenty days more; excusing this extraordinary exercise of the prerogative by affirming that several things had occurred which obliged him to consult his majesty. That very night the majority of the parliament met in a

"That an address be made to his majesty that no person not a native, except the Prince of Denmark, should be admitted to his majesty's councils in England or Ireland."

* Prior, History of his Own Time; and Cole's MSS. In one of these letters Prior, who was fond of place, and then a sort of under secretary of state, says,—"Upon the main we have life for six months longer, *et alors comme alors!*"

† Tindal.

private house and drew up an address to the king, demanding that a stop should be put to this system of adjourning, and that their parliament should meet on the day to which it was then adjourned, to sit as long as might be necessary for redressing the great grievances of the nation. William replied to the bearers of this address that they should know his intention in Scotland. But in the interval the parliament had been again adjourned by proclamation—a measure which gave rise to riots and tumults in the city of Edinburgh; where many of the members proposed that they should sit and deliberate in spite of the proclamation, and make good the doors of their House by force of arms if necessary. In the month of July Queensberry produced a remarkable and a soothing letter from the king, which was published by authority. William declared that if it had been possible for him to have agreed to the resolution offered him by the parliament of Scotland, to assert the right of the African and Indian Company, he would gladly have done it; that he was truly sorry for the nation's loss, and most willing to concur in everything that could be reasonably expected of him, for aiding and supporting their interests, and demonstrating his hearty inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that ancient kingdom: but he warned them "to be careful both of their own preservation and of the honour and interest of the government, and not suffer themselves to be misled, nor to give advantage to enemies and ill-designing persons too ready to catch hold of any opportunity."* This declaration, which, as we are inclined to believe, was accompanied by still more persuasive documents, addressed to *some* of the Scottish leaders, produced a very sensible effect; and when parliament reassembled matters went on with very surprising smoothness and moderation. Another angry remonstrance was presented by the Darien Company, and another national address was voted; but these died down the wind like the last echoes of a departing thunder-storm; the company saw that their loss was irretrievable; and the nation, little as it liked William, began to feel the extreme difficulty of his situation as king of England, and king of Scotland, and stadtholder to the Dutch, and to perceive that errors had been committed by themselves, and that, in the faults they complained of on the part of England, the king had been the least guilty or malevolent of all. At the opening of the session he had promised to give the royal assent to all such bills as they might offer him for the better security and advancing of the religion, liberty, and commerce of the country, and that nothing should be wanting on his part to contribute to the happiness of the people; and if the Scottish patriots had been so disposed, by giving up their hostility a little earlier, they might have procured the blessing of an Habeas Corpus Act like that of England. Having continued sitting till the 29th of October, the session was, by several acts, from time to time adjourned to the 28th of January of the following year, 1701. When, at the end of January, the question of supplies came under discussion, they voted, "That, in consideration of their great deliverance by his majesty, and that, next under God, their safety and happiness depended wholly on the preservation of his majesty's person and the security of his government, they would stand by and support both his majesty and his government to the utmost of their power, *and maintain such forces as should be requisite for these ends.*" And, though it was hardly to be expected, after so universal a discontentment, the Scots gratified his majesty in the extreme, by keeping on foot, without reduction and without clamour, the whole of the land forces that existed in the kingdom when the session began. This was a striking contrast to the conduct of the parliament of England; but the opponents of the court easily accounted for the subservience of public men in Scotland, by assuming that they had been bribed and bought by the king. At the end of the session the Duke of Queensberry received the Order of the Garter—an honour rarely bestowed upon Scotchmen; and the Marquess of Argyle was raised to a dukedom.

The English parliament, while they allowed the land forces to remain as they were the year before—that is, at 8000 men,—reduced the navy to 7000; and that, too, in spite of a new war in the north of Europe and a treaty entered into by William to support the party attacked—that youthful hero, Charles XII. of Sweden. Burnet says that this reduction of the navy was moved for by the Tories, and that the Whigs readily gave way to it "because the fleet was now in another management." (That is, the command of the fleet and the admiralty had been taken from Lord Orford and the Whig dependents of that unworthy Russell.) The King of Denmark, Frederick IV., the unjust aggressor who hoped to wrench the crown of Sweden from the grasp of young Charles, had the indiscretion to say publicly, that as the king of England was at variance with his parliament, he would be able to do but little in Europe. William retorted—"I will make Denmark know I am still able to do something." And, being zealously assisted by the States General,* he pre-

* "Some," says Burnet, "were not ill pleased to see the king's affairs run into an embroilment. . . . The managers in the English House of Commons, who opposed the court, resolved to do nothing that should provoke Scotland, or that should take any part of the blame and general discontent *that soured that nation off from the king.* It was further given out, to raise the national disgust yet higher, that the opposition the king gave to the Scotch colony flowed neither from a regard to the interests of England, nor to the treaties with Spain, but from a care of the Dutch, who, from Curaçoa, drove a coasting trade among the Spanish plantations with great advantage; which, they said, the Scotch colony, if once settled, would draw only from them. These things were set about that nation with great industry; the management was chiefly in the hands of Jacobites; neither the king nor his ministers were treated with the decencies that are sometimes observed, even after subjects have run to arms: the keenest of their rage was plainly pointed at the king himself."

* "Upon the Swede's demand of the auxiliary fleets that were stipulated both by the king and the States, orders were given for equipping them here, and likewise in *Holland*. The king was not willing to communicate this design to the two Houses, and try if the House of Commons would take upon themselves the expense of the fleet: they were in so bad a humour, that the king apprehended that some of them might endeavour to put an affront upon him, and

pared a fleet both in England and Holland, and spoke in the high tone of an arbiter to Denmark and the states in confederacy with her, or Russia, Poland, and Brandenburg, who had made an iniquitous contract on purpose to join in a general attack upon Sweden. And when these remonstrances failed, he, in the month of July, dispatched the united squadrons of England and Holland to the Sound, under the command of Sir George Rooke. The English admiral soon formed a junction with the fleet of Sweden; and then, with fifty-two ships of the line in all, he scoured the Baltic, drove the Danish fleet into Copenhagen, and bombarded that capital, "but with little damage to the place and none to the fleet." Yet this relief was most seasonable to the Swedes, who recovered their spirits, drove the Danes and the Poles from their frontiers and the towns they were besieging, and threatened Denmark with conquest. Frederick IV. now testified his willingness to accept the mediation of the maritime powers—England and Holland—and implored the English admiral to desist from further hostilities. But Rooke replied, that, though ready to accede to a lasting treaty, he had no power to agree to a mere truce. In the beginning of August young Charles of Sweden landed in person on the Isle of Zetland, and, conjointly with the combined fleets, prepared for a regular siege of Copenhagen. This struck a terror through all Denmark, and so quickened the pens of her diplomatists, that by the middle of August a treaty of peace was signed at Travendahl, a house of the Duke of Holstein, without the concurrence of France, and under the guarantee of the maritime powers. Peace being thus concluded, Charles and his army retired from before the Danish capital, and when Rooke had seen him and his army safe to Sweden, he sailed home. William's conduct in the whole matter was highly applauded:—he had effectually protected the young Swede, and yet obliged him to accept of reasonable terms of peace.

But before this peace was concluded in the North, the particulars of the Second Partition Treaty relating to Spain and the South were pretty generally known.* France, England, and Holland had agreed that the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold, should be substituted for the deceased Prince of Bavaria, to have and hold Spain, Spanish Flanders, and her dependencies in India, America, &c., or all that had been allotted by the First Partition Treaty to the Bavarian; while the other shares of the Spanish inheritance were to be divided as before, the dauphin, however, to have in addition the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and the dispossessed Duke of Lorraine to have in lieu the duchy of Milan. But the emperor, who still wanted the whole of the succession, would not be a party to the treaty. Perhaps he was also deterred by a fear of the ill consequences which might ensue in Spain, and which did ensue as soon as the treaty was known there. According to one account, the unhappy Charles was first informed of this new treaty by Don Bernardo de Quiros, his ambassador in Holland, who, having observed the long and private conferences going on at Loo between William and Count de Tallard, suspected their object, and then obtained surer information from some deputies of the States General, who were parties to the negotiation; according to another account the first hint was given at Madrid by the Marquis d'Harcourt, the very adroit agent of King Louis, who assuredly was never sincere in the treaty; while yet another account declares that it was the Emperor of Germany that first disclosed this second project of partition, with a view to his own interest, and to making himself popular at the Spanish court. But let the first discloser be who he will, he must have known that the revelation would incense and rouse the Spanish nation, and more especially the Spanish aristocracy, who held vast estates in Sicily, in the kingdom of Naples, and in the other territories to be alienated to France; and who, moreover, had always looked to the viceroyalties and commands of those fair regions as the best means of making or mending their fortunes. It appears that at first the emperor derived most benefit from the disclosure, and that he became a favourite at the Spanish court when it was known that he peremptorily refused (which he did at the eleventh hour) to accede to the treaty. He was also favoured by the Queen of Spain, Charles's second wife, Maria Ann of Neuburg, daughter of the Elector Palatine, and sister of the late empress (Leopold's third wife). To check this latter influence, the queen, who could scarcely be said to have had a husband in the sickly Charles, received intimation from France that, if she abandoned the Austrian interests, she might hope, after the demise of her present husband, to be united to the dauphin, and so still share the Spanish throne. The wretched Charles a second time assembled a council of state to deliberate on the succession. He still inclined to Austria, but the grandees had taken a new turn, and, of twelve, ten were of opinion that a Bourbon prince should be named. The Count of St. Estevan declared that Spain had fallen into such a state of weakness as to be unable to defend or protect herself, and that nothing but interesting France in her favour could save her from that dismemberment to which she had been condemned by the maritime powers. The dominions of the emperor, he said, were too remote, his treasuries too much exhausted, to allow him to render any timely assistance; and then the House of Austria had no fleets, no ports, no naval power whatsoever to cover the coasts and the colonies of Spain from the assaults of England and Holland. France had both fleets and money—or

oppose the sending a fleet into the Sound: though others advised the venturing on this—for no nation can subsist without alliances sacredly observed, and this was an ancient one, lately renewed by the king; so that an opposition in such a point must have turned to the prejudice of those who should move it."—*Burnet.*

* It was signed in London on the 21st of February (O. S.), or 3rd of March (N. S.), 1700, by the Earls of Portland and Jersey and M. de Tallard; and on the 25th of March (N.S.) by M. de Briord and the plenipotentiaries for the States at the Hague.

so it was assumed for the sake of the argument—and the *grand monarque*, who had so recently made all Europe tremble, might preserve the integrity of the Spanish monarchy if the crown were only allowed to descend upon the head of his issue. Only two of these degenerate nobles had the spirit and good sense to propose that the great question which interested every man in the nation should be left to the decision of the national Cortes, to be assembled forthwith, and allowed to determine it according to the known laws and constitutions of the realm or realms. Such a small minority had no influence; the suggestion was scouted as disloyal and dangerous; and, instead of assembling the Cortes, Charles consulted the faculties of law and theology among the professors, of which the Marquis d'Harcourt had bought many golden opinions. These faculties decided in favour of the Bourbon, provided only that due means were adopted for preventing the crown of Spain and the crown of France being worn by one and the same individual, which, as the divines and jurists argued, was the real and sole spirit and meaning of the renunciation exacted from the Infanta Maria Theresa when she married Louis XIV. But the Austrian blood which flowed in a slow current in the veins of King Charles still sympathised with its cognate streams, and made him still desire that his possessions should fall to a prince of the House of Austria. To subdue this feeling the partisans of the French and the monks and priests alarmed his timid conscience, and threatened him with eternal damnation if he violated the rights of the legitimate heir. "I am partial to my own family," said Charles, "but my salvation is dearer to me than the ties of blood." And in these difficulties he sent the Duke d'Uzeda, one of his household, to consult the pope, and present to his holiness copies of the opinions of the juris-consults and divines of Spain. Innocent XII., after deliberating for forty days with cardinals devoted for the most part to France, replied that he entertained no doubt that, after his majesty's demise, the whole Spanish monarchy devolved by right of blood on the dauphin; but that his second son, Philip Duke of Anjou, ought to be called to the succession, in order to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain. "I am myself," said the pontiff, "in a situation similar to that of your majesty, being on the point of appearing at the tribunal of Christ to render an account to my Sovereign Pastor of the flock which has been intrusted to my care; and it is, therefore, my duty to give such advice as will not be a matter of reproach to my conscience at the day of doom."* And, in effect, the old pope died shortly after, a few weeks before Charles, and just as the great powers of Europe were preparing to solve the problem by the sword. Still, however, in spite of the solemn adjurations addressed to him, the most miserable of kings leaned towards the princes of his own blood; and the queen, and the new confessor whom she had placed about him, in lieu of a monk in the French interest who had recently driven him to the verge of madness,* did all they could to encourage and strengthen this natural bias. By these machinations, military preparations were secretly made in Spain; Austrian troops were invited into the kingdom; the Duke of Medina Celi was dispatched to Naples with orders to admit the imperial troops into that kingdom, and negotiations were set on foot with the Duke of Mantua for the reception of an Austrian garrison into his capital, in order to overawe the duchy of Milan. But every part of this scheme was disconcerted; the emperor had but few troops to spare, and the Duke of Medina Celi and the Duke of Mantua were both in the French interest. At the same time the Marquis d'Harcourt rode away from Madrid to the frontiers of France, where Louis had already collected a strong army. Never did imagination conceive or the darkest romance attempt to picture such intrigues and horrors as assailed the miserable Charles, who was torn to pieces while yet alive by those who wanted his inheritance. "Clamorous disputes were heard even in the ante-chamber of the dying monarch.

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

* The Cardinal Portocarrero succeeded in removing the king's confessor, who belonged to the Austrian faction, and through whom the queen held the key to the king's conscience, and in substituting Froylan Diaz, a Dominican friar from Alcala. Then the cardinal, the inquisitor-general, and the new confessor, persuaded the superstitious, imbecile Charles that all his indispositions arose from sorcery, and that it was necessary he should be exorcised. A Capuchin monk, "very intelligent and well-practised in matters of enchantments and in casting out devils," performed the conjuration; and the king, appalled, became more sick and melancholy than ever. But, as he still inclined to Austria, the French faction, the cardinal, the inquisitor, and the Dominican friar, got up a correspondence with another Dominican called Arguelles, who resided in the Asturias, and who was famed for having a strong command over demons. In reply to questions put to him in writing by the inquisitor and Froylan Diaz, Arguelles stated that the devil had told him that the king had been bewitched in 1675, when only fourteen years of age, by means of a decoction of dead men's brains, administered to him in a cup of chocolate, by his own mother, Mary Anne of Austria. And subsequently Arguelles affirmed that his majesty had been bewitched again on the 24th of September, 1694, by means of a dead body and the agency of a woman called Maria, residing in the Calle Mayor. But, before this scheme could be completed, Rocaperti, the inquisitor-general, died, and was succeeded by the Bishop of Segovia, who rather inclined to the German faction, and who soon satisfied the king that an atrocious trick had been played upon him. When Diaz was attacked by the inquisition for having put his trust in devils, he threw the blame on the late inquisitor, and fled to Rome; but the Spanish ambassador there got possession of his person and sent him back to Spain, where he was confined in the prisons of the Holy Office till 1704, when he was released at the instance or command of Louis XIV., whose interests he had been serving in getting up devils, &c.—*Processo Criminal contra F. Diaz*, as quoted by Mr. Dunlop, *Memoirs of Spain*. After the failure of this attempt the French faction persuaded the starving populace of Madrid that the famine was brought about by the ministers and partisans of Austria. The mob attempted to murder the ministers, destroyed all the bakers' shops, and, presenting themselves in front of the palace, demanded to see the king. "His majesty is asleep," said one of the courtiers. "He has slept too long already, and must now awake," shouted the populace: and then Charles, pale and trembling, was brought to a balcony in the arms of his attendants, being unable, through fear and sickness, to stand upon his own feet. More horrors still remained to swell this most dismal of royal histories. The king was persuaded that the sight and contact of the mouldering remains of his ancestors would be beneficial to his own health, or at least quicken the prayers of the departed in his behalf. And, thus impelled, Charles descended to the subterranean vaults under the Escurial, and witnessed the opening of the coffins of marble and jasper. The first that was unclosed was that of his mother, whom he had never greatly loved; but he long and earnestly contemplated the remains of his first fair queen, Louisa of Orleans, which bore few traces of dissolution, and exhibited a countenance scarcely less blooming than when alive. At last he rushed in horror from the spot, exclaiming, "I shall soon be with her in heaven."—*Coxe.—Dunlop.—Ortiz.*

Pressed on one side by the French, and importuned on the other by the queen and Austrian partisans, the debilitated frame of Charles sunk under the struggle of contending passions, and a crisis in his disorder announced approaching dissolution. With a view still farther to stimulate his tender conscience, Portocarrero exposed to him his awful situation, on the verge of eternity, and persuaded him to receive the spiritual counsel of the most pious divines to assist his devotions and prepare him to die with resignation. In the midst of those lugubrious ceremonies with which the Catholic church appals the minds of the dying, these divines represented the danger of his soul, should he not dispose of his crown by will, and entail on his country, by this neglect, the horrors of civil war. They held forth the vengeance of an offended Deity, if he suffered himself to be swayed by mortal love or hatred,—if he consulted the affections of that body which must shortly moulder into dust. The Austrians, they urged, were not the relations, nor the Bourbons the enemies, of his soul; and it was his duty to conform himself to the opinion of the majority of his council, the disinterested advocates of justice, and the organs of the national voice."* This Portocarrero was a man of high birth and station, and of consummate address; and he was, moreover, a prince of the Roman church—a cardinal, an archbishop (of Toledo), not without hopes of wearing the tiara. He had been entirely gained over by the Marquis d'Harcourt, and had scrupled at no measures, however atrocious, that promised to work upon the weak mind of the king, being aided and assisted in his diabolical proceedings by the inquisitor-general Rocaperti: and now, when his victim was at the last gasp, with the horrors of hell kept before his eyes, this cardinal produced the celebrated last will and testament, appointing Philip, Duke of Anjou, universal successor to the Spanish monarchy. The Austrian faction, who had equally pretended that a royal will would be paramount to all laws or rights whatsoever, had no just ground to complain when the French faction assumed the same principle; but it completed the monstrosity of the business that an imbecile king, terrified out of the little wit he had ever had, should be allowed to dispose of so many millions of rational beings. The secretary, Don Antonio de Ubilla, acted as notary; and the cardinal and Don Manuel Arias stood by as the sole witnesses. Terrified, baited, coerced, as he was, Charles could hardly be brought to put his hand to the paper; and, as soon as he had signed it, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "I now am nothing."† He then fell into a long faint, and was thought to be dead; but he once more opened his eyes to a world which had been to him a world of sorrow and woe, and he lingered between life and death for four weeks. The contents of the will were carefully concealed from the queen, the Austrian party, and the whole of Europe *except the French court*. Louis finished his preparations, and his effective ally Cardinal Portocarrero possessed himself of the great seals of the kingdom and of the entire administration of Spain—if at such a moment there was anything in that distracted country that merited the name of a government. At last, on the 1st of November, death mercifully removed Charles II., who had been a phantom king from the third year of his age, and who was now only thirty-nine years old. Count Harrach, the emperor's ambassador, who had been so poor a match for d'Harcourt, was watching at the door of the cabinet when the council was assembled upon the king's death; and so obtuse was he, and so thoroughly in the dark as to the will, that, when the Duke of Abrantes came forth with an extended hand and with smiling looks, he thought that all had been decided in favour of his master or of his master's son. The Spaniard soon undeceived him by saying—"I come to take my leave of the house of Austria."

As, however disorganised and ill-prepared were the allies, a war inevitably hung in suspense in case Louis XIV. accepted the will, instead of satisfying himself with the portions of the Spanish inheritance allotted to his house by the Second Partition Treaty, that ambitious sovereign at the moment of crisis entertained some doubts and misgivings; but these were merely momentary, and he dispatched his grandson Philip into Spain, exclaiming as he sent him—"Now there are no longer Pyrenees." William, who had returned to England a few days before the death of Charles, appears to have been astonished as much as he was irritated by the news of the will and the decision of Louis. Writing to the Pensionary Heinsius, he says, "I doubt not but this unheard-of proceeding of France will surprise you as much as it did me. I never relied much on engagements with France, but I must confess I did not think they would on this occasion have broken in the face of the whole world a solemn treaty, before it was well accomplished. . . . . We must confess we are dupes, but, if one's word and faith are not to be kept, it is easy to cheat any man. The worst is, it brings us into the greatest embarrassment, particularly when I consider the constitution of affairs here; for the blindness of the people here is incredible. For though this affair is not public, yet, it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion that it was better for

* Coxe, Memoirs.

† "This will was made the 2nd of October, and yet Schonenberg, the Jewish resident for England and Holland at Madrid, was so ill-informed of what passed at court, that he informed his masters it was done on the 3rd. He also informed them that the king soon after, thinking himself something better, expressed so much indignation against the junto who induced him to take that step, that he recalled the powers he had given them to act discretionally in the urgent affairs of the kingdom, that he afterwards signed another will, &c. But no article of this kind had the least foundation; on the contrary, he left the administration in the hands of that very junto, with Cardinal Portocarrero at their head, with all the powers necessary for preserving the peace and carrying on the operations of government. All the favour shown to the queen was, that her dowry was enlarged from 300,000 to 400,000 ducats a-year; besides which, she was to have her choice of the four general governments—Flanders, Naples, Sicily, or the Milanese; and in case she chose to make her residence in Spain, she had liberty to reside in which of the principal cities she pleased."—*Ralph.*

England that France should accept the will than fulfil the treaty of partition. I think I ought not to conceal this from you, in order that you may be informed of the sentiments here, which are contrary to mine: for I am perfectly persuaded, that, if this will be executed, England and the republic (*of Holland*) are in the utmost danger of being totally lost or ruined. I will hope that the republic understands it thus, and will exert her whole force to oppose so great an evil. It is the utmost mortification to me in this important affair, that I cannot act with the vigour which is requisite, and set a good example; but the republic must do it; and I will engage people here, by a prudent conduct, and by degrees, and without their perceiving it. I have provisionally sent orders to my ambassador to declare, that I hold to the treaty, and that the two months the emperor had to declare himself are not expired. Before I could take any further determination, this occurred to me first, in order to gain time, which we have so much need of. I am not determined, whether it should be best that the emperor should accede to the treaty, or declare his right to the whole succession. Possibly acceding to the treaty would be best for Holland, but, as that is not approved here, the other may perhaps be best. . . . . In case the emperor will take up the matter with vigour, he can, in my opinion, do nothing else than make himself master of the Milanese immediately, and endeavour to get Naples and Sicily to declare for him, and thus try to make himself master of Italy; in which the Italian princes may perhaps concur. What embarrasses me most is the Spanish Netherlands; for it will be very difficult for the Elector of Bavaria to prevent their declaring in favour of, and acknowledging, the Duke of Anjou, in case he receives orders from Spain for that purpose, or is pressed by France. The troops of the republic in garrison there ought to be well upon their guard, and the elector can dispose of them and his own troops, so that he will have the superiority. The only thing I can devise, which the elector can make use of for a pretext not to declare himself yet, or obey (*the orders from Spain*), is, the term of two months which the emperor has to choose in; or, that he cannot quit the government till his debt is paid. . . . . I confess I think vigour is necessary on this occasion, and hope it is to be found in the republic, in case the emperor will maintain his right. If I followed my own inclination and opinion, I should have sent to all courts to incite them to vigour; but it is not becoming, as I cannot set a good example, and I fear doing more harm than good, not being able to play any other game with these people, than engaging them imperceptibly."* Three days after writing this letter, or on the 19th of November, William again addressed the same personage in a still more anxious tone. "It grieves me to the soul," says he, "to find that, now the affair grows public here, almost every one rejoices that France has preferred the will to the treaty; insisting, that it is more advantageous for England and all Europe; merely upon the supposition, that the Duke of Anjou, being a child, and to be brought up in Spain, will imbibe Spanish maxims, and be governed by the Spanish council, without any relation to France. These are suppositions, which, in my opinion, cannot take place; and I fear we shall feel the contrary too soon. It is certain, if the emperor submits to the will, we can do nothing against it; so that we must know what the emperor does, before we take a positive resolution. I think now, I can send nobody extraordinary thither till I know how the affair will be taken up; particularly when I consider the present sentiments of people here, which may probably change; for there is nothing certain here, nor of long duration. I fear the *usual tardiness* of the court of Vienna will not let them come to a speedy resolution, which is so necessary in this conjuncture. *My chief anxiety is to prevent the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France.* You will easily conceive how this business goes to my heart; for I shall be blamed for having relied on engagements with France, having had so much experience that they are never bound by any treaty. I wish I may be quit for the blame, but I have too much reason to fear I shall too soon feel the bad effects of it."* The anxiety about the Spanish Netherlands was not unfounded; the Elector of Bavaria, after accusing the French court of poisoning his son, was now making up matters with Louis, and accepting the propositions made by Cardinal Portocarrero and the rest of that powerful faction in Spain; and on the 20th of November, the very day after the date of William's last letter, he gave the necessary orders for proclaiming the Duke of Anjou at Brussels, which was done with all possible ceremony.† Nor was William deceived as to the bad effects: faction laid her hand on the whole of the circumstances, and no regard was paid to the perplexing difficulties of all and every part of the case, no mercy was shown to the king's double error. It is curious to observe that William was blamed for his anxiety about his native country, Holland, and the erection of a proper barrier to that state; and that the Partition Treaty was condemned as being more prejudicial to England than the will, because it would have given the French new and most commanding situations in the Mediterranean, although the will, in effect, gave precisely the same advantages to France on that sea, while, in addition to Sicily, Naples, &c., the Duke of Anjou was to hold all the Spanish dominions everywhere else. Of two

* Hardwicke State Papers.

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† In another letter, dated Hampton Court, November 26, (N. S.) William says, "I learn by the French letters, that the Duke of Anjou is declared King of Spain, and is to set out thither the first of next month; so that the ice is broke; and the Elector of Bavaria writes, that he has been obliged to do the same thing in the Spanish Netherlands, and to cause *Te Deum* to be sung. These steps make the affair so difficult, that I shudder when I think on it. It will probably be a fortnight yet before one knows what resolution the imperial court will have taken; according to which, it now seems, everything ought to be regulated. I must confess, this business causes me no small chagrin."—*Hardwicke State Papers.*

evils men generally prefer the less, but this was condemning the less and preferring the greater evil. If it were so natural—as the English politicians pretended—that England should dread a French king in Naples and Sicily, was it not still more natural to dread a French king in possession of the undivided inheritance of the last of the Austrian dynasty of Spain?

M. de Torcy told William's ambassador, Lord Manchester, that England must resign herself to the will, which was so necessary for the good and quiet of Europe, and that, if his master attempted to annul the will, he would find that he had two kingdoms to conquer;—that of Spain, which would not submit to the partition, and that of France, which would not abandon its rights. William coolly replied, that he should take time to consult with his allies, stating, however, that he did not think any variation could be made from the treaty till the emperor's mind was known. Louis dispatched de Tallard, one of the framers of the Partition Treaties, to London, to wheedle William into some fresh negociations, which would have been observed with just as much faith as the late treaties. On the other hand, the Emperor Leopold, determining not to surrender his pretensions to the Spanish crown, sent over Count Wrattislaus as ambassador extraordinary, to renew and extend the old confederacy, and to keep his majesty of England firm to his purpose of opposing the will. Soon giving up his hope of deluding William again, Louis took the initiative in hostile measures, by dislodging, by an unexpected treacherous movement, the Dutch troops in the barrier fortresses. In the mean time Heemskirk, the Dutch minister at Paris, had dispatched a memorial representing to his most Christian majesty, "that their High Mightinesses did not expect his majesty would have taken a resolution so contrary to the late treaty, which they believed was to be observed in all things by the contracting parties, and to be departed from by none except by common consent: that the time in which the emperor might still accede in virtue of the secret article not being yet expired, their High Mightinesses, in conformity thereto, had again invited his imperial majesty in the most pressing manner to accede: and that for these reasons they hoped his most Christian majesty, in considering this affair anew, would have the goodness to make new reflections upon it, they having sent orders to their ambassador to entreat his majesty to persist in observing the said Partition Treaty, and every article it contained." Louis amused the Dutch, brought in a Swedish diplomatist to his aid to advocate a friendly mediation, and declared that it was quite certain, that, as to England, the greatest part of the nation dreaded a war, and hence would prefer the will to the Partition Treaty; and that the king of England would find great opposition in his parliament, in case he should be disposed to carry things to a rupture.*

* Dépêches, &c., de Louis XIV.

A. D. 1701. The time was now come for William to abide the test of a new parliament. On the retreat of the Whigs he had once more placed Lord Godolphin at the head of the treasury; and, to conciliate still further the Tory party, he made Lord Tankerville privy seal, Sir Charles Hedges secretary of state, and Lord Rochester lord-lieutenant of Ireland;* and, at the instance of this new cabinet, a new parliament, which turned out of a very Tory complexion, was called together for the 6th of February. Littleton, the late Whig Speaker, was persuaded to gratify his majesty at the expense of his party, and withdrew from the contest. But though the party lost their man they did not give up their object; and it is said that it was owing to the ferment on both sides, that the meeting of the two Houses was prorogued from the 6th to the 10th of February. But then the Whig nominee, Sir Richard Onslow, was defeated, and the adroit Robert Harley, still rising in reputation, and scheming and plodding on to the highest places, was elected Speaker by a majority of 249 to 125. In the first paragraph of his opening speech, the king said, "Our great misfortune *in the loss of the Duke of Gloucester* hath made it absolutely necessary that there should be a farther provision for the succession to the crown in the Protestant line after me and the Princess Anne. The happiness of the nation, and the security of our religion, which is our chiefest concern, seem so much to depend upon this, that I cannot doubt but it will meet with a general concurrence: and I earnestly recommend it to your earnest and effectual consideration." The son of the Princess Anne and of Prince George of Denmark had in fact expired on the 30th of July, the preceding year, in the 11th year of his age, and, according to Bishop Burnet, his tutor, his death "gave a great alarm to the whole nation, the Jacobites growing insolent upon it, and saying, that now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of Wales's succession." Next to his mother Anne, the personage preferred on account of her Protestantism for the succession, was the Electress Sophia of Hanover, grand-daughter of James I. This lady, as soon as she heard of the unhappy or happy event—the death of the young duke—proceeded with her daughter, the Electress of Brandenburg, to pay a visit to William, who was then at Loo. Before starting on this journey the Princess Sophia wrote a very curious letter to Mr. Stepney, at London, a poet of small dimensions, but who meddled with politics. After thanking the poet for a work and a letter, the old lady says—"If I were thirty years younger I should have sufficient good opinion of my blood and my religion, to believe that people might think of me in England. But, as there is little likelihood that

* "But his majesty soon found that, in dismissing the Whigs, because they could no longer do his business in parliament, he had done enough to disoblige them, but not enough to gain the Tories; and so met with such treatment from both, as once gave him occasion to say in a pet to Lord Halifax, that all the difference between the two parties was, that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon."—*Ralph.*

I should survive two persons (King William and the Princess Anne) both very much younger, though more sickly, than I am, it is to be feared that my sons will be regarded as strangers; and the eldest of them is much more accustomed to give himself the airs of a sovereign than the poor Prince of Wales, who is too young to profit by the example of the king of France, and who would be apparently so glad to recover what the king his father has so inconsiderately lost, that one might make of it whatever one would. But prejudice does everything in England: and, to confine myself to what you say, without undertaking to reason by letter, I will tell you that my daughter has dragged me hither (to Pyrmont), where she has taken the waters these three weeks, and that we shall set out next Monday to go by Brussels into Holland, where we shall have the honour of seeing your king. I am neither so philosophic nor so light-headed, as you may believe, as not to love this talk about a crown, and to make my reflections upon the solid judgment you offer me upon that subject. But it seems to me that in England there are so many factions, that one can be secure in nothing. This does not prevent me from being greatly obliged to those who testify affection for me and for my descendants."* It appears that the old lady's doubts were removed by her conference with William, which, however, did not last long; for, as they were later in arriving than had been expected, he only made them one ceremonious visit, and, according to the disposition he had previously made, he set sail for England the very next day.† The two electresses had other business besides the English succession;—they wanted William's concurrence and assistance in raising the Elector of Brandenburg to the rank of King of Prussia; and subsequently, when framing a new grand alliance against France, William gave this assistance. At the same time the English Jacobites sent over a brother of Lord Preston to St. Germain, to represent the succession of the young Prince of Wales as certain and inevitable; but James and his queen both refused one of the conditions proposed, which was, that the prince should be sent over to be educated in England, and thus threw a damp upon all those ardent hopes. It is also asserted that the Princess Anne proposed "very clandestinely" something of the same sort.‡

In continuing his opening speech to parliament, William alluded in brief terms to the great event in Spain. "The death of the late king of Spain," said he, "with the declaration of his successor to that monarchy, has made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that I must desire you very maturely to consider their present state; and I make no doubt but your resolutions thereupon will be such, as shall be most conducing to the interests and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. These things are of such weight, that I have thought them most proper for the consideration of a *new parliament*, in order to have the more immediate sense of the kingdom in so great a conjuncture." He reminded them of the deficiencies and public debts occasioned by the late war, and yet unprovided for, and he recommended them to inspect the condition of the fleet, and see what repairs and augmentations might be requisite for "the great bulwark of the English nation."

In ending his account of the preceding year, the Whig Burnet says—"And now I am come to the end of this century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene. France was now in possession of a great empire, for a small part of which they had been in wars (broke off, indeed, in some intervals) for above two hundred years, while we in England, who were to protect and defend the rest, were, by wretched factions and violent animosities, running into a feeble and disjointed state: the king's cold and reserved manner, upon so high a provocation, made some conclude that he was in secret engagements with France, that he was resolved to own the new king of Spain, and to engage in no new war: this seemed so different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his life, that it made many conclude that he found himself in an ill state of health, the swelling of his legs being much increased, and that this might have such effects on his mind as to make him less warm and active,—less disposed to involve himself in new troubles, and that he might think it too inconsiderate a thing to enter on a new war that was not like to end soon, when he felt himself in a declining state of health." But the bishop assures us that the true secret of this unaccountable behaviour in the king was soon discovered in his being obliged to bring the Tories into office: and soon after he proceeds to describe the complexion of this Tory cabinet and its Tory parliament. "As soon as our parliament was opened it appeared that the French had a great party in it: it is certain great sums came over this winter from France: the packet-boat came seldom without ten thousand louis d'ors; it brought often more: the nation was filled with them; and in six months' time a million of guineas were coined out of them. The merchants, indeed, said the balance of trade was then so much

* Hardwicke State Papers.

† On the 26th of October, Mr. Stanhope, who was with the king, writes to Lord Manchester:—"Our two Electresses will be here to-morrow; and they say, that she of Hanover designs for England. If so, nobody doubts but it is to solicit for her son, to recommend him to the parliament's good graces: but, in order to that very end, it may be she would do him more service by staying at *home*."—*Cole MSS. as quoted by Ralph.*

‡ In two letters written by Lord Manchester from Paris to Mr. Vernon, in November and December, 1700, are these passages:—"Three days ago Mr. F. Graham, brother to the late Lord Preston, came over to St. Germain's, and went away post this morning to Flanders, in order to embark for England in some of those posts. It is believed that he is sent over by Sir Charles Musgrave, and other parliament men, with proposals, in order to get the succession settled upon the pretended Prince of Wales on certain conditions." "I cannot tell from whence *they have* at St. Germain's an apprehension that the pretended Prince of Wales will be carried away into England with his own consent; and upon this they have increased his guard: whereas he had formerly but six, he has now fourteen. They think their game so very sure, that there is no occasion he should make such a step; besides, the changing his religion will never be suffered; and they have lately declared that they would rather see him dead."—*Cole MSS.*

turned to our side, that, whereas we were wont to carry over a million of our money in specie, we then sent no money to France; and had, at least, half that sum sent over to balance the trade. Yet this did not account for that vast flood of French gold that was visible amongst us; and, upon the French ambassador's going away, a very sensible alteration was found in the bills of exchange: so it was concluded that great remittances were made to him, and that these were distributed among those who resolved to merit a share in that wealth which came over now so copiously, beyond the example of former times." But here Burnet is accused, and apparently convicted, of disingenuousness and party malice. The French gold, which was mixed with Spanish gold, had been brought over to England because gold was at a premium here, and the louis d'ors fetched sixpence more than their current worth. King William, on this occasion, consulted that illustrious philosopher, Sir Isaac Newton, who knew more of the planetary system than of the monetary system; and by the philosopher's advice his majesty, just five days before the meeting of parliament, issued a proclamation to forbid the circulation of "certain pieces of gold of French and Spanish coin called louis d'ors or pistoles"—or rather that the said French and Spanish coins should not pass as they had done, "at near sixpence more than their real value."* This proclamation had the effect of checking the influx of foreign gold by destroying the freedom of trade in it, which ought to be as free as the trade in any other kind of commodity—a doctrine in political economy not, however, then recognised anywhere. The bishop ought to have mentioned these circumstances; yet, though the argument he builds upon them, or at least upon the overflow of French gold, falls to the ground, it may be still doubted whether some of the mercenary intriguers did not get bribes and promises from France, and even whether a part of the gold did not come into England in that shape. It is urged, as an unanswerable argument, that former precedents go against this supposition; but if Louis sent his gratuities to the patriots in Charles II.'s and James II.'s parliaments in bills of exchange and not in gold, that is scarcely a reason why he should not afterwards send gold and not bills of exchange, particularly when the price of gold was so much higher in England than in France. Burnet, still reflecting on the party now in power, goes on to say:—"A design was laid in the House of Commons to open the session with an address to the king, that he would own the King of Spain: the matter was so concerted, that they had agreed on the words of the vote, and seemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the House; but Mr. Monkton opposed it with great heat, and, among other things, said, if that vote was carried, he should expect that the next vote to be put would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales." Upon this, Ralph remarks—"As to any design formed to open the session with such an address, facts and dates demonstrate, to say nothing of the contents of Burnet's own legend, that the session was not opened with any such debate; nor, indeed, is any trace of any such motion, in relation to the King of Spain, to be found in the Journals:" and he quotes a letter from Secretary Vernon to Lord Manchester, dated the 20th of February, in which the secretary declares that he never had seen "so great a spirit in the House of Commons, and such a resolution to preserve Holland as well as England." The bishop, however, though his language, as usual, is deficient in precision, seems to speak rather of consultations held by the Tory party among themselves than of any motion actually made in the House. On the 14th of February the Commons unanimously resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the House would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. But they differed very materially as to the proper interpretation to be put upon the words "peace of Europe," and as to the fittest means of securing that great end. Still, however, there was a party not disinclined to war—a Whig party, that had lost the king, and were yet resolved to recover him; who also, perhaps, carried their views beyond the limits of his life, which seemed hastening to a close. And, of course, this party knew in what high and absolute favour Lady Marlborough stood with the Princess Anne, what use was to be made of her, and how much her lord's heart was set on being a captain-general. Of those who looked at the question of peace or war in a sober and a disinterested spirit, the number appears to have been exceedingly small: yet some few there were at all times, who, from pure motives, preferred the chances and changes of a new continental war to a submission to the will of the King of France. On the 17th of February, three days after the address, William told those who presented it that he thanked them for their ready concurrence, which he took to be extremely important to the honour and safety of England; that he should never propose anything but what was for their common advantage; and that, having this opportunity, he must acquaint them that he had just received a memorial from the States-General, a translation of which he would leave with them. "As to the first part of the memorial," said he, "I think it necessary to ask your *advice*; as to the latter part, I desire your *assistance*."

This memorial, left in the hands of parliament, was none other than an intimation from the States-General that they had, on the very day that the parliament of England met, given up the Partition Treaty, to which they were a principal party,

* The real value of the coins was only to be fixed by their marketable price as gold: William and his advisers meant the nominal value, or the price put upon them, which was seventeen shillings and a fraction a-piece.

submitted to the will of the late King of Spain, and declared for a negotiation. Their high mightinesses, who had been hard pressed by Louis XIV., declared that, having considered their delay in acknowledging the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain was subject to malicious interpretations, as if their aim had been only to gain time to put themselves into a warlike posture, they now thought themselves obliged to acknowledge him without any condition, reserving to themselves to stipulate, in the negotiations about to begin, the conditions necessary to secure the peace of Europe. They assured William that in these negotiations they were resolved to do nothing without his majesty's consent and the consent of the other powers interested; they therefore prayed him to send to his minister at the Hague the necessary instructions to act conjointly in the negotiations. "But," said the document in conclusion, "as it may happen not to be possible to agree with France and Spain on reasonable conditions, and that, the negotiations being interrupted, they (the Dutch) may be suddenly attacked by the numerous troops which France has ordered to move towards their frontiers, their envoy is to represent to his majesty the urgent necessity they should have, in so great a danger, of the assistance of England, and to desire him to get the succours stipulated by the treaty in readiness, that they may rely on them, if occasion required."

The Commons took a day to deliberate; but, on the second day after receiving the memorial from the king, they voted an address, praying that he would be pleased to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the States-General and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of these kingdoms *and the States-General*, giving him at the same time assurances of support and assistance in the performance of the treaty made with the States in the year 1677. This address was presented by the whole House; to whom William replied with hearty thanks for their unanimous resolution, &c., and by telling them that he would immediately instruct his ministers abroad to enter into negotiations for attaining the great ends which they desired. These proceedings of the Commons are represented as having fully answered all his majesty's desires. "I hope," adds Vernon, in the letter communicating the vote to the Earl of Manchester, "it will have that good effect on your side as to produce a fair disposition to treat upon reasonable terms, that a war may be prevented; which I see we shall not decline, if we are forced into it by necessity."* This was, indeed, more than William had expected; and though he well knew that nothing but a war could prevent the undivided transfer of the Spanish succession to Louis's grandson, he calmly waited events, and left his parliament to take its own course. On the same day that he communicated the Dutch memorial to the Commons he also communicated to both Houses a letter from that desperate Jacobite, Lord Melfort, to his brother, the Earl of Perth, urging that the present conjuncture ought to be improved for the benefit of the exiled family, and every advantage taken of the animosity then existing at the court of France against William. This old and hackneyed maker of revolutions and insurrections, which had all either come to nothing or ended in the ruin of those who engaged in them, was just as confident and unscrupulous as ever. He had heard fine things at Versailles, and had been admitted to a favourable audience by Madame de Maintenon, the very devout mistress of the *grand monarque*. He announced to his brother that Louis intended to put out this summer a very great fleet, the orders being given, the money ready, the stores full, and every one concerned active in his station. By means of this fleet the miserable old James, who was now much more like a monk of La Trappe than a king, was to pass over into England and recover all his crowns. "There is no doubt," says Melfort, "but this fleet will be master of the sea for some time, if not for all the summer; because the Dutch dare not stir till the English be ready; and *they* have long debates yet, before they can be in a condition to act, even if they have the will; and it is a question whether they will have it at all. The king never had so favourable a conjuncture, if he can only persuade this king that his affairs are really in the circumstances they are in: *but there is the difficulty.*" [Indeed, Louis XIV. had been too often deceived already by the insane hopes of the Jacobites, ever to rely upon them again in the mode proposed.] Melfort was quite certain that James and his queen had more influence with Louis and with Madame de Maintenon, the mistress, than any other persons in the world; but their majesties wanted somebody to make plans and memorials for them, the better to convince Louis and Madame "of the easiness of restoring his majesty, the glory it would bring to France, and the wonderful advantages to the Catholic religion." The Jacobite secretary then proceeded to tell his brother that this kind of work could never be well done by a *Protestant minister*—meaning thereby Lord Middleton, whom he describes as "lazy in his temper, an enemy to France by inclination, tainted with Commonwealth principles, and against the king's returning by any other power than that of the people of England, and upon capitulation and terms; one suspected of giving aid to the compounders, if not worse." Mr. Caryl, he thought, was better qualified, but he must be left to act alone; for, if Middleton was within distance of penetrating the affair, the true church of England party, the Catholics, and the Earl of Arran, with whom lay "the best game the king had to play," would never trust him.*

* Cole MSS., as quoted by Ralph.

* The whole of this letter bears a pretty close resemblance in manner and spirit to the other original letters of Melfort, published by Sir Henry Ellis. Some of the paragraphs of the present epistle are sufficiently striking. For example, "The king cannot but be sensible that the true church of England party, and their principal

Upon reading this letter, the House of Commons, more excited than they ought to have been by anything that came from such a quarter, thought it incumbent to put the kingdom in a state of defence; authorised the exchequer the very next day to borrow 550,000*l.*, at six per cent., for the service of the fleet, the guards, and garrisons; and soon after ordered that the seamen of the royal navy, who had been reduced during the last parliament to 7000, should be raised to 30,000 for the present summer. The Lords, on their part, pledged themselves to defend the Protestant succession; but they humbly desired that all the treaties that had been made with any prince or state since the late war should be laid before them, in order that they might be enabled to give the advice which his majesty had asked from them in a mature form, and upon full information. They humbly desired his sacred majesty to enter into alliances with all those princes and states that were willing to unite for the preservation of the balance of Europe; assuring him that they would most readily concur in all such methods as might effectually conduce to the honour and safety of England, and the peace of Europe. With reference to Melfort's letter, the Lords went farther than the Commons; they proposed the old and barbarous expedients, of putting the laws in execution for removing all Papists from London, seizing the arms and horses of the Papists and other disaffected persons, and issuing search warrants for those arms and provisions of war which were described in the intercepted letter as being in readiness. And, in the end, they urged the speedy fitting out of a fleet, for the defence of his majesty and the kingdom. When the Count de Tallard was taxed with Melfort's letter, and with the design forming in France to invade England, he treated, or affected to treat, the notion as chimerical, and Melfort as a madman and a fool. He assured Mr. Vernon that Melfort was banished from the court of king James, and had nothing to do in the court of France; that his waiting upon Madame de Maintenon was only to get two of his daughters put into the nunnery of St. Cyr; that he had no access to French ministers, but was "spinning cobwebs" of his own: and then this ambassador complained loudly of the letter being submitted to parliament, and of the jealousies and misunderstandings to which it had given rise. Vernon replied, that, though a part of Melfort's letter might appear "notional, and like a project of his own," yet other parts of it laid down positive facts, such as the fitting out a great fleet in France, a fact then known through other channels. And here Vernon, adverting to the production in the Houses of the intercepted letter, took occasion to explain some of the differences between constitutional and absolute governments, telling the ambassador "that we could make no provision for our safety but in parliament; and, therefore, it was fit that parliament should be acquainted with our danger, and that the proofs of it should be laid before them: that in France, they could dispatch every thing privately *dans le cabinet:* we had not so ready a way in England; but what we did, must be publicly and *dans le marché;* and whoever had suppressed such a letter here might justly have expected an accusation of treason." Then de Tallard owned that they were indeed fitting out ships in France; but this, he said, they did upon the preparations making in Holland, where they were at work night and day, Sundays and all, to get out their fleet. At Paris the same line of argument was adopted with the Earl of Manchester. M. de Torcy told that ambassador that Lord Melfort had indeed been about Versailles, but only for his private affairs; that he did own he had written a letter to his brother, which had been lost, but which did not contain what was alleged in the English parliament. De Torcy added, that the producing of that letter showed a desire of breaking with France,—that it was contrived only to frame a design to incense the English nation; and he complained of a printed paper about a new plot, or conspiracy, of France against England, which was cried about the streets of London. Manchester replied, that he could not in the least doubt but that the thoughts in the letter were Lord Melfort's thoughts, and written by him; at the same time, he expressed himself satisfied that the French court was far from taking such measures. As to the alleged libel crying about the streets of London, he assured the French minister that he did not believe it was done by order—"that they printed what they pleased in England, though, if the authors were discovered, they were liable to be punished." As M. de Torcy more than hinted that the letter produced in parliament was a forgery, got up by William and his advisers, Manchester took fire, and told him that this reflected on the honour of his master—that, if he supposed the letter was an invention, he did not doubt but that he might produce the *original.* "In short," says Manchester, "I am told they take it for granted that we shall enter into a war; and, as I happened to come a little later to Versailles yesterday than usual, the whole court had it, that we had declared war."* In the end, Melfort was obliged to own his letter, and was disgraced for having written it: the court

head, now the bishop of Norwich, has been silent for a long time; and their majesties may remember what weight the court of France laid upon their joining the king (I mean, the non-swearing clergymen) in case of a landing: therefore all arts should be used, without delay, to get them to enter into a correspondence again; and every impediment ought to be removed, I say, without exception. And though, sometimes, it is of hard digestion for sovereigns, who ought to be obeyed without reserve, to yield to the humours of subjects, yet prudence shall teach them, when they cannot, without injuring their affairs, do what they would, to do what they can, and remember the fable of the dog who lost the substance by catching at the shadow. Assurances from the non-jurors—the soundest and most venerable part of the English church—would be of great use at this time to persuade France to undertake this great affair; for, besides their own example at a landing, and their preaching and writing to the people that their religion was in no danger, it is most certain they know better than any other can do what the church of England, in general, would do for the king's service; and they, being to run all the hazard, would be better believed at the French court than any other, as I found by experience."—*Ralph.*

* Cole MSS.

at St. Germain, no doubt by the order of Louis, refused him admission, and the court of Versailles sent him to the castle of Angers, by a *lettre de cachet*—one of those compendiums of absolutism, which the bigot and fool would fain have imposed on his own country.

Meanwhile, negotiations were going on at the Hague, between England, Holland, and France, Mr. Stanhope acting as William's plenipotentiary. The instructions given to Stanhope were to obtain the following conditions:—1. That Louis should order all his troops out of the Spanish towns in the Netherlands within such time as should be agreed upon in the treaty, and engage not to send any forces into any of those towns or countries. 2. That no troops, but such as consisted of natural-born subjects of Spain and Germany, should continue in the Spanish Netherlands, except certain troops for the cautionary towns to be mentioned in the next article. 3. That for the better security of king William and the States-General, Neuport and Ostend should be delivered up to his majesty, as cautionary towns, and the towns of Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons, to the States-General, to be kept by their garrisons respectively, with a proviso, that all this should be without prejudice to the rights and revenues of the crown of Spain. 4. That no towns belonging to the Spanish Netherlands, nor any ports whatsoever belonging to Spain, should be exchanged with France, or in anywise delivered up to the French. 5. That the subjects of England, &c., should enjoy the same liberties and privileges in all parts of the Spanish dominions, whether by sea or land, as they did at the demise of the late king of Spain, and in as ample a manner as the French, or any other nation. 6. That the emperor should be invited to join, and that any other princes or states, who thought fit to unite for the preservation of the peace of Europe, might be admitted into the treaty. 7. That the States-General should be desired to begin the negociations, if the French ambassador would not. And Mr. Stanhope was further commanded by his instructions to hold a free communication on all matters with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, and to desire a reciprocal freedom of communication from him, as a matter for king William's service.

On the 16th of March Mr. Secretary Hedges delivered a written message, signed by the king, to the Commons, informing them, that, according to the address of their house, Mr. Stanhope had been sent to negotiate at the Hague, and that it was his majesty's intention to acquaint them from time to time with the state and progress of these negotiations. Before this, the Commons had unanimously resolved, that twelve battalions, part of the standing forces now in Ireland, should be made up to 10,000 men, and sent to the assistance of the States-General:—providing, however, (a serious drawback,) that no new levies should be made in Ireland, or elsewhere, to supply the place of the troops thus drawn out of that kingdom.

The Lords, who had called for all the treaties that had been made since the late war, appointed a committee to deliberate upon them, or rather to pass sentence of condemnation upon the two partition treaties. That old Tory, Nottingham, was in the chair, but there were a few Whig lords in the committee. The report, when presented by Nottingham, enumerated seven circumstances as deserving of particular reprobation, in the First Treaty of Partition. 1. That Naples, Sicily, &c., were to have been given to the Dauphin. 2. That the emperor was not a party to this treaty. 3. That no minister of the States-General met with the plenipotentiaries of England and France, as required by the powers, at the making of the treaty in London. 4. That there were no instructions in writing given to our English plenipotentiaries, and that, if verbal orders were given, they were given without being considered in the council. 5. That the said treaty was ratified without being considered in council. 6. That the warrant for ratification was countersigned by one of the plenipotentiaries themselves. 7. That the treaty had been transacted, signed, and the great seal affixed to it in secrecy, and during the sitting of parliament. The facts were obvious enough, but the court party got up a debate upon every one of them. The first article was admitted; but the second about the emperor was absolutely negatived by a majority of votes. Sixteen of the lords protested against the rejection. The third article was also thrown out, and again the minority protested. The fourth article gave occasion to many severe remarks. "My Lord Portland, (almost the sole manager of these partition treaties after William,) finding himself close pressed in this debate, thought it would be a justification to him to name some lords of the cabinet council, that were present a little before the treaty was signed, when a draft of the treaty was read at his own lodging: but, those lords remembering likewise their objections made to it at the same time, that defence might as well have been spared."* Burnet says more circumstantially, that Portland, apprehending danger to himself, obtained the king's leave to communicate the whole matter. "So he told them, that he had not concluded the treaty alone, but had, by the king's order, acquainted six of his chief ministers with it, who were the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Viscount Lonsdale, the Lords Somers and Halifax, and Secretary Vernon: upon which, these lords, being likewise freed by the king from the oath of secrecy, told the house, that, the Earl of Jersey having in the king's name called them together, the treaty was read to them, and that they excepted to several things in it, but they were told that the king had carried the matter as far as was possible, and that he could obtain no better terms: so, when they were told that no alteration could be made, but that everything was settled, they gave over insisting on particulars:

* Dispatch from Vernon to Manchester, as quoted by Ralph.

they only advised, that the king might not engage himself in anything that would bring on a new war, since the nation had been so uneasy under the last. This was carried to the king; and, a few days after that, he told some of them that he was made acquainted with their exceptions, but, how reasonable soever they were, he had driven the matter as far as he could. The Earl of Pembroke said to the House of Lords, he had offered the king those advices that he thought were most for his service, and for the good of the nation; but that he did not think himself bound to give an account of that to any other persons. He was not the man struck at; so there was nothing said, either against him, or the Earls of Marlborough or Jersey. Upon this, the debate went on. Some said, this was a mockery to ask advice when there was no room for it; it was answered, the king had asked the advice of his privy council, and they had given it; but that, such was the royal prerogative, that it was still free to him to follow it or not, as he saw cause." The Lords, however, agreed in a minute, that, whatever verbal orders or instructions might have been given, yet it appeared not that the draft of the treaty when perfected had been considered at any council when the king was present, or that it had been advised or approved of by any council, or committee of council.*

The 6th article, about the ratification, or the warrant for it, being countersigned by one of the plenipotentiaries, was purposely overlooked by the majority, who considered it as being personally directed against Lord Jersey. Subsequently the committee reported that it appeared there were powers, dated the 1st of July, to treat with the emperor, the Dutch, and French, for securing peace and friendship upon terms most suited to the circumstances of the time; that they were informed that some progress had been made in that open negotiation; but afterwards there were new powers granted on the 1st of January, to treat with the French and Dutch *only;* and the treaty for the partition was concluded without the emperor. A proposal to make this one of the heads of the address to his majesty was rejected; and then Lord Wharton proposed, "that it appears that the French king's acceptance of the will of the king of Spain is a manifest violation of the treaty; and that we do humbly advise the king that, in all future treaties with the French king, his majesty proceed with such caution as may carry along with it a real security." And it was resolved by the majority that this proposition should be one of the heads for the address. Here eight of the lords protested:—1. Because it might be construed to be an approbation of the treaty, which, as they conceived, was not intended by the House. 2. Because it was impossible to know the full meaning and extent of the words *real security.* When the address, however, came to be drawn up, it turned out to be a severe criticism of the whole of the secret negotiations. In it the lords spiritual and temporal represented that, having read and considered the treaty made by the French king, together with the separate and secret articles which his majesty had been pleased to communicate to them, they, to their great sorrow, found the matter thereof to have been of very ill consequence to the peace and safety of Europe: "for, besides the occasion it may have given to the late king of Spain to have made his will in favour of the Duke of Anjou, if this treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to your majesty and your subjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, several ports in the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuscoa, and the duchy of Lorraine, would have been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself, which was to prevent any umbrage that might be taken by uniting too many states and dominions under one head." But these critics did not sufficiently reflect on the important facts, that, without the treaty, it was apprehended that all those territories, and territories of ten times their importance and a hundred times their extent, would be united under one head; that Louis and the emperor claimed each of them the whole of the Spanish succession; and that it was almost equally imperative upon statesmen who looked to the balance of power,—a system then sacrosanct in Europe,—to prevent either Louis or Leopold from getting possession of that vast dominion. The Lords, in their address, further represented, that, from all that they had been able to learn of the progress of this "fatal treaty," they could not find that the verbal orders and instructions were ever considered in the council; and then, aiming more especially at the Dutch lord, Portland, they besought his majesty for the future to require and admit in all matters of importance the advice of his natural-born subjects, whose known *probity* and fortunes might give both his majesty and the people a just assurance of their fidelity: and, in order thereunto, to constitute a council of such persons to whom he might be pleased to impart all affairs, both at home and abroad, which might any way concern himself and his dominions; "for," continued their lordships, "as interest and natural affection to their country will incline them to wish the welfare and prosperity of it much more than others who have not such ties upon them, and as their experience and knowledge of their country will also render them more capable than strangers of advising your majesty in the true interest of it; so we are very confident that, after such large and repeated demonstrations of your subjects' duty and affections, your majesty cannot doubt of their zeal in your service, nor want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all your most secret and arduous affairs." Yet these lords must have known that, when Bentinck was first brought into the council, William had

* At this time, it is to be remembered, what was commonly called the council, or committee of council, more nearly resembled what we now call the cabinet, than what would be understood by a meeting of the privy council. The cabinet is, in fact, merely a committee of the privy council.

reasons for suspecting nearly every public man, Whig or Tory, and he *did* want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in offices of trust. The opportunity was excellent for making an aphorism of the responsibility of ministers; and, whether ordered by the king or not, Chancellor Somers and the two others, in the parts they had acted in the matter of the treaty and ratification, had sinned against the constitution; but the Lords let the occasion pass, and in their address said not a word to enforce the grand principle of constitutional monarchy, which, though then beginning to be well understood, was far from being so universally acknowledged and reverenced as it now is. Some of the Lords pressed to have the address communicated to the Commons, that they might concur in it, or produce a fresh turmoil by criticising and refusing it: this motion, however, was overruled; and thereupon twenty-six lords entered a new protest. When the new Lord Keeper carried up the address he was alone, and he found only two or three of the lords in waiting at court, "to make the show of a House." Softened as it had been, this address was still a pretty severe reproof; but William merely said, in answer, that it contained matter of very great moment, and that he would always take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Fierce and obstinate debates ensued in the Lower House, where the great privilege of freedom of speech was more freely exercised than had ever been known before. Mr. Howe called the Partition Treaty a "felonious treaty;" and others maintained that it was not more iniquitous than impolitic. But it was carried that an address of thanks should be presented to his majesty for his gracious message about the negotiations now in progress at the Hague, and for his royal intention to acquaint the House from time to time with the progress of those negotiations. Yet, in this address, the Commons strongly censured his past conduct, by telling him that matters would have gone much better if he had been equally communicative before concluding the Partition Treaty.

On the last day of March, Secretary Hedges communicated a message from the king to both Houses, telling them that the negotiations seemed to be at an end, by the positive answer the French ambassador had given to the States-General.* The Commons, who were called upon for their advice, adjourned till the 2nd of April, when, instead of an essentially warlike vote, which seems to have been half expected from them, they resolved unanimously, "That the humble advice of this House be given to his majesty, to desire that his majesty will be pleased to carry on the negotiations in concert with the States-General, and take such measures as may most conduce to security; and that his majesty will pursue the treaty made with the States-General the 3rd of March, 1677:" and they pledged themselves to enable him to support the said treaty. By this time the slow court of Austria was beginning to be in motion, and early in April the emperor declared that he had indispensable reasons for pursuing his right to the whole monarchy of Spain; and he invited the different states and potentates of the empire to join him in a league for the general interest of the empire, and especially the preservation of the Netherlands, &c. His imperial majesty was at peace with the Turks; and the army cantoned along the Danube and the Drave might be brought to the Rhine and the Sambre, where, as he represented, the English and the Dutch would make their last effort to assist him, to be avenged upon France, and to maintain their religion, liberty, and commerce. But at that moment, as at other crises, the empire was "so divided in itself" that no uniform and consistent league could be established, and the door seemed barred to the emperor from Vienna to Dusseldorf. The Elector Palatine was zealous for the Emperor, but several of the other princes were listening to a project of neutrality artfully put forward by France; the Elector of Cologne was receiving money from France, and raising 5000 men; and the Elector of Bavaria was receiving greater sums from the same quarter, and raising 10,000 men.*

About the middle of April a letter from the Duke of Anjou, dated Buen Retiro, and written in the style of King of Spain, the Indies, &c. &c., was received, and read in William's cabinet council. The Bourbon prince, or those who wrote for him, told his majesty of England, that, since he had taken possession of all the kingdoms and dominions belonging to him, he could no longer delay giving notice of the same; and, in courtly guise, he offered a sort of excuse for not having notified his accession before, and assured his majesty that he desired nothing more than his friendship. According to Burnet, "the Earl of Rochester and the rest of the new ministry pressed the king to own the king of Spain, and to answer his letter; urging that, since the Dutch had done it, it seemed reasonable that the king should likewise do it; and they prevailed *at last*, but with *much difficulty*." Whatever was the degree of William's reluctance or readiness, he answered the letter of "the most serene and most potent prince, brother, and cousin;" congratulating him on his happy arrival in his kingdom of Spain, being assured that the ancient friendship and correspondence betwixt the two crowns should remain inviolable, and the advantage and prosperity of all

* "The French ambassador at the Hague had declared to the Pensionary that the king, his master, had no other answer to return to the demands made by the States-General of the United Provinces than that he was ready to renew and confirm the Treaty of Ryswick, it being all the security the States were to expect."

* We have seen how this Elector of Bavaria charged the French king with taking off his young son. On entering into alliance with Louis, he, in a manifesto, shifted the foul charge to the Emperor Leopold. "That star," he said, "which proves fatal to all who form an obstacle to the greatness of the House of Austria, carried off this young prince by a slight indisposition, by which he had been often attacked, without danger, before he was destined to wear the Spanish crown."—*Histoire de l'Avénement de la Maison de Bourbon. Par Targe.*—The Emperor Leopold, it will be remembered, was the grandfather of the young prince whom he was thus accused of having destroyed.

Europe be promoted, &c. There could be no possible use in questioning Philip's title, unless swords and bullets could be used as arguments; and up to this moment it was more than doubtful whether the emperor, if he made war, would not be left to carry it on without any assistance from the empire; and whether the English parliament would prefer a vast continental war to the alternative of seeing the grandson of Louis firmly established on the Spanish throne. At this very moment the parliament was pouring out the vials of its wrath upon the late Whig ministers. Not satisfied with their ample exposure of both Partition Treaties, and of the mode in which the second had been executed, they fell upon that Second Partition Treaty with fresh fury. All the members of the Commons were summoned to attend the service of the House upon pain of incurring its severe displeasure; and, the House having resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation and that Partition Treaty, the following resolution was adopted forthwith:—"That William, Earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, which was destructive to the trade of this kingdom and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor." Sir John Leveson Gower was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the Lords, and a committee was appointed to prepare the articles against him. Their next step was to call upon the Lords for the particulars of what had passed before them between Lord Portland and Mr. Vernon, as also for whatever other information they had obtained by letters or otherwise. The Lords demurred for six days, when the House resolved, without a division, to apply to his majesty, by address, for copies of the *grand alliance*, of the two secret articles, and of the First Partition Treaty, together with the powers and instructions granted for negotiating the same. On the morrow Mr. Vernon, in his master's name, replied that his majesty had given orders for the treaties and powers to be laid before the House; but that there were no instructions for either of those treaties in *writing*. The next day the Commons had a conference with the Lords, and Sheffield, Marquess of Normanby, better known by his after-title of Duke of Buckingham, and who put himself foremost in the attack upon Portland, delivered to the managers for the Commons two papers in Latin, the one dated at Loo, July the 1st, 1699, containing the full powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey to treat with the ministers of the Emperor, France, and the States, for the preservation of peace, but without any mention of the Spanish succession; and the other dated at Kensington, January the 2nd, 1699-1700, containing the like full powers to the same lords for signing the Second Partition Treaty. Sheffield also delivered the following paper, which had been laid before their lordships by Lord Portland, but not signed by him, when they had been questioning him as to his conduct:—"At the beginning of the summer in the year '99, when I was in Holland at my country-house, and when the king would have me be concerned in the negotiating of this treaty with the emperor, the French king, and the States, being very unwilling to meddle with business again, from which I was retired, before I would engage myself I advised with my friends in Holland, and writ into England to the Secretary Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was advisable for me to engage in any business again? To which Mr. Vernon answered, in substance, that this would not engage me but for a little while: that, I being upon the place, and generally acquainted with the foreign ministers, it would be easier for the king, and properer for me, to be employed in it than anybody else that must be otherwise sent for on purpose." And Sheffield also presented a memorandum of the question which had been put to Portland in the Upper House, and his answer to it. It stated that, "the Earl of Portland being desired by the Lord Somers, with the leave of the House, to declare, if he pleased, whether my Lord Somers' name was mentioned in the letter he received from Mr. Secretary Vernon; the Earl of Portland declared that, if he had remembered any such thing in the letter, and had not inserted it in the paper which he had delivered to the House, he should have thought he had deceived the House." Portland was manifestly most anxious, even at the increased risk of peril to himself, to screen the ex-chancellor; but his evident equivocation only tended to drive on the impeachment, which was presently made to include not only Somers, but also the lords Orford and Halifax. The Commons gave all the papers they had received at the hands of the Marquess of Normanby to be translated and referred to a committee. Mr. Vernon and Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been almost as deeply concerned as Portland himself,—and Williamson much more so than Somers, for he had actually *signed* the Second Partition Treaty,—were overlooked, and the whole fury of the House was directed against the four lords. And, as if they had not materials enough in the passing an unwarranted commission under the great seal, they again attempted to couple the ex-chancellor with Captain Kydd. If we are to believe Burnet, the most nefarious endeavours were made to induce the pirate to inculpate Somers, the Earl of Orford, and Halifax. "Their enemies," he says, "tried again what use could be made of Kydd's business,—for he was taken in our northern plantations in America, and brought over: he was examined by the House; but either he could not lay a probable story together, or remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him: he accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning pirate; he had never talked alone with any of the lords, and never at all with Lord Somers: he said he had no orders from them but to pursue his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the lords: he was

assured that, if he did it, he should be preserved; and, if he did not, he should certainly die for his piracy: yet this could not prevail on him to charge them; so he, with some of his crew, were hanged, there appearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those lords: yet their enemies tried what use could be made of the grant of all that Kydd might recover from the pirates, which some bold and ignorant lawyers affirmed to be against law. So this matter was for the fourth time debated in the House of Commons; and the behaviour of those peers in it appeared to be so innocent, so legal, and, in truth, so meritorious, that it was again let fall. The insisting so much on it served to convince all people that the enemies of these lords wanted not inclination, but only matter, to charge them, since they made so much use of this; but so partial was a great part of the House that the dropping this was carried only by a small majority. When one design failed another was set up." But the other design was justifiable and commendable in the eyes of the constitution, which can never wink or cease from vigilance without danger; and, while we detest the narrow personal spirit in which too many prosecuted that design, we must pause ere we censure the principle involved. Lord Somers had more reason to rely upon his eloquence and influence over the House than had the Duke of Leeds when he had resorted to the same measure:—as soon as he heard that the Commons were preparing to impeach him, he desired to be heard at their bar. An order was made for his admission; and, candles having been first brought in, his lordship entered with the ceremonies usual on such occasions. He then stood up uncovered, and began his defence or apology. According to the Whig historian, his speech was triumphant; and, if the question had been then put, he would have carried the majority with him: according to Lord Dartmouth, who detested the king and hated all the Whigs, it was a complete failure.* The truth, as usual, lies between these two extremes of party. There is one little circumstance omitted by Burnet, but which, as a writer less friendly to the accused lords allows, showed "that Lord Somers, on that great occasion did not dishonour the rest of his life."† When his lordship had done speaking, he was asked from the chair who it was informed him that there was a debate in the House relating to his lordship. Somers replied, "that he was strangely surprised at a question that he never knew was put to any man that came to desire the favour of being heard; and that, if the question was asked to bring the least prejudice to any man in England, he would not only be content to lie under the censure of the House, but suffer the worst thing that might befal him upon earth, rather than do a dishonourable thing." His lordship then withdrew, but came back and desired to leave with the House a letter he had received from his majesty, and a copy of his answer to the same, saying that he had his majesty's leave for this: and thereupon he retired for good.* There is no record of the debate which followed, and not even a list of those who took part in it. Upon the question being put, "That John Lord Somers, by advising his majesty in the year 1699 to the treaty for dividing the Spanish monarchy, whereby large territories of the King of Spain's dominions were to be delivered up to France, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor," it was resolved in the affirmative by 198 against 188. The same question was afterwards carried with relation to the Earl of Orford by 193 against 148; and, with reference to Lord Halifax, by 186 against 163. It was then resolved that the said lords should be severally impeached at the bar of the Upper House. And, anticipating the trial, the Commons further resolved, by a majority of 162 to 107, that a humble address be presented to his majesty to remove John Lord Somers from his council and presence for ever: which was followed by the like motions against Orford, Halifax, and Portland, these being carried without a division. But instantly a counter-address was set on foot in the House of Lords, and carried through by a majority of twenty. It humbly and earnestly besought his majesty to be pleased not to pass any censure upon the four lords, until they were tried upon their impeachments, and judgment given according to the usage of parliament and the laws of the land. The king received the address, but returned no answer. He was surrounded by difficulties which scarcely any human prudence could wholly remove. If he pleased the Lords he must offend the Commons, and if he gratified the Commons he must incense the Lords. He had recourse to an adjournment. When the Houses re-assembled, other important business forced itself upon their notice. Secretary Hedges now informed them that the States-General were resolved not to take any step in the negotiation with France without his majesty's full concurrence, and that they returned his majesty their hearty thanks for the provision he was making for their assistance in case of an attack from France. The Commons voted an additional aid of 3*s.* in the pound, to be made good by a tax laid upon land. They also resolved, in a committee of ways and means, that the savings which arose from the non-payment of 50,000*l.* a-year allotted as a dower to King James's queen, of 30,000*l.* a-year fallen in by the death of Catherine, the widow of Charles II., and of 20,000*l.* a-year more by the death of the Duke

* "I was in the House of Commons during the whole debate: what the bishop says of Lord Somers making an impression in his favour is so far from true, that I never saw that House in so great a flame as they were upon his withdrawing. He justified his putting the great seal to a blank so poorly, and insisted that the king's letter (which he produced) was a good warrant, which everybody knew to be none; nor did the contents sufficiently justify him, if it had been any; and his endeavouring to throw everything upon the king provoked them to such a degree, that he left them in a much worse disposition to himself than he found them: and I heard many of his best friends say they heartily wished he had never come thither."—*Note to Burnet.*

† Ralph.

* Journals.

of Gloucester, — making in all 100,000*l.* per annum,— might be applied to the public service, without any diminution of the provision originally intended for his majesty. The proposition was very distasteful to the court, and all those in office seemed to consider the said savings as vails of royalty. Many of the temporising Whigs, who were seeking various methods of recommending themselves to the king and regaining the places they had lost, sided with ministers in the debate. The point was carried in committee, but not without considerable difficulty. When Mr. Conyers reported to the House that he was directed by the committee to move for leave to apply the savings of 100,000*l.* per annum towards the payment of the public debts, the motion was carried by a majority of 214 to 169. This contest was scarcely over when a message from the Lords reminded the House, "that as yet no particular articles had been exhibited against the lords impeached; which, after impeachments had been so long pending, were due in justice to the persons concerned, and agreeable to the methods of parliament in such cases."* The Commons replied that the articles against the impeached lords were preparing, and in a short time would be sent to their lordships' House. For some time people had been complaining out of doors of these continual dissensions between the two Houses, of the violence of party animosities, and of the great neglect of the real business of the nation. Many of the men most identified with the Revolution retained a great influence in the country; and it is believed that some of these favoured and promoted the famous "Kentish Petition," which was presented at this critical moment. This petition was drawn up at a meeting of magistrates, grand-jurors, and freeholders at Maidstone, and put into the hands of Sir Thomas Hales, one of the members for the county, to be by him laid before the House of Commons. But Hales, finding it was likely to give great offence to the House, excused himself; and then Mr. Meredith, the other member for the county, undertook to deliver it. But Meredith was cautious, and had his misgivings, and, before bringing up the petition to the table, he told the House that several of the gentlemen of good quality who had signed it were at the door, and quite ready to own their signatures. Upon this, an order was given that these country gentlemen should be admitted. Having severally owned the petition and their signatures, they were ordered to withdraw; and then the paper was read. After expressing their deep concern at the dangerous state of this kingdom and of all Europe, the Kentish gentlemen said, that they thought themselves bound in duty to lay before the House the consequences, in this conjuncture, of their (the Commons') speedy resolution and sincere endeavour to answer to the great trust reposed in them by their country. "And," they continued, "in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifest no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatsoever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot. We most humbly implore this honourable House to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for, that your addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The "hot-heads" of the House were transported with fury. Some, more moderate, endeavoured to make up matters by going out to the petitioners during the debate, and attempting to persuade them to merit clemency from the House by certain submissions. But the Kentish gentlemen would offer no concession, declaring that they were of opinion that it was their right to petition the House according to the statute of the 13th of Charles II., and that, as to the matter of the petition, they intended nothing offensive. The Commons then, by a loud majority, resolved that the petition was "scandalous, insolent, and seditious," tending to destroy the constitution, &c., and that the presenters of it should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. A rude scuffle ensued, and then the House, on complaint of the serjeant-at-arms, by a majority of 169 to 93, sent all the Kentish gentlemen to the Gate House. According to Burnet, similar petitions were preparing in the city of London and in all parts of the kingdom. The gentlemen who were sent to prison, where they lay till the prorogation, were, he says, "much visited, and treated as confessors." "It was much questioned," he adds, "whether they (the Commons) had really an authority to imprison any except their own members, or such as had violated the privilege of their House." The king was at last advised to interfere to prevent the address from the City; and persons were sent in his majesty's name to divert the leading men from that design: "yet, with all this," says Burnet, "it came so near for such an address in a common council, that the lord mayor's vote turned it for the negative."

Another royal message was soon delivered to the Commons about the state of affairs abroad; and in it the difficulties of the Dutch and their hopes of immediate assistance from his majesty were declared in a manner that betrayed an anxiety for an immediate declaration of war. And Secretary Hedges, together with this message, delivered a letter from the States-General to the king, in which their high mightinesses drew a forcible picture of French aggression and insolence. They showed how Louis, through his ambassador extraordinary, the Count d'Avaux, had endeavoured to lead them into a separate treaty;

* Journals.

and how they had represented to his Catholic majesty that the security of Holland could not by any means be separated from that of England,—that the two nations had a common interest; and that they could and would do nothing without the concurrence of his Britannic majesty. "Upon the report," they continued, "which has been made to us we have judged that their intent was to separate the interests of England from those of the republic. We look upon them as inseparable; and, as it is a plain case that they are so, we could draw no other conclusion from this proceeding, but that, on the side of France, there was a design to end the conferences, and to consent to none of the securities demanded, which are so necessary to the preservation of the kingdom, of your majesty, and of our republic. We are obliged to give your majesty notice of all this: we protest that, our interests being the same with those of your majesty in the negotiation, and inseparable one from the other, we shall not suffer them to be divided in any manner." Their situation, they said, was rendered most critical by thus rejecting the insidious proposals of France. "We cannot but represent to your majesty the *pressing occasion we have to be assisted*. . . . It is that which makes us desire, with so much earnestness, the execution of the treaty which received the approbation of the parliament, in the year 1678, betwixt King Charles II. of glorious memory and this state. We repeat, now, our most earnest instances to have quickly the stipulated succours, and the entire execution of the said treaty. . . . . We will tell you, Sir, in what condition France puts itself; and your majesty will judge, by that, if our fear, which reanimates our demands, be ill founded. France, not content with having taken possession of all the places in the Netherlands that remain to Spain, has thrown into them, and causes, actually, every day, formidable forces to march thither: they draw a line from the Scheldt, near Antwerp, to the Maese. They are going to begin to draw such a line, according to our advices, from Antwerp to Ostend. They send a numerous artillery into the places that are nearest to our frontiers: they make, with great diligence, many magazines in Flanders, in Brabant, in Guelderland, and at Namur, which they fill up with all sorts of ammunition for war and subsistence, besides the great stores for forage, which they gather from all parts: they build forts under the cannon of our places: besides, they have worked, and work still continually, to draw the princes that are our friends from our interests, to make them enter into *their* alliance, or to engage them to a neutrality at least. In short, by intrigues and divisions in the empire, they make our friends useless, and increase those of France. Thus, we are almost surrounded on all sides, except on the side of the sea." Towards the close this remarkable letter was still more energetic. "Our condition," said they, "is worse than it was during the late war, and worse than if we were actually at war; whilst the French make forts under the cannon of our strong places, and lines along our frontiers, without our being able to hinder it, as we might do if we were at war. These reasons oblige us to put ourselves in a state of defence, more than if we were actually attacked, by overflowing our country, and even cutting our dykes, to secure our frontiers. We are forced to employ these means, and all those we could bear in an open war; so that our subjects suffer already more than they did during the last war. Hitherto the winter has served us as a sort of security: but that season is over, and we are at the brink of being invaded and overturned every moment, if we do not get prompt succour." And, at the same time, that nothing might be wanting to make this appeal to the English parliament overpowering, Secretary Hedges laid before them another letter which had been received from Mr. Stanhope, at the Hague. That negotiator exposed the double dealing of d'Avaux, who, moreover, had told him, that he (Stanhope) could not be admitted to the conferences, except upon certain inadmissible terms. Stanhope also confirmed the grounds of alarm mentioned by the States-General in their letter to the king. "I find them," says the ambassador, "in great apprehension of some sudden invasion from the French, on account of fresh advices from Flanders, of extraordinary motions of their troops there, ... of more forces coming into the country, and transports of prodigious quantities of cannon, mortars, bombs, and ammunition from several parts towards their frontiers." The Commons postponed the consideration of these important matters till the next day, and went on that afternoon to examine the articles of impeachment prepared in committee against the Earl of Orford. And on the following morning, before taking up the subject of Holland, they sent up that impeachment to the Lords, with a demand that the Earl of Orford should be made to give sufficient security to abide judgment. Then they took his majesty's message and the papers delivered by the secretary into consideration; and, after a very full debate, they resolved unanimously that they would effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and would immediately provide succours for the States-General, according to the treaty of 1677. On the very day after this welcome vote, Count Wratislaus, the imperial envoy, presented a memorial to William, setting forth the danger to be apprehended from the excessive power of France by its late union with Spain, the injury done to the emperor by that union, and the resolution of his imperial majesty to vindicate his rights to the Spanish succession. And, after this preamble, he intimated that his master, the emperor, knew the difficulty and danger of the undertaking; that he trusted, however, in the justice of his cause, and the assistance of the kings and princes who had been parties to the late confederacy against France, and among whom his Britannic majesty had the principal place; and then he hinted that the old

confederacy or grand alliance, which had been virtually dissolved by the peace of Ryswick and the two Partition Treaties, was to be held still in force, and competent to bind the members of that old alliance to furnish fresh succour, &c. On the 14th of May, the Lords voted an address, in which they went still farther than the Commons. They assured his majesty that they were sensible of the great and imminent danger of the States General, and perfectly agreed with them in believing that the safety of Holland and that of England were so inseparably united, that whatsoever was ruin to the one must be fatal to the other: they desired his majesty not only to make good all the articles of any former treaty with the States General, but also to enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, and to invite into it all princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger, arising from the union of France and Spain. Nor did they stop here. They further desired that his majesty would enter into such alliance with the emperor as he might think fit, pursuant to the ends of the treaty of 1699, assuring him of their hearty and sincere assistance, and of their confident hope that Almighty God would protect him in so righteous a cause, and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects, would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Yet, to all this, they added an unpalatable paragraph, stating, with sufficient absurdity, that the dangers to which William and his allies were now exposed were chiefly owing to fatal counsels—that is, to those Whigs who had helped him through the Partition Treaties. William, as we have seen, had, in reply to the complimentary letter from Louis's grandson, in a manner acknowledged the young Philip as King of Spain, and that too, without the concurrence of parliament; but that act, being apparently considered as a mere matter of form, was neither condemned nor noticed by the Lords. In reply to their address, the king said, very briefly, that he would take into consideration their desires and proposals, which would be the most effectual means to raise the honour of the English nation to the reputation it had obtained in any former time.

In spite of the reproof of the Lords, that men ought to be tried before the stamp of reprobation were put upon them, the Tory majority in the Commons carried an address to the throne for the instant removal of Somers, Orford, Halifax, and Portland, from his majesty's counsels, &c., for ever. The very next day after this motion, and while the Lords were on their way to Kensington with their last and warlike address, the Commons were cut to the bone by a singular *flagellum*. A packet was put into the hands of the Speaker Harley by a poor woman, and this packet was found to contain a memorial (afterwards entitled the "Legion Memorial"), and a startling letter to the Tory Speaker. The letter was in these words:—

"Mr. Speaker,—The enclosed memorial you are charged with, in the behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither Popish, Jacobite, seditious, court, or party interest concerned in it; but honesty and truth. You are commanded by 200,000 Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons, and to inform them, that it is no banter, but serious truth; and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require and power to compel, viz., the people of England. We could have come to the House strong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any tumults, not desiring to embroil, but to serve, our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it."

The memorial, which was signed, "Our name is Legion, and we are many," is generally believed to have been the production of that wonderful penman, Daniel Defoe.* Though, in truth, nothing but a satire and a mystification, it had that writer's characteristic thorough reality and earnestness; and, like other papers by the same hand, it transported the parties addressed into a perfect fury and panic. The serjeant-at-arms was ordered to go his rounds with the mace to summon all members to instant attendance; a loud murmur was raised of endeavours to excite tumults and sedition; and a committee was appointed to draw up an address to beseech his majesty to check these most perilous attempts, and to provide for the public peace and security. Mr. Howe, who had been a very loud talker in the sense contrary to that

* From internal evidence we feel perfectly convinced that Defoe was the writer. Oldmixon says, that Defoe had, in his hearing, taken to himself the honour of being the author of the paper. It appears that the Commons believed it had been got up by the Kentish commissioners, and that one of those gentlemen, who had escaped from the sergeant-at-arms, was coming, with the whole county of Kent at his heels, to make his threats good. The writer artfully made it susceptible of this latter interpretation by complaining in the beginning of the haughty behaviour of the Commons, and their committing to *illegal* custody the writers and presenters of petitions, &c. Several of the clauses of the memorial were as severe a lash cutting as human pen could make them: others were very cogent. Take for example the following charges against the Tory majority, which now ruled the House:—"7. Voting the Treaty of Partition fatal to Europe, because it gave so much of the Spanish dominion to the French, and not concerning yourselves to prevent their taking possession of it all. 8. Deserting the Dutch when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them, is unjust to our treaties, and unkind to our confederates, dishonourable to the English nation, and shows you very negligent of the safety of England and of our Protestant neighbours. 9. Addressing the king to displace his friends, upon base surmises, before the legal trial, or any article proven, is illegal, and inverting the law, and making execution go before judgment, contrary to the true sense of the law, which esteems every man a good man till something appears to the contrary. 10. Delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blast the reputation of the persons, without proving the fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive to the liberty of Englishmen, a delay of justice, and a reproach to parliaments. 11. Suffering saucy, indecent reproaches upon his majesty's person to be publicly made in your house, particularly that impudent scandal of parliaments, John Howe, without showing such resentment as you ought to do; the said John Howe saying openly, that his majesty made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours; insinuating that the Partition Treaty (which was every way as just as blowing up one man's house to save another's) was a combination of the king to rob the crown of Spain of its due: this is making a Billingsgate of the House, and setting up to bully your sovereign, contrary to the intent and meaning of the freedom of speech, which you claim as a right, is scandalous to parliaments, undutiful and unmannerly, and a reproach to the whole nation. 12. Your Speaker exacting the exorbitant rate of 10*l.* per diem for the votes, and giving the printer encouragement to raise it on the people, by selling them at 4*d.* per sheet, is an illegal and arbitrary exaction, dishonourable to the House, and burdensome to the people."

of the writer of the Legion Memorial and his party, declared in the house that he was in danger of his life, and several other Tory members were frightened away into the country, believing, as it should appear, that the "Legion," which only existed in the imagination of Defoe, was really on the point of assaulting the parliament. A committee was appointed to meet in the Speaker's chamber; empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and directed to sit *de die in diem*. But at last the mystification became evident, the Tories became ashamed of their panic, and no report was called for; and the whole affair, which must have convulsed the immortal author of Robinson Crusoe with laughter, was silently let fall. While the Commons were yet shaking with the panic, the Lords reminded them that, though they had sent up their articles against Orford, they had as yet exhibited none against Portland, Somers, and Halifax. Thus quickened, they drew up the impeachment of Somers in a most malignant spirit; and it was carried up to the Lords on the 19th of May. The high crime most insisted upon was his share in the Partition Treaty; but, in addition, Somers was charged with having passed many great, unreasonable, and exorbitant grants, under the great seal; with having promoted and procured unreasonable and exorbitant grants to be made of the late forfeited estates in Ireland, in contempt of the advice of the House of Commons; with not being content with all the fees, profits, and perquisites, legally belonging to the great seal, together with an additional pension of 4000*l.* per annum, but having, contrary to his oath, begged and procured for his own benefit many great and unreasonable grants of manors, lands, tenements, rents, hereditaments, and revenues, belonging to the crown of England, &c.; with having alienated many quit-rents and other rents annexed to Windsor Castle, &c.; and with having used many extraordinary methods, delays, and unwarrantable proceedings *in the Court* of Chancery, &c. Nor was Captain Kydd, though now hanged, forgotten in this impeachment, Somers, like Orford, being charged with the irregularities of that unlucky adventurer's proceedings. On the 24th of May, the ex-lord chancellor of England sent his answer to their lordships. He clearly made it appear that the obnoxious treaty was the king's own measure—though that, in constitutional strictness, did not exonerate him as a minister for what he had done in it—and that he had given his opinion freely upon the whole business. With regard to enrolling the treaty in the Court of Chancery, he urged that it was not incumbent on him as chancellor to see it enrolled, a duty which properly belonged to the *Prothonotary*. As to the grants which he had passed, and which he said he believed were not so considerable as those which, in the same number of years, had been passed in the times of most of his predecessors, they had been regularly passed through the proper offices, and brought such warrants with them as he had thought himself obliged to obey. He insisted that he of himself had neither advised nor procured any grants of any forfeited estates in Ireland for any person whatsoever; that the pension of 4000*l.* per annum which he had received was neither more nor less than what had been allowed to several of his predecessors; that he had never begged or used any means to procure any grant whatsoever for his own benefit; that whatever his majesty had given him had proceeded from his own bounty, and as an evidence of his gracious sense of his zealous endeavours for his majesty's service, without any previous solicitation either by himself or any other; that, in the year 1697, his majesty did indeed grant him the manors of Reigate and Howley, which, however, were far short of the value suggested in the impeachment; that he knew of no alienations at Windsor; that the commission granted to Captain Kydd, for taking and bringing pirates to a legal trial, was apprehended to be necessary for the preservation of trade and navigation; that the persons concerned in the undertaking fitted out Kydd's ship at their own expense; that the grant made of all the ships, goods, &c., belonging to the pirates, to the said undertakers for their suppression, was not without account,—being meant as a recompense to the said undertakers, and not being either prejudicial to the subject or dishonourable to the king; and, finally, that, if Kydd had faithfully discharged his trust, it might have been of great benefit to the public, *whereas, the contrary having proved the case, the owners had lost all their expenses*. As for the charges of abuse of power in the Chancery Court, unfair delays, and irregular proceedings, he gave to one and all a round denial, solemn, but short, as if he scorned the imputations. The Lords insisted that the trial should proceed forthwith, and the impeachments be made good or dropped; the Commons demanded more time, and proposed that a committee of *both* Houses might be nominated to consider of the most proper ways and methods for proceeding against the lords accused. They complained, that, being under accusation of high crimes, these lords had still been admitted to vote in the House, and in their own cases; and, to adjust this matter and some others, they insisted on a committee of *both* Houses, their departure from which, they said, "would be giving up the rights of the Commons of England, established by unquestionable precedents and the usage of parliament, and making all impeachment (the greatest bulwark of the laws and liberties of England) impracticable for the future." But the Lords rejected this proposal of a joint committee, and gave in their reasons for so doing at a conference.* This

* These reasons were—"1. Because they do not find that ever such a committee was appointed on occasion of impeachments for misdemeanors; and their lordships think themselves obliged to be extremely cautious in admitting anything new in matters relating to judicature. 2. That, although a committee of this nature was agreed to upon the impeachments of the Earl of Danby, and the five Popish lords for high treason, yet it was upon occasion of several considerable questions and difficulties which did then arise: and their lordships do not find, that the success in that instance was such as should encourage the pursuing the same methods again, though in the

led to other angry messages; but the Lords persisted in their resolution of not consenting to a joint committee. And at this moment the dispute was interrupted by the king's going to the House of Lords, to give the royal assent to the new Succession Bill, which had been carried through both Houses, and which was by far the most important act of the session.

According to Roger Coke, a Whig member designed to bring in the bill for fixing the succession to the crown in the Protestant house of Brunswick, "which being smoked by the Speaker, Sir John Bowles, a Tory, and little better than a madman, was employed to present it to the House, who had so little stomach to it, that it hung there above three months before they passed it." Bishop Burnet, who voted on the occasion, says—"Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after quite lost them, was set on by the party (the Tories) to be the first that should name the Electress Dowager of Brunswick, (Sophia, grand-daughter of James I.,) which seemed done to make it less serious, when moved by such a person. He was, by the forms of the House, put in the chair of the committee to whom the bill was committed. The thing was still put off for many weeks, but, every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy. The committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the members ran out of the House with so much indecency that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management. There were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet, in conclusion, it passed, and was sent up to the Lords, where we expected great opposition would be made to it. . . . . Many of the lords absented themselves on design: some little opposition was made by the Marquess of Normanby; and four lords —the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth and the Lords Guildford and Jeffreys—protested against it. Those who wished well to the act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it."* But the bearing of these limitations to the power of the crown was favourable to the liberties of the nation; and, whatever were their motives for urging them, the Tories, by some of them at least, unquestionably rendered a service to the constitution. The Whig historian will not of course allow any merit to his political enemies: on the contrary, he asserts—and the temper and views of many of the Tory party will almost bear him out—that the whole proceeding was marked with insincerity, and intended, by indirect means, to throw the government back into the hands of the exiled family. "Harley," he says, "moved that some things previous might be considered. He observed that the haste the nation was in when the present government was settled had made us go too fast, and overlook many securities which might have prevented much mischief, and therefore he hoped they would not now fall into the same error. Nothing pressed them at present; so he moved they would settle some conditions of government, as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of *the person*, that so we might fix everything that was wanting to make our security complete. . . . . Suspicious people thought this was done on design to blast the motion, and to offer such extravagant limitations as should quite change the form of our government, and render the crown titular and precarious. The king was alarmed at it, for almost every particular that was proposed implied a reflection upon him and his administration, chiefly that of not employing strangers, and not going too often out of the kingdom. It was proposed that everything should be done with the advice of the privy council, and every privy councillor was to sign his advice. All men who had places or pensions were to be made incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. All this was unacceptable to the king: so, many who had an ill opinion of the design of those who were now at the helm began to conclude that the delays were affected, and that these limitations were designed to raise disputes between the two Houses, by which the bill might be lost." As eventually passed, the Succession Bill enacted that all things relating to the well governing of the kingdom which are properly cognizable in the privy council should be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon signed by such of the privy council as should advise and consent to the same; that no person whatsoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or not born of English parents beyond seas (although such person were naturalized or made denizen), should be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either House of parliament, or to enjoy any place of trust, either civil or military, or be capable of any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown; that, in case the crown should hereafter come to a foreign prince, the nation should not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England; *that no person who should hereafter come to the possession of the crown should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament;* that whosoever should hold the crown should join in communion with the church of England, as by law established;

like case; the lords observing, that, after much time spent at that committee, the disputes were so far from being there adjusted, that they occasioned an abrupt conclusion of a session of parliament."

* According to Roger Coke, Burnet himself attempted some amendments, which of course would have been *in favour of* the prerogative in Protestant hands. "The bill," says Coke, "was sent up so loose to the Lords, that the late Bishop of Salisbury (Burnet), out of the height of his zeal for the Protestant succession, was standing up to move for amendments, when a great many of the young lords, by a very signal providence, crying out, No amendments! no amendments! it passed without any; and, Dr. Newton, one of the masters in chancery, being sent with it down to the Commons, where there were not many members then sitting, after his admission he was asked, what he had brought them; to which he answered, The Succession Bill; then being further interrogated concerning what amendments the Lords had made to it, and he replying, None at all, several of the members said aloud, The devil take you and your Bill! This the late Lord Somers told several gentlemen, and particularly to a certain friend of his and mine, from whom I had it; and, if I had not known him to be a person of great integrity, I should not have ventured to insert it."—*Detection.*

that no person having an office under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, should be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons; that the judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established, but that upon the address of either House of parliament, it might be lawful to remove them; that no pardon under the great seal should be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in parliament; and, finally, that the Princess Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the Protestant line, after his majesty and the Princess Anne, and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and that the further limitation of the crown should be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. The sweeping disqualifications affecting all foreigners whatsoever and all servants of the government were not only unpalatable to William, but over-jealous, and in some respects unwise. But there were politicians of the day who would have gone much farther in their limitations, and, while they paid less respect to the rights of blood, which after all were compromised, would have declared as a broad principle the right of the nation to choose its own sovereign. Toland, a party writer of some eminence, published a pamphlet entitled "Limitation for the next Foreign Successor, or New Saxon Race;" in which he urged, that, if we had made terms with the prince and princess (William and Mary), who had both an antecedent title to the crown, we might very well demand further securities from those who had no other claim but what arose from our own good will; that, having to elect a successor, the English nation might be allowed the same liberty which the Spaniards had recently taken in bestowing their crown, and might choose out of the House of Hanover, or that of Brandenburg, which of the sons they pleased. And, correctly foreseeing the circumstances which happened under the two first Georges, he recommended the English parliament to consider whether we ought to make any of those princes of the House of Hanover or Brandenburg kings of England, without previously obliging them to renounce their foreign dominions. "For," said he, "if our crown should fall upon either of those families, they will fall under mighty temptations to enlarge their dominions beyond sea, in order to make the communication betwixt their old and new dominions more speedy and easy. This the family of Hanover may attempt, by falling down upon the Elbe and the Weiser, and swallowing up Hamburgh, Bremen, Verden, &c.; and the House of Brandenburg might do the like, falling down the same rivers and the Rhine. All these things, how remote and chimerical soever they may seem at present, ought to be considered." These considerations were, however, overlooked, greatly to the satisfaction of the House of Hanover.* Ungrateful and displeasing as it was in many particulars, William gave the royal assent to this Succession Bill without a murmur. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I., presented a very useless protest against the bill, which, together with the Order of the Garter for her husband, was carried over to the Electress of Hanover by the Earl of Macclesfield.

The dispute between the two Houses touching the impeachment of Somers, which had been interrupted a little while by the king's going to the Lords to give his consent to the Succession Bill, was renewed a few days after. Each House seemed resolute—the Commons in insisting on a joint committee, the Lords in refusing it. In a conference, Lord Haversham gave great offence to the Commons, by saying that they themselves thought the lords impeached innocently. "And I think," said he, "the proposition is undeniable, for there were several lords in the same crimes, in the same fact; there is no distinction, and the Commons leave some of these men at the head of affairs, near the king's person, to do any mischief they are inclined to, and impeach others, when they are all alike guilty, and concerned in the same facts." The managers for the Commons took this to be so great an aspersion on the honour of their House, that they thought themselves obliged in duty immediately to withdraw from the conference. And, after the return of their managers, the Commons resolved that John Lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the House of Commons, and tending to the making a breach in the good correspondence between the Lords and Commons, and to the interrupting the public justice of the nation by delaying the proceedings on the impeachments: and they sent up Sir Christopher Musgrave to demand justice upon the offending lord, who, on his part, would not allow that his words had been "precisely taken." Then followed other messages and remonstrances. The Lords intimated their purpose of bringing on the trial of Lord Somers on the day they had fixed: the Commons refused to attend, and made an order that no member of their House should presume to appear at the place erected for the *pretended trial* of the Lord Somers, under pain of their utmost displeasure. On the day appointed the Lords adjourned to Westminster Hall, where proclamation was made, and the impeachment of Lord Somers read, as was also his reply. Then the proclamation

* Mr. Cresset, in a letter to Lord Manchester, dated Zell, April 8, says, "The great restrictions tagged to the limitation of the crown in the House of Hanover diminishes the value of it. However, I am glad the nation has done itself right in the first place, and likewise justice to this great family. . . . . If your excellency thinks fit to write to her Electoral Highness on this occasion, I will take care to present it, &c." This hope of the English crown at once made the House of Hanover very zealous against the French. In the same letter Cresset says, "The said courts do all the service they can, being perfectly well intentioned. Five thousand men are already marched from hence towards Holland; and some other regiments are ordered to be in readiness. . . . But *these poor princes cannot make brick without straw.*" Shortly after he lets us know that great court began to be paid to old Sophia, and that "the good old princess" was "worn out by answering the letters of forward people almost unknown to her.—*Letters quoted by Ralph.* And indeed from this moment there was a sort of English court in Hanover, as well as at St. Germain.

was read a second time, and the lord-keeper declared that the House was ready to hear evidence. No evidence was offered,—not a member of the Lower House appeared. The Lords, "after these formalities," went back to their House, and declared that John Lord Somers was acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him exhibited by the House of Commons, and of all things therein contained, and that the said impeachment was dismissed. The next day the Commons ordered that the impeaching committee should inspect the Lords' journals; that no member should presume to go out of town; and that all members should attend the service of the House on the Friday following (the 20th June). When that day came, they were informed by the Upper House that their lordships had appointed the 23d for the trial of the Earl of Orford. More angry messages followed, and the Commons voted that the Lords had refused justice to the Commons, upon the impeachment of Lord Somers, by denying them a committee of both Houses, which was desired by the Commons as the only method of settling the necessary preliminaries for proceeding to the trial with effect; and afterwards by proceeding to a *pretended* trial, which could tend only to protect the accused from justice by colour of an illegal acquittal, against which they solemnly protested, as repugnant to the rules of justice, and therefore null and void. And they further declared that the Lords, by the pretended trial, had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachment lodged in the Commons by the ancient constitution, &c., and that all the ill consequences which might at this time attend the delay of the supplies necessary for preserving the public peace, and maintaining the balance of Europe, *by supporting our allies against the power of France*, were imputable to those who, to procure an indemnity for their enormous crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two Houses. The Upper House replied, that the non-appearance of the Commons entitled Lord Somers to his full acquittal; that their Lordships could infer nothing from their still persisting in their demand for a committee of both Houses, which could never be granted, except that they never designed to bring any of their impeachments to trial; and that they should proceed with the case of the Earl of Orford on the day appointed. The Commons passed the same order as they had done with regard to Somers's trial: no one appeared in Westminster Hall, and Lord Orford was acquitted. On the next day the Lords dismissed the charges against Portland and Halifax, and so put an end to this long and angry business. Then, recollecting the impeachment which had been brought by the Whigs against the Duke of Leeds in 1695, and which had neither been prosecuted nor discharged, they took the opportunity of dismissing it also.

On the 24th of June the Commons presented a liberal money bill, their Speaker telling his majesty how gladly they had complied with all his desires, having passed the Bill of Succession, with the bill for taking away those privileges which might have proved oppressive to his subjects; and having given his majesty such supplies as were more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable his majesty when abroad to support his allies, procure a lasting peace, or preserve the liberties of Europe by a necessary war. William gave the royal assent to the several bills, and put an end to the session in a gracious speech. A week after the prorogation he left Hampton Court, and, attended by the Earls of Carlisle, Romney, Albemarle, M. Overquerque, and others, set sail for Holland, where he arrived on the 3rd of July. The battalions from Ireland and some new levies from England arrived in the Low Countries about the same time: some Scotch troops had been there many weeks; and, as he was accompanied by a battalion of his English guards, William had the appearance of being again at the head of an army. But his health, which had been severely tried by his recent vexations and crosses, was visibly giving way; and, when on the day after his arrival he took his seat in the assembly of the States General, his haggard appearance seemed to belie the sanguine hopes which he held out to his threatened countrymen. He told them that he always came with joy into his native country, but with more joy now than ever, because he foresaw that his presence would be necessary for its security. He had been in hopes to have passed the rest of his days in repose and peace, but such great alterations had taken place in the affairs of Europe, that men knew not how they might end. But, whether affairs should be accommodated, or whether they must take up arms again, he would still have the same zeal, the same devotedness to their interests, to the maintenance of their liberties and religion, and to the common cause of Europe. He assured them not only of his affection, but of that of the whole English nation,—who were ready to assist and strongly contribute towards their defence. In their reply the States did not forget to acknowledge their obligations to the English people, and they expressed their conviction that they might rely on their courage and valour, which had attained so high a character in the world. After his business in the States-General, William, as much as his health would permit, passed his time in reviewing the frontier garrisons of Holland; and, having visited Bergem-op-Zoom, Sluys, and other places, he returned to the Hague, there to learn that the empty form of negotiation was at an end, and that Louis had recalled his ambassador, d'Avaux.*

On the 7th of September a new treaty of alli-

* It appears that the States-General were deluded by d'Avaux's professions of moderation, and that, for some time, William and Marlborough were the only persons there that saw clearly in what a vacuum the negotiations at the Hague would end. Even as late as the month of August William's old friend and prime adviser, the Pensionary Heinsius, was persuaded that an arrangement might yet be effected, and expressed his hopes that Louis would give satisfaction to the emperor, &c., rather than incur the risk of a war.—*Letter from Marlborough to Godolphin, as cited by Coxe, Life of Marlborough.*

ance, styled "The Second Grand Alliance," was signed at the Hague. This treaty provided—1. That there should be a perpetual and inviolable friendship between the emperor, the king of England, and the States-General of Holland. 2. That the allies could think nothing more effectual for establishing a general peace than the procuring satisfaction to the emperor for the Spanish succession, and sufficient securities for the dominions and trade of the allies. 3. That two months should be employed in endeavouring to obtain this satisfaction and security by amicable means. 4. That, failing these means, the allies would assist one another with all their force. 5. That the confederates would endeavour to recover the Spanish Netherlands, to be a barrier between Holland and France; as likewise the duchy of Milan, &c., for the emperor's security, and also the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, &c. 6. That the king of England and the States-General might seize what lands and cities they could belonging to the Spaniards in the Indies, and *keep them.* And in secondary articles it was provided that no party should treat of peace or truce separately, or without taking fitting security to prevent the union of France and Spain, and particulary the French possessing the Spanish Indies; that, at the making of a peace, care should be taken of the trade of the English and Dutch; and that after such peace there should remain a defensive alliance between the several contracting parties. All kings, princes, and states that pleased might enter into their alliance; and, as tempting money-bargains were made and other advantages offered by England and Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Holstein, and the Palatinate soon joined the confederacy. The emperor was so poor that he was forced to negotiate with Holland for 500,000 crowns, on the security of his quicksilver mines. His imperial majesty, however, engaged to furnish 66,000 foot, and 24,000 horse. William, on his part, agreed for 33,000 foot and 7000 horse; and the States-General for 32,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

But long before these forces were assembled, and even several weeks before the treaty was signed at the Hague, the war had begun on the side of Italy. As the active and able Prince Eugene, who continued in the emperor's service, had advanced to the passes of the Alps in the beginning of the summer, an attack was expected and prepared for by Marshal Catinat and the Duke of Savoy, who, with an army of French, Milanese, and Savoyards, posted themselves along the Adige, within the Mantuan territory. But Eugene, with 30,000 men, drove them from that position, forced their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to retire behind the Mincio with considerable loss. Catinat and his Frenchmen had excited the vengeance of the Italian peasantry, who flew to such arms as they could procure, massacred their stragglers, and cut off their supplies. Prince Eugene, on the other hand, was favoured by the people, and had a free communication with Austria through the valley of the Adige and the Tyrol: and, after some brilliant manœuvres, he drove Catinat and the duke to the line of the Oglio. Marshal Villeroy joined Catinat with fighting orders, and attacked Eugene and the imperialists in their lines; but he was repulsed with loss. No other battle took place, and at the approach of the rainy season the French retired to winter quarters between the Oglio and the Adda. Prince Eugene had, however, done great service to the emperor and to the cause of the allies: the French reputation was lowered in Italy, the Swiss cantons were prevented from closing with the tempting offers made by Louis, and the German princes, who had feared the superiority of France, began to view the matter from a different point. The associated circles, which had been induced to declare for a neutrality, recovered spirit enough to interpret their own act in their own way, and they allowed of the march of troops to the Rhine, in spite of the remonstrances and threats of French envoys. Nor did the petty German states stop here; soon intimating that they were ready for the most part to accept of subsidies from England and Holland.

While these mixed events were passing, the dethroned King James was getting fast out of the reach of their effects, and the rumours of them. The penances and mortifications to which he subjected himself hastened his end, and he had been dying all this summer.* On Friday, the 2nd of September, a few days before the conclusion of the grand alliance, he was seized with a fainting fit in the chapel of the palace of St. Germain. He was pretty well the next day, but on Sunday he fell into another fit, and lay for some time without life or motion, till, his mouth being forced open, he vomited a great quantity of blood. He had confessed himself just before he fell into this fit, but as soon as he recovered sense enough he sent for his confessor again, called for the eucharist, and

* According to Father Innes, or whatever other priest it was that wrote this part of the memoir of his life, James, like the royal prophet David, having his sins continually before his eyes, thought of nothing but how to appease God's justice, and to gain a crown secure from usurpation. "This, indeed, had been (I may say) his sole employment since his return from Ireland—for though the correspondence he kept up, and attempts he made, *showed he did not neglect the business of his restoration,* yet they proving so many disappointments and additional mortifications, as they threw him still back more and more in reference to this world, they advanced him in that happy career which led him to the felicity of the next: and, finding so much benefit in order to this by his first journey to La Trappe, he returned thither once every year till that day before he died. The effect those visits had upon him cannot be better expressed than by his own relation :—'At first it was partly curiosity and a desire to see whether the discourses I had heard and the relations I had read whilst I was in England, of that holy place, came up to my expectation, and whether the abbot who began that reform deserved all the commendations that were given him. An old friend of mine, the Marshal de Belfond, carried me thither, for which, as long as he lived, I gave him many thanks, and by degrees found myself (as I thought) improved; for, till I had been there some time, and had made a kind of retreat for three or four days at a time (which I have continued to do at least once a year since my coming from Ireland), I found not that change which was necessary in myself: it gave me a true sense of the vanity of all worldly greatness, and that nothing was to be coveted but the love of God, and to endeavour to live up to *his law, and to mortify one's self by all lawful means, and to be* sensible (at least such a miserable creature as I, that have lived so many years almost in a continual course of sin, till God, out of his infinite mercy, called me by his chastisement to him) how necessary it is to continue visiting such a holy place to gain strength, who have so much need of it.'"

requested that care should be taken that he wanted none of the rites of the Catholic church. Then, sending for the young Prince of Wales, he conjured him to adhere firmly to the Catholic faith, let the consequence be what it might, to be faithful to his God, respectful and obedient to his mother, and ever grateful to the King of France, to whom they owed so many obligations. He blessed the boy, dismissed him, and called for the little princess. "He was not content with having spoke to his children: he made a sort of short exhortation to almost every one about him, with the greatest fervour and piety imaginable, but particularly to my Lord Middleton and his other Protestant servants, whom he persuaded to embrace the Catholic faith." As soon as the sacrament was brought, he cried out, "The happy day is come at last." The curate, who was to administer the viaticum, asked him if he believed the real and substantial presence of our Saviour's body in the sacrament; and he said "Yes, I believe it—I believe it with my whole heart." When all the offices for the dying were performed, he declared to the confessor that he forgave all his enemies, calling upon him to take particular notice that he forgave with all his heart the emperor, the Prince of Orange, and the Princess Anne, his daughter. On the morrow Louis went to visit his dying guest. James seemed to rally on the Wednesday; and on the next Sunday the French king paid him a second visit. But on the Monday he fell into a dizziness, and all hopes of recovery vanished away. He again called for the sacrament, and again forgave his enemies by name. On Tuesday, the 13th of September, Louis went for a third time to his bedside; and then, it is said, that, the apartment being full of people, his most Christian majesty declared that he would take his family into his protection, and would treat his son, the Prince of Wales, in the same manner as he had treated him, and acknowledge him as king of England.* It is added that Louis shed tears as he departed from this mournful scene, and that, calling the officer of the guard that waited upon James, he gave him directions to follow and attend the Prince of Wales, as soon as the king was dead, and to show him the same respect and honours he had done to the king his father. James lingered till the following Friday, the 16th of September, and then expired, in the 67th year of his age.† His body lay exposed four-and-twenty hours in the midst of priests and monks, who sang the office for the dead all the night through, and in the morning celebrated masses at two altars erected in the room. According to the memoir of his life, he had ordered that his body should be buried in the church of the parish where he should chance to die; that his funeral should be unexpensive like that of a private gentleman, and that his only monument should be a bare stone with the words, "Here lies King James:" but his most Christian majesty said that this was the only thing he could not grant; and so he was embalmed, as royal personages are; and, part of his bowels being carried to the parish church of St. Germain, the rest were sent to the English college at St. Omer, and the brains and fleshy part of the head to the Scotch College at Paris, where, at the charge of the Duke of Perth, "was erected a fair monument, as a due acknowledgment of their sense of being honoured with those precious relics." They left his heart in the convent of Chaliot, the nuns of which place were his most favourite associates after the monks of La Trappe. The body was deposited in the church of the English Benedictine monks in Paris, there to remain "till it should please God to dispose the people of England to repair, in some measure, the injuries they did him in his life, by the honours they should think fit to show him after his death." With a little varnish this bad king made a tolerably good saint. At the time of his last sickness and death William was at Loo, sickly and feeble himself, and actually apprehending another attempt on his life by one Boselli, an Italian, "infamous for many ruffian-like exploits," who, after being long confined in the Bastille, was liberated at this critical moment, or permitted to escape. Great pains were taken to circulate a report, said to be grounded on a consultation of physicians, that William could not survive more than a month. In the eyes of Louis his single life was of more importance than armies and confederacies; and it was an axiom of the French court that, this troublesome prince once out of the way, the *grand monarque* might have his will in Europe. It should appear that his Tory ministry had had a pernicious effect upon William's health and spirits. The blatant, drinking, and red-hot Earl of Rochester, who had in a manner directed and bullied the whole cabinet, was particularly offensive to him, and he was afterwards heard to declare that the most uneasy part of his life was the year in which that nobleman had been in the ascendancy. He still consulted Sunderland, who was wise enough to remain in his quiet retreat at Althorp, watching the course of events, and feeling anxious only about those things which might benefit or injure himself personally. His wife, Lady Sunderland, had contracted a romantic kind of friendship with the imperious but fascinating Lady Marlborough; and in the preceding month of January his eldest son, Lord Spencer, had married Lady Anne Churchill, Marlborough's second daughter, upon whose progeny the ducal title eventually devolved. Although William had reinstated that fortunate soldier, he still distrusted him; but Marlborough had of late rendered good services in the House of Lords, and

* Lord Manchester, in a letter to Vernon, thus describes what happened upon James's death:—"*The* Prince of Wales was immediately proclaimed king of England, by the title of James III. I do not hear there was any other ceremony than that, after he had taken the title of king, those of St. Germain kissed his hand, and treated him with majesty: after that, the French complimented him, and did the like. What was done in the town was in a tumultuous manner, by crying 'Long live James III.!'" &c.—*Cole MSS.*

† The memoir adds, that it was about three in the afternoon when he "rendered his pious soul into the hands of his Redeemer; the day of the week and hour wherein our Saviour died, and on which he always practised a particular devotion to obtain a happy death."

through these and the good offices of Sunderland and others, the king overcame his repugnance, and not only entrusted him with the command of the English forces now in the Netherlands, but also employed him as his chief negotiator with foreign powers.* Marlborough had accompanied him abroad, and, though he still professed himself a Tory, lost no opportunity of abusing his party for not going more energetically into the war. In the month of September William wrote from Loo to Lord Sunderland, earnestly desiring to know from him in what condition things were in England, what people said, and what advice his lordship would give. He told him also that he feared that, if he should quit the Tories he then employed, and the Whigs should not be able to serve him, he should have no resource left. Writing in the third person, William says—and these passages with many others prove his high notion of Sunderland's sagacity and thorough knowledge of parties—"This inclines him to try again what the present ministers and their party will do, with a resolution to change upon the first occasion they shall give. He is undetermined whether he shall call a new parliament; the Tories giving him great hopes and making him great promises. He is advised to offer an act of grace at the meeting of the parliament, as a means of reconciling matters. *Upon the whole, he earnestly desires you will give your opinion, and as soon as possible.*"† Sunderland's answer was remarkable: there was a point and a cutting sarcasm in nearly every word of it. "Everything here," said he, "is much as when you left England; *only the ministry grows more hated every day*, and more exposed.‡ . . . . It is said the king is persuaded still to try the same party and the same ministers; because, if he changes and fails, there will be no resource; which is as much as to say, continue in the hands of your enemies, for, if they do not save you, you may return to your friends, who will; which is a sort of reason which ought not to be answered, but hissed." He then proceeded to give his notion of the *disinterestedness* of the Tories in general. "If the king employs the Whigs, and they cannot or will not help him, he may always be welcome to the others, whenever he will alter the lieutenancy of London, break the ecclesiastical commission,* and that party in the House of Lords who last session declared themselves against France; and, in short, give up the whole power to them." Continuing to turn the edge of his blade upon the party in power, he says, with a boldness and freedom which should seem hardly to belong to his character, and which would not have been tolerated by any other king:—"Another dangerous opinion the king is led into by flams and lies, that, if those he now depends on do not act as they promise, he can try new measures in the middle of a session, which is impossible; and that he must know, if he pleases to reflect. He will be wheedled, and complimented, and cheated; and at the latter end ruined. Can he forget how the Tories agreed to the ten thousand men, and the address to enter into alliances with the emperor? *Was it not because it would have been done without them, and that they were frightened out of their wits, and to oblige him to thank them at last, that they might go into the country with safety?* Are not their promises on the same account, and *because they dread a new parliament?* Can he forget the pains that were taken, after the King of Spain's death, to persuade the world *that all was well, and nothing would be so fatal as a war?* What a fine speech was made for him at the opening of the parliament, four months after the King of Spain died, and a fortnight after the French were actually possessed of Flanders? Or that, during the session, the ministers told him, every day, they nor their party never would come into a war, of which mind they are so much now, that *yet they continue to say it will undo us?* And if they are any ways forced into it, it will be *with a design of raising money*, which shall both be insufficient and laid so as to be the most uneasy to the people that is possible. But to what purpose is it so much as to think of anything of this kind, when, after a thirteen years' experience, the king will not judge right of things he knows, but will be undone infallibly by believing himself more cunning than a whole party, *by whom he is beset, and who wheedle him every day*, and of which, in his whole reign, *he never yet could gain any one man?* The king ought to consider that, most luckily for him, the whole moderate church party, who are not Jacobites, are joined with the Whigs; but he will be deceived if he reckons they will help to establish this ministry, which they think would ruin England, and *hang them.*"† He next proceeds to treat about the offer of an act of grace, and to show the implacable animosities of the two great factions. As to the act of indemnity to be offered at the first meeting of the parliament, he

* According to Marlborough's biographer, "William's motives for this choice were laudably disinterested and patriotic. Sensible of his own approaching dissolution, foreseeing the inevitable necessity of a continental war, and anxious for the maintenance of that system which it had been the labour and boast of his life to uphold, he was desirous that the political and military powers should be transferred to one who, with abilities equal to the emergency, might possess the confidence of the country and the good will of his successor. In no one were these requisites united except in Marlborough. Accordingly William selected him to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the treaties which were to be formed with foreign powers, for the renewal of the grand alliance. This choice, as judicious in itself as it was honourable to his feelings, was almost his last act before he quitted England, to organize the most formidable confederacy which had yet been marshalled against France."—*Coxe, Life of Marlborough.*

† Hardwicke State Papers.

‡ "But," says the old fox, "since you desire to know the thoughts of people here, you shall: though what is said or writ of this kind is seldom kept secret, which is so unpleasant, that if any word of this paper should be trusted to any person whatsoever, except and , here is for ever an end of this and all the like commerce." No doubt we might fill up one of these blanks with the name of Marlborough.

* This was a commission first granted after the death of the queen, and renewed in 1700, appointing the two archbishops and four other bishops to recommend persons to vacant bishoprics and all other church benefices in the gift of the crown, and authorising them, during the king's absence beyond sea, actually to fill up all such benefices that were under the value of 140*l.* per annum. This mode of administering the patronage of the church was loudly exclaimed against by the high church party and the Tories.

† Hardwicke State Papers.

says that it might do well, though neither party will like it: "for the Tories will not be satisfied without ruining my Lord Somers, nor the Whigs without undoing the Tory ministers; in which the latter (the Whigs) think they have the whole nation on their side." He then replies distinctly to the query, What can the king do? "For example; let him come into England as soon as he can, and immediately send for my Lord Somers. *He is the life, the soul, and spirit of his party, and can answer for it;* not like the present ministers, who have no credit with theirs, *any further than they can persuade the king to be undone.* When his majesty speaks to my Lord Somers, he ought to do it openly and freely; and ask him plainly what he and his friends can do and will do, and what they expect, and the methods they would propose. By this the king will come to make a judgment of his affairs; and he may be sure that my Lord Somers will desire nothing for himself or any of the impeached lords, but will take as much care not to perplex the king's business as can be desired; and if he can do nothing his majesty shall like, he will remain still zealous and affectionate to his person and government. This is thought to be the best way the king can take, and perhaps the only means of being able to resolve with reason. It should be considered that, by the present ministry, the Tories have infinitely lost their credit, and the others have in proportion gained. It is a melancholy thing that the king, who has more understanding than anybody who comes near him, is imposed on by mountebanks, or by such as he himself knows hate both his person and his government." This letter was written on the 11th of September. On the 15th Sunderland enclosed it, or a copy of it, to Lord Somers, to whom he says,—"Among all the pamphlets which have come out (the press was wonderfully active, and Defoe was feeding it with his industry and genius) there ought to have been one to have particularly explained the proceedings of the present ministry; . . . . . the breaking the last parliament; the late meeting of this; the care which was taken by them and their friends, upon the death of the King of Spain, to persuade the world that all was well, and that a war would undo us; as also how, by this management, the French possessed themselves of Flanders before the meeting of the parliament, which was thought of so little importance to England as not to be worth mentioning in the king's speech; all which disheartened so much our allies abroad, that the King of Portugal, despairing, made a treaty with France;* and many princes besides thought it best to be neuter. The late meeting of the parliament made it impracticable for England to be of any use abroad this year either by sea or land."† Somers, who must have had the same high opinion of Sunderland's abilities as the king entertained, was politician enough to help himself and his party by striking up a sudden friendship with that dark riddle of a man. He approved of Sunderland's reply to the king, thinking it "to be written with all the good sense and good meaning possible;" and liking "every word in it but what related to himself." "What is said of him and Somerset," he observes, also speaking in the third person, "does not belong to him, nor can he perform that which seems to be expected from him. The king and the sender of the packet both know he never could nor would be a leader; and, having declared under whom he has *listed himself* (that is, under Sunderland), he hopes the part assigned him will be such as may be practicable by one of his natural temper, and in his present circumstances."* The Whig ex-chancellor proceeds to urge still more strongly, that not he, but Sunderland, is the only man to make a proper ministry; or that, "under the king's present resolution, there is but one man living can determine him to take vigorous measures, and, considering who are about him, the same person only can keep him steady." "This is as certain," adds Somers, "as anything in nature; so that, whatsoever is attempted, unless that person (Sunderland) does actually take a part, will infallibly prove insignificant. This he does not say to decline anything of which he is capable; but upon the deliberate weighing of the whole matter, and not without some regard to the particular interest of the person himself, for which he will always be sincerely concerned. If the present parliament be to continue, he thinks that person would be in the wrong to appear; but he is of a quite different sentiment if it should be resolved to have another. He knows there is a very general good disposition in the Whigs to unite in that person, which, he says, would have appeared in a very evident manner before this time, if he himself (Somers) had not been tied up so very strictly as he was from letting the good designs of that person be more understood."† The ex-chancellor then seizes hold of two great events. "By the letter and answer he thinks the news was come to neither of the parties (William and Sunderland) of the *two great incidents;* that of the edict about

* By this well-timed treaty of alliance with Portugal, Louis considered his grandson in Spain safe from invasion.

† Hardwicke State Papers.

* Somers adds, speaking still of himself,—"He knows the king's humour well enough to be sensible how little anything said to him will signify, if it be but possible for him to think the person who speaks may have somewhat of his own interest in view; and he appeals whether, in the condition he is now taken to stand, anything material can be said upon which such a constructon may not be put? He does not say this to decline waiting on his majesty if it be thought necessary; and, in that case, will certainly speak his opinion clearly. But if that be the measure to be taken, he then depends upon receiving another letter, wherein the particulars of what is to be said be somewhat explained; he not only desiring, but insisting upon it, that he may be certain he says nothing at such a conference without the full concurrence of the person (i.e. *Sunderland*) by whose measures he has resolved to act."

† Here he subjoins—"He leaves it to that person to judge whether this conduct be perfectly right; because, at the same time the thing is made a mystery to friends who ought not to be ignorant, the enemies do positively take it for granted, and intend as maliciously to him as is possible. It is fit the person should be informed of this matter of fact, which may be depended upon to be certainly true. This being the case, if another parliament come to be resolved upon, why should not that person come to town as others do, since the same construction will certainly be made in the one case as in the other? This matter is entirely submitted to the person's own judgment; but he asks leave to say that, without this, in the present juncture, *nothing can be brought to pass effectually for the good of England.*"

the trade of England,* and that of the death of King James and the acknowledging the Prince of Wales. He thinks these things cannot but have considerable effect both with the king and others here. The association is in a manner at an end (meaning the association entered into by parliament and the nation on the discovery of Barclay's murderous plot); the renewing that, or the carrying it yet further, may perhaps be practicable." In his reply, dated the 1st of October, Sunderland pledges himself to quit his retirement and come up to town, if there should be a new parliament. "The king," he says, "was certainly engaged thoroughly in the true interests of England. . . . The great care ought to be, not to insist on things that are not absolutely necessary, but to make him find as much ease as may be." He very ardently embraces Somers's project about the association, and suggests that "perhaps it might best be begun in the House of Lords." On the 3rd of October Somers writes to the fox at Althorp:—"The great point is, a new parliament or not. One sort of men say that it is determined in the negative. If so, there is little room for deliberation." Sunderland had hinted that he knew the king would talk freely with his Whig ex-chancellor. To this Somers replied, "Upon supposition that the king will talk freely with a certain person, he very earnestly renews his request that he may be instructed what arguments will be most proper, and likely to be most effectual, and what is to be offered as a practical foundation." (Such was the deference, at this crisis, paid by this great Whig to that great nondescript.) On the 10th of October William sent a note from Loo to tell Lord Somers that he had charged Lord Galway (the Huguenot Rouvigny) to speak to him on his part "*avec beaucoup de franchise.*" On the 21st Sunderland informed Somers that the king was resolved, "to discourse fully and plainly, with all the good inclinations possible, and knows that the two friends (himself and Somers) are of a mind in every particular." And then the ex-chancellor set down his "heads of arguments to induce the king to call a new parliament." Many of these heads were full of meaning.† For example, the parliament actually sitting was described as unmanageable and unworthy of trust, as appeared from the facts following, and others:—"1. Their inclination against the war has appeared to demonstration; and, though they say now it is unavoidable, their opinion is against it. 2. Great numbers are engaged for the Prince of Wales. 3. They had delayed so long in completing the supplies that it was no less than a miracle that all was not lost. . . . . 6. Their inclination being manifestly against the king, if they comply it is but the effect of fear. . . . . 9. The Whigs would look upon themselves as utterly abandoned, if neither the king's visible interests nor the manifest sense of the nation could induce him to give them quarter by hurrying to a dissolution. 10. Friends abroad would despair. . . . . 12. The Whigs would leave him entirely to his own scheme on the plan of a new parliament, &c. 13. But to set himself and his people at ease, he must trust those whom the body of the people did not distrust." And, after all this, Somers urged that to trust the present Tory cabinet was to put the fate of Europe in their hands; but neither their will nor their power could be depended on—certainly not their will if he considered how their party was composed, for without the professed Jacobites they were nothing. "And will the king," he continued, "trust to a majority made up of Jacobites to make effectual provisions against France and the Prince of Wales?—Will he believe the Tories will quit *them*, and show themselves to be no considerable party; or will he depend upon the affections of the Whigs to assist them (the Tories in power) to establish a ministry which has no mercy or justice?—Will the king go upon an uncertainty when he need not?"

But William had made up his mind to go upon no such uncertainty; and when he landed from Holland on the 4th of November, he was confirmed in his resolution by the state of the public feeling, and by the ferment which he saw men's minds were in at Louis's prohibitory edict, and recognition of the pretender. On the 11th, he dissolved the old parliament, and called a new one to meet on the 31st of December. While the elections for the new parliament were going on, and while the two factions were exerting themselves to the utmost, Sunderland sent another letter of advice to Somers. "The king and the Whigs," says he, "will have the majority, if the king will. It is probable that the elections will be good, and that the Whigs will be considerably the stronger; yet nothing is to be neglected to arrive at it. The king being engaged, it is necessary that he follow the advice of the Whigs, and fortify them with all his power, as far as common justice and the law will allow. There is nothing more dangerous than to let either party think the king is wavering; but it is better the Whigs should fear, than that the Tories should hope; because it makes them bolder and more diligent to hurt. This has been the cause of the greatest part of the difficulties he has found during his reign. The encouragement he gives them, even in his closet, is prejudicial, and becomes presently public. By the same reason the king ought never to endeavour to gain any Tory. *He is a judge, if he has ever succeeded in thirteen years.* He would do well to propose nothing of

* Lord Manchester, in a dispatch from Paris dated the 16th of September, or four days before Somers wrote this letter, says,—"There is now in the press an edict to prohibit all trade with England: but, that this may not look like a declaration of war, they do permit the bringing in of beer, cider, glass bottles, and wool. Notice is already sent to all the sea-ports; and, after the 1st of November next, no person is to wear any of the manufacture of England under severe penalties." And the edict was published on the very next day.

† The first of all the heads are the following:—"The present ferment and disposition of the nation. 1st. *Art of governing in England, in watching and using such opportunities.* 2nd. These opportunities do not last. 3rd. Neglect of making use of them always must turn to disadvantage; 1st, by disobliging the zealous; 2nd, encouraging the ill-meaning; 3rd, creating jealousies of the king and his measures. 4th. The like opportunities not to be had again, there being no like occasion in view."

this to my Lord Ranelagh, Coningby, or Godolphin; at the same time he ought not to shut the door against the Tories, but to recommend those he will serve well, after the service done.* . . . . . *There is nothing more necessary than to observe a good method during the holding of a parliament, and to foresee events, so as not to be surprised,* and to be in a condition to remedy them. The king and Lord Somers know the order which was observed in 1696, which had good success; the same method is to be pursued, and will succeed; *many depend immediately* on the king; a hint ought to be given him, that he may *speak to them,* and let them know his intentions, and receive no excuse. *The Tories are better speakers than the Whigs in the House of Commons;* therefore, in the beginning, the Whigs ought to have some remarkable advantage, which may give them that superiority which may help them to conduct the affairs during the rest of the session. The nomination of a speaker, though it be very important, will not be sufficient." He then alludes to the quarrel between the two Houses on the subject of the impeached lords, and he recommends an act of grace which will put an end to this in an instant. He says that, if the quarrel is allowed to go on, although the Whigs may have the majority at starting, the Tories will recover it in a fortnight.† This act of grace being passed, an abjuration ought to be proposed of the Prince of Wales: and this latter motion, he thinks, ought to commence in the House of Commons. One or two of the things he recommends have since passed into unvarying usage. "As soon," he says, "as the speaker is named, endeavours should be made to thank the king for his speech." And he adds, "It would be well for the king to give order to two of the cabinet to prepare the speech, as the Duke of Devonshire and Secretary Vernon, and bid them consult in private Lord Somers, rather than to bring to the cabinet a speech already made."‡ In the end, he points out the persons whom he thinks proper to form a good Whig ministry; and he suggests that none be of the cabinet council except those "who have, in some sort, a right to enter there by their employment"—such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, the lord president, the lord privy seal, the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, the first commissioner of the treasury, the two secretaries of state, and the lord-lieutenant of Ireland when in England. "If the king would have more, it ought to be the first commissioner of the admiralty, and the master of the ordnance. If these two are excluded, no one can take it ill if he be not admitted. They may be summoned, when anything relating to their charge is debated." And at the end of all he adds these significant words, which tend to prove William's frequent neglect and distrust of his cabinet:—"*It would be much for the king's service, if he brought his affairs to be debated at that council.*"

It should appear that Sunderland was still pressed and importuned to take office. In a letter, written in cipher, to Lord Galway, he earnestly desires his lordship, Somers, and all his friends not to think of him, but to act as if he were not in the world. "If he were worth having," says he, speaking of himself as number 33, "I would say there is no way but to forget him, which was desired so often, as you know, at the beginning. After all the clatter that has been made, if he should just now engage in business, it would be pretending to miracles, which he is very unfit for. . . . . Every letter that 33 receives, to persuade him that he is necessary, contributes to the fixing him here; for he is no way capable of answering those expectations of furthering what is fit, and hindering what is not. If there had been less bustle made about him, as was earnestly desired, he would have been ready to have complied by this time, but while he is to be stared upon, he cannot engage."* And in another letter, which is dated the 27th of December, only three days before the meeting of parliament, and addressed to Somers, he continues in the same coy humour, and says, with his usual point—"*Your friend* is convinced that what was designed cannot be done in the House of Lords, and therefore it may be no more thought of. He is very sorry to be pressed to what he cannot do; for he is very incapable of answering people's expectations, and does earnestly desire, that you and your friends may not think of him. For nothing, but being let alone for some time, can make it possible for him to be persuaded to stir."

* Here Sunderland adds—"The king will also do well to make use of those who are very capable of employment, *provided they be not those who have distinguished themselves in parliament against him.* He would also do well *to tell the Tories openly,* that he has called a new parliament, *by reason of the ill-treatment he had from them during the last session.* He may mention particulars which are too long to be inserted here."

† "There being an appearance of such a division between the two Houses in such a juncture, it not only becomes the king, but it is in some measure his duty to stop the consequences; nothing being more indecent than to let his subjects come to extremities, when he can hinder it. It is certain he ought to prevent these divisions and animosities. If another way be found more sure, more ready, and more expedient than an act of grace, it ought to be followed. If this be thought proper, this act ought to be sent to the House of Lords, after the speaker is chosen in the House of Commons. It ought to be full, and extended as far as possible, *excepting those who have misemployed the king's money, and those who have served, and been with king James since the abjuration;* taking care, if they who may be accused to serve king James in England be not excluded, that it ought to be understood that the act of grace is not to shelter them, but to put an end to the differences between the two Houses.

‡ "This speech," he says, "ought to give an account of the reasons of dissolving the last parliament, which are two: the addresses, as they are mentioned in the proclamation; but, above all, on account of the division of the two Houses at the end of the last session, and to exhort them not to continue in such divisions; and the king will consider of ways to stop them. It would also be proper to speak, in passing, of the dangerous consequences to have a parliament meet last year, four months after the death of the King of Spain, which, added to the inevitable delays occasioned by the differences between the two Houses, rendered the last session useless to the public good: therefore the king recommends to this parliament to dispatch the public affairs, and to think of nothing else till they have entirely concluded. He ought also to recommend the payment of the debts, to the end to ascertain and re-establish credit. To consider also what is proper to be said for maintaining the Protestant religion, as well at home as abroad."

* He adds, "12 (that is, the king) has a plain way to follow, and cannot fail if he pleases; and yet he will not do those things which his own judgment leads him to. . . . When 12 has put his affairs into some order, 33 may be perhaps of some use, and as soon as that is he will desire to be sent for as much as he now desires to be forgot." —*Hardwicke State Papers.*

On the very day on which this letter was written, Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, was substituted for Lord Godolphin, as first lord of the treasury. A few days after (on the 4th of January), Charles Montague, Earl of Manchester, late ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges; and on the 18th of the same month, the Earl of Pembroke, "long Tom," having been transferred from the presidency of the council, and made lord-high-admiral, Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was appointed to succeed him in the presidency. Some time before these important changes, the honourable Henry Boyle, afterwards Earl of Carleton, had been made chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Smith; and the privy seal, on the death of the Earl of Tankerville, had been put in commission. These members of the new cabinet, were all or principally the personal friends of the king.* The new parliament assembled, as appointed, on the 30th day of December. The returns proved that, if Sunderland and Somers were not quite borne out in their anticipations of a Whig majority, yet a great change in public feeling had taken place. Although many Tories were sent up from the smaller boroughs, the Whigs had carried most of the counties and great towns. Yet the Tories were strong enough to re-elect Harley to the speakership, by a majority of fourteen over Littleton. Henry St. John, better known as Lord Bolingbroke, who had recently begun his political career as member for Wootton Basset, seconded the nomination of Harley. The speaker having been presented to the throne, his majesty opened the session with a speech unusually long, and unusually eloquent, which was drawn up by Lord Somers. "I promise myself," said William "that you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceeding of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people. The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for king of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the whole nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the Protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open or secret abettors. By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken: under this pretence, he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconveniences of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe." He then told them that, to obviate this general calamity, he had concluded several alliances according to the encouragement given him by both Houses of parliament; and that there were some other treaties still depending. And he then put the importance of their assembly in the strongest light. "It is fit I should tell you," said he, "the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known: therefore, no time ought to be lost; you have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another. . . . . Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires. At the same time, I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim *that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security*. It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expense of mine: I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given, shall be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended.* . . . . My Lords and Gentlemen, I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session. I should think it as great a blessing as could befal England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal

* These appointments were not entirely those which had been recommended by Sunderland; but it is to be observed, that in his original letter the names he proposes are marked in initials, and that Lord Hardwicke filled them up according to his best conjectures. According to his lordship's editorial filling up, Sunderland proposed that the king should make the Duke of Somerset chamberlain; Lord Carlisle first commissioner of the Treasury; Lord Wharton secretary, in lieu of Hedges, who, at all events, was to be removed; Lord Jersey first commissioner of the Admiralty; and Mr. Smith commissioner of the Treasury, in the place of Mr. Hill, "*who might have a prebend or a deanery.*

* And here he added—"And, since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind that, during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the parliament, and also gave my assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have satisfaction how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matters may be put in any farther way of examination; that it may appear, whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements; or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds."

animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any even the highest offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies, by your unanimity: I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people; do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions; let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a Popish prince and a French government. I will only add this; if you do, in good earnest, desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

A.D. 1702. The effect produced by this speech, which was soon translated and spread through every country in Europe, was prodigious; the voice of dissent was silenced, every Tory apprehending that he might be made to pass for a thorough non-compounding Jacobite, a Papist, and a partisan of France. The Lords, with unusual haste, waited upon his majesty the very next day, the first of January, with a most loyal and earnest address, in which they echoed his just resentment, as to the late proceedings of the French king in owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for king of England; "and," said their Lordships, "that no enemies to our religion and country may ever hope to prosper in their attempts against us, when, to our great unhappiness, it shall please God to deprive us of your majesty's protection, we do further declare our resolution, to assist and defend to the utmost of our power, against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who have a right to succeed to the crown of these realms, by virtue of the acts of Parliament settling the succession." The Commons did not present their address till the 5th, but on that day it was presented by the whole House, and was as earnest as that of the Lords, and still more explicit; for they assured his majesty that they would, to the utmost of their power, enable him to make good all such alliances as he had made, or might hereafter make, pursuant to the addresses and advice of the Commons of the last parliament, &c. But, reminded by the court party, and by the king himself, of their omissions, the Lords carried up a second address, wherein, adopting the great sentiment of the new confederacy against Louis, they declared that England and her allies could never be safe and secure, till the House of Austria should be restored to its rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason. And in conclusion, referring also to their addresses in the last session, they approved of all the alliances which had been contracted, and pledged themselves that no time should be lost, nor anything wanting on their parts, to give weight and effect to the said treaties, "not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged, under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe."

On the 6th of January Secretary Vernon laid before both Houses copies of—1. The treaty with the King of Denmark and the States-General. 2. The secret articles of that new treaty. 3. The treaty with the emperor and the States-General. 4. The convention between his majesty King William, the King of Sweden, and the States-General. 5. The last treaty of all between his majesty and the States-General, signed in the preceding month of November. These documents contained all the diplomacy of the grand alliance, with a pretty clear intimation of the probable cost to England, and of the mercenary motives of some of the contracting powers. But the Commons raised not a single objection to any of the treaties; and on the 10th they resolved unanimously, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to take care that it be an article in the several treaties of alliance, that no peace should be made with France until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales king of England." The vote of supply was also unanimous; and the first step taken upon it was, to authorise the exchequer to borrow 600,000*l.*, at six per cent., for the services of the navy; and 50,000*l.* for guards and garrisons. They readily agreed to the quota or contingent which the king was bound to furnish for the war, and which had been fixed at 33,000 foot and 7000 horse; they recognised the contracts made with the foreign mercenaries, subsidised troops, allowed that 10,000 more should be added to the 11,600 already engaged, and that 8300 of his majesty's natural-born subjects should be sent to join the 10,000 already gathered or gathering in Holland. They also granted 350,000*l.* for the maintenance of guards and garrisons, including 5000 men to serve on board the fleet. And they voted that the navy should be raised to 40,000 seamen, and that his majesty's allies should be invited to embark a certain proportion of troops in the English ships of war. As ways and means for the heavy outlays to be hereby incurred, they passed a land and *income* tax of 4*s.* in the pound, to be levied upon all lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends; as also on the profits arising professionally to lawyers, doctors, surgeons, teachers of separate congregations, brokers, factors, &c.; then a tax of 2½ per cent. on all stock in trade and money out at interest; and 5*s.* in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; next a capitation tax of 4*s.* in the year to be paid by all persons not receiving alms, or exempted because of their poverty from parish dues, or being under age, or menial servants, or day-labourers; next one per cent. upon all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company, which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; and, lastly, a malt-tax of

6*d.* the bushel. On the 2nd of January that bill of attainder against the Prince of Wales which had been recommended by Sunderland was brought in; and on the 15th it was passed, *nemine contradicente*, and sent up to the Lords. On the 23rd their Lordships returned the said bill "with a draft of their own amendment upon it." This amendment was, that Mary of Este, whom James had named regent, should be attainted as well as her son. The Commons demurred, and asked time to search for precedents concerning bills of attainder. On the 29th the committee to whom this search was referred made their report; and on the 2nd of February, when this report was taken into consideration, the additional clause inserted by the Lords was rejected without a division; the Commons believing it might be of dangerous consequence to attaint persons by an amendment only, in which case such due consideration could not be had as the nature of an attainder requires. But the Lords seemed anxious for the attainder of Maria d'Este. On the 10th they demanded a conference, in which they insisted on their amendment; urging that the method was fit and proper, citing a precedent from the reign of the most brutal of all our kings,* whereby it appeared the Commons themselves had attainted several persons in simple amendments to bills. The Commons, however, adhered to their point, and left the bill unaltered with their Lordships; who at length retracted, and agreed to the bill without the amendment. But still there was a party in the Upper House that drove hard at the nominal queen-regent, against whom they brought in a separate bill of attainder. The fate of the bill was decided by a thin House—only twenty-eight voting for it, and no more than eighteen against it. Fifteen of the minority protested, "because there was no proof of the allegations in the bill so much as offered;" and, after all, the bill was dropped by the Commons. And, still in conformity with the advice offered by Sunderland, another bill for abjuring the *pretended* Prince of Wales, which had been strongly recommended in the address of the Commons, was introduced and carried, being coupled with a new acknowledgment of William as *rightful and lawful* king. There was a dispute in the Commons whether the oath should be voluntary or compulsory, but it was carried, by a majority of only one, that it should be compulsory, the numbers being 187 to 186. The bill was also passed by the Upper House, where, however, Lord Nottingham and nineteen other peers protested against this forced oath, as being no bond of union among those who took it, nor any true mark of distinction between the friends and enemies of government, and therefore repugnant to the very nature of a test.† It should be remembered hereafter, when we treat of the political delinquencies of that eccentric and dangerous man, that St. John (Bolingbroke) seconded this bill for abjuring the Pretender. The forced oaths, of course, did more harm than good to the cause of the Revolution: they were imposed upon all ecclesiastical persons, all members of the universities being of the foundation, all schoolmasters, all teachers of separate congregations, &c. It had been proposed to exempt the Quakers, but this was rejected without a division. One party had tried hard to attach a rider to the bill, to the effect, "that persons who took upon them offices should not depart from the communion of the church of England;" but this also was lost.

But while men were devising or taking oaths of fidelity and devotion to William, that prince was drawing near his end. He had suffered much during the winter, and in his more familiar conversations with Lord Albemarle he had intimated his apprehensions; but his unshaken mind maintained a most manly struggle with the weakness of his body; he continued to toil in his cabinet, and at his moments of relaxation to take that hard exercise to which he had accustomed himself. As spring approached hopes were entertained of his recovery. On Saturday, the 21st of February, though his legs were swollen, he set out from Kensington on horseback, as he was accustomed to do every week, to hunt at Hampton Court. As he was galloping along the road the horse stumbled and fell violently, and the king fractured his right collar-bone. His majesty was carried to Hampton Court, where the bone was set, and where the surgeon, finding his pulse feverish, hinted the expediency of bleeding. William said his pulse had been feverish at intervals for a fortnight past, declined the blood-letting,* and, contrary to advice, returned that evening to Kensington. An altercation arose in his presence between his surgeon, Ronjat, a Frenchman, and his physician, Bidloo, a Dutchman; the latter insisting that there was no necessity for bleeding, and that the bone had been ill set. On examination, it appeared that the setting had been deranged by the motion of the carriage; but the fracture was soon reduced again, and the king slept well the whole night. For several days no bad symptoms appeared, or, if they appeared, they were kept secret. On the 28th of February, a week after the accident, he sent the following message to the House of Commons:—"His majesty, being at present hindered, by an unhappy accident, from coming in person to his parliament, is pleased to signify to the House of Commons by message what he designed to have

* The precedent quoted was from the 3rd year of Henry VIII.

† Other reasons were alleged by the twenty protesting peers. The following, we think, is unanswerable:—"If any such farther evidence of the subjects' fidelity were, at this time, necessary to be required, we conceive a new oath is no such evidence, nor any additional security to the government; because those who have kept the oaths which they have already taken ought, in justice, to be esteemed good subjects; and those who have broken them will make no scruple of taking or breaking any others that shall be required of them: and consequently this new oath may be of dangerous and pernicious consequence to the government, by admitting such ill men as do not fear an oath into the greatest trusts, and who, under the specious pretence and protection of this new oath, which is to free them from suspicion, will have greater opportunities of betraying their king and their country."

* Burnet, however, says that the king's strength was then so much impaired, that it was not thought advisable to let him blood, no symptom appearing that required it.

Hampton Court Palace.' From a Print of the time.

spoken to both Houses from the throne. His majesty, in the first year of his reign, did acquaint the parliament that commissioners were authorised in Scotland to treat with such commissioners as should be appointed in England of proper terms for uniting the two kingdoms, and at the same time expressed his great desire of such an union: his majesty is fully satisfied that nothing can more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland, than a firm and entire union between them; and he cannot but hope, that, upon a due consideration of our present circumstances, there will be found a general disposition to this union. His majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is, therefore, extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot; and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House." A similar message was at the same time sent to the Upper House. This was William's last public act, and no scheme or intention could well be wiser or greater; though even here a certain class of writers, who pursue the greatest man of his age to the very grave with animosity and rancour, can find something to cavil at. On the next day his majesty was visited with some alarming symptoms, and a commission was issued to certain peers to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready; among which was the bill of attainder against the Prince of Wales. On the 3rd of March he was seized with fever and ague; and on the 7th, as if a demise of the crown would endanger every measure depending in parliament, the Lords were pressed to dispatch the Abjuration Bill and the Malt-tax Bill, which were still before them. Another commission was issued to give the royal assent to these bills; and William being no longer able to use his hand, the sign manual was affixed to the commission by means of a stamp. On the same day his favourite Keppel, Lord Albemarle, arrived from Holland with very good news; but the king said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.*"* "By this time," says Ralph, "the court was become such a scene, as in the most lively manner showed the vanity of those possessions which men with the utmost anxiety aspire to: the anti-chamber swarmed with physicians, courtiers, and statesmen, all in such masks as suited best with the several parts they were to act: the council was also extraordinarily assembled, to receive the reports of the king's physicians from time to time, and to back their opinions, as necessity seemed to require. The king was apparently at extremity: Archbishop Tennison and Bishop Burnet continued in their duty about him from Saturday morning to his last gasp." None hoped to gain more from the king's death than the Marlboroughs, who had, no doubt, intelligencers of their own in the anti-chamber;

* "The Earl of Portland told me, that, when he was once encouraging him, from the good state his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart, the king answered him, that he knew death was that which he had looked at on all occasions without any terror: sometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confessed now he saw another scene, and could wish to live a little longer."—*Burnet.*

yet the duchess afterwards said—"When the king came to die, I felt nothing of that satisfaction which I once thought I should have had upon this occasion: and my Lord and Lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give an account (to the Princess Anne) as his breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with horror." And if the Jerseys, who had partaken so largely in the king's bounty and friendship,—who owed all they possessed to the dying monarch, really acted in the manner described, their conduct, though far from being unprecedented, is proper to excite both horror and disgust; but it should be remembered that the wife of Marlborough, who says that she would lose the best employment in any court sooner than act so odious a part, was the inveterate enemy of the Jersey family, and was never very scrupulous in her observance of the homilies about lying and slandering. Burnet, one of the two prelates present, has left his own account of "the last scene of all." The bishop says—"The king's strength and pulse was still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope was left. The Archbishop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not stir from him till he died. The archbishop prayed on Saturday some time with him, but he was then so weak, that he could scarce speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion, and said he intended to receive the sacrament. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. About five in the morning he desired the sacrament, and went through the office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself: when this was done, he called for the Earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his papers. He thanked M. Auverquerque (or Overkirk) for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the Duke of Ormond, and called for the Earl of Portland; but before he came his voice quite failed; so, he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to heaven, in many short ejaculations. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began; the commendatory prayer was said for him, and, as it ended, he died, (on Sunday, the 8th of March)* in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days. . . . . He died with a clear and full presence of mind, and in a wonderful tranquillity: those who knew it was his rule all his life long to hide the impressions that religion made on him as much as possible, did not wonder at his silence in his last minutes; but they lamented it much: they knew what a handle it would give to censure and obloquy."†

Perfection is not to be expected in a sovereign until the realization of the dreams of the Fifth-monarchy men: both as a sovereign and as a man William had faults and weaknesses and unamiable qualities; although these have all been grossly exaggerated by zealots of various and most opposite parties, the high churchmen detesting him on account of his indifference to the forms of church government, and both high and low on account of his toleration; the Jacobites heaping obloquy upon his name, because he practically upset the theory of the divine right of kings; the Tories because he naturally preferred the Whigs, who had most contributed to his promotion; and the republicans, then and in all subsequent times, because he did not try again the experiment which had been tried, and which had signally failed—because he was not his own opposite, a De Witt, and a republican,—a sort of character which, rightly or wrongly, was then reprobated by the vast mass of the nation, and which could no more have achieved the Revolution of 1688, than it could have changed and reformed the dynasty of the Celestial Empire. But William III. was the first of our rulers that really solved the problem of constitutional monarchy; and since his solution of that problem the duties of our princes have been easy and natural. Before his time all was riddle and uncertainty, and the constitution not understood, because it had never properly been put into practice. If now and then he stumbled, it should be remembered that what to after sovereigns has been a plain, broad, and beaten path was then an unexplored and dark passage, where nearly every step was an experiment. Our admiration for the ability, and the real genius in state affairs, of this illustrious prince must rise to the highest pitch if we look closely into the complicated nature and surpassing difficulties of his situation. A stadtholder in Holland with republican forms,—a king in England and Scotland, with constitutions which had never properly been defined—the ruler, in fact, of the Dutch, the English, the Scotch, and the Irish, who had all separate interests, jealousies, and animosities;—compelled by the very constitution which he called into life or efficacy, to trust ministers whom there was no trusting with safety,—engaged at the same time in an almost uninterrupted war with the greatest power in Europe, or undermined by the intrigues of that power, which was even more formidable in diplomacy than in arms,—and all this with a frail state of body; we confess, all these circumstances considered, we are lost in wonder as to the result, and disposed to give William III. by far the foremost place of all the sovereigns that have ever worn the English crown.

* Evelyn says briefly—"8 March. The king had a fall from his horse and broke his collar-bone, and, having been much indisposed before, and aguish, with a long cough and other weakness, died this Sunday morning about four o'clock."—*Diary*.

† The real cause of his death appears to have been disease in the lungs. "When his body was opened it appeared that, notwithstanding the swelling of his legs, he had no dropsy: his head and heart were sound: there was scarce any blood in his body: his lungs stuck to his side, and, by the fall from his horse, a part of them was torn from it, which occasioned an inflammation, that was believed to be the immediate cause of his death, which probably might have been prevented for some time if he had been then let blood. . . . . He was always asthmatical, and, the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough."—*Burnet*.

Great Seal of Anne (before the Union with Scotland).

ANNE.—A. D. 1702.

The king died, and the Princess of Denmark took his place. Anne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age, but as much under the tutelage of Lord and Lady Marlborough, as if she had been a girl of fifteen, or of still tenderer years. Her proclamation took place amidst acclamations, though some credulous people grieved to see her step into a revolutionary and usurped throne; having fondly expected, against all reason, or knowledge of the hearts of princes, that she would demur, and resign her seat to her half brother, the helpless pensioner of France. As the parliament continued sitting, notwithstanding the demise, and by virtue of an act properly passed in William's reign, Anne, three days after her accession, went down to the House of Lords, and there declared her resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late king, "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." Even so much might have been expected from the Marlborough ascendancy. The Tories, together with what was called the landed interest, had agreed to leave the conduct of the war to the Earl of Marlborough, who, by means of his lady, was like to have the supreme direction of all things, and who as captain-general, would be almost as much interested in the continuance of the war, as if he had also been stadtholder of the United Provinces.* Anne further declared in her first speech that too much could not be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France; that her heart was entirely English, and that her word was to be depended upon. Both these last expressions, about the English heart and the honourable observance of promises, had been in her unhappy father James's first speech. The city of London, and all the counties, cities, and second-rate towns, sent up addresses. "In these," says Burnet, "a very great diversity of style was observed: some mentioned the late king in terms full of respect and gratitude; others named him very coldly: some took no notice of him, nor of his death, and simply congratulated her coming to the crown; and some insinuated reflections on his memory, as it the queen had been ill used by him. The queen received all civilly—*to most she said nothing*, to others she expressed herself in general words, and some things were given out in her name which she disowned. When the Commons presented their address, she assured them that they could not more agreeably confirm it to her, than by giving dispatch to all preparations for the public service and for the support of her allies.

The two secretaries of state for Scotland, with such of the privy counsellors of that nation as were in London, waited upon her with professions of loyalty and devotion; and, after reading to her the "claim of rights" agreed upon by the Convention of the Estates at the accession of King William and Queen Mary, they tendered to her majesty the coronation oath. Commotions had been expected north of the Tweed, but the Jacobites did nothing beyond talking; and the country continued to obey the privy council, and the authorities established by William, who were all, for the present, left in their places. A commission was sent to the Earl of Marchmont, then chancellor of Scotland, to represent the queen in the General Assembly of the kirk, which was then about to meet. In Ireland the papists were too much impoverished and reduced to excite any apprehen

* Ralph.

QUEEN ANNE. From a Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

sions. The eyes of the government and of all England were directed to the continent, where, as it was still thought, the fate of the national liberties and of the Protestant religion was to be decided. The Earl of Marlborough had now attained the great object of his ambition. Three days after Anne's accession he was decorated with the Order of the Garter; on the morrow he was named captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad; and soon afterwards he was appointed master of the ordnance. The queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, who was still considered as a subject, and who continued to occupy his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cumberland, was named generalissimo and lord-high admiral; but, as he had neither the ability nor the wish to take a very active part in affairs, and as he had always been as absolutely under the control of the favourites as his wife, Marlborough had, in effect, the entire command of the army. His countess, to whom his own elevation was owing, was made groom of the stole and mistress of the robes, and entrusted with the management of the privy purse: his two daughters, Lady Harriett Godolphin and Lady Spencer, were nominated ladies of the bed-chamber; and the Earl of Sunderland, at the particular intercession of Lady Marlborough, obtained the renewal of a pension of two thousand pounds, which had been granted him by the late king.*

Marlborough was ready to be either Whig or Tory. Anne had a great aversion to the Whigs and a proportionate love of the Tories: or, in the words of Lady Marlborough,—"The queen had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the Whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the Church of England. This aversion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill usage she had met with from her sister and King William, which, though perhaps more owing to Lord Rochester than to any man then living, was now to be all charged to the account of the Whigs. And Prince George, her husband, who had also been ill treated in that reign threw into the scale his resentment. On the other hand, the Tories had the advantage, not only of the queen's early prepossessions in their

* Lord Spencer, the husband of Marlborough's second daughter, was, as the reader will remember, the son and heir of Sunderland. On the 11th of March the old politician wrote from Althorp to the Marlboroughs, expressing his confidence in Anne's government. "I have," says he, "no more ambition than a stock or a stone. I never was very covetous, and I have no spleen against any creature living, but those that I think would hurt the government; and I have now the same zealous and warm concern for the queen, that you have seen in me for the poor king that is gone."—*Coxe.*

favour, but of their having assisted her in the late reign in the affair of her settlement. It was, indeed, evident that they had done this more in opposition to King William than from any real respect for the Princess of Denmark. But still they had served her. And, the winter before she came to the crown, they had, in the same spirit of opposition to the king, and in prospect of his death, paid her more than usual civilities and attendance. It is no great wonder, therefore, all these things considered, that, as soon as she was seated on the throne, the Tories (whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the church party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favour." Godolphin, who was the same sort of Tory as his friend and family ally, Marlborough, was intrusted with the sole management of the finances, with the title of lord-high treasurer, and he became in reality prime minister and arbiter of all things in the council, as Marlborough was of those in the field. "And I am firmly persuaded," continues the duchess, "that, notwithstanding her majesty's extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years showed to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories."* Lord Nottingham, one of the Tory chiefs, was appointed secretary of state, and he was allowed to restore his dependent, Sir Charles Hedges, to office, in the place of Secretary Vernon; Lord Rochester, the queen's hot-headed uncle, was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with express permission to be absent as often as might be thought fit for attending in the English council, where, with his old temper unimproved, he aimed at absolute authority, and brow-beat all opposition from his brother counsellors and ministers. The Duke of Somerset was dismissed from the office of lord president, to make room for the Earl of Pembroke, who had the merit of not being a Whig, though he had no pretension to that of being a Tory. The Earl of Bradford, a friend or dependent of Rochester, was made treasurer of the household; the comptroller's staff was transferred from Lord Wharton, a zealous Whig, to Sir Edward Seymour; the Marquess of Normanby got the privy seal; but the Earl of Jersey retained his post as chamberlain. Mr. Howe, who had personally and grossly insulted the deceased king, both in the House of Commons and out of doors, was named one of the joint paymasters of guards and garrisons; Sir John Leveson Gower was made chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir Nathan Wright remained in the situation of lord-keeper; Mr. Harcourt was made solicitor, and Mr. Northey, another Tory, attorney-general. Most of the subordinate posts were also filled up by Tories. The only Whigs left in the occupation of commanding posts were, the Duke of Devonshire, lord-high steward, and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. The names of the great Whig leaders, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, were erased from the list of the persons directed to be summoned to attend the meetings of the privy council. The Earl of Marlborough, mindful of his former obligations to the Whig Shrewsbury, prevailed upon the queen to offer him the post of master of the horse; but the duke, who was absent in Italy, declined the appointment, which was conferred upon the Duke of Somerset, who was nominally a Whig, but in reality an insignificant nonentity. The queen's husband, Prince George, appointed a council to act with him, or for him, into which he admitted none but Tories;* Sir George Rooke, distinguished by his aversion to every thing that bore the name of Whig, became vice-admiral of England, and president of the commission for managing the fleet, &c.; and another member of the lord-high admiral's council was Marlborough's brother, George Churchill, who was not merely a Tory, but a downright Jacobite. Rochester, who was disappointed at not being placed at the head of the Treasury, and who could tolerate no difference of opinion, soon began to quarrel with Godolphin; and numerous materials contributed to envenom the dispute. The head of the high church party would have got up a new persecution of dissenters, and would have driven every man that was not a declared Tory out of the commission of the peace: Godolphin, on the other hand, was bent upon pursuing a mild and conciliatory course, and he, or his friends, represented Rochester as a firebrand. Rochester, moreover, was against the war, or at the most would have embarked England in it as an auxiliary; while the views of Godolphin were identical with those of Marlborough, who confidently promised himself wealth and renown from the contest. The two Whig dukes of Devonshire and Somerset voted with Godolphin, and the majority of the council decided upon a declaration of war against France.

Anne had dispatched a latter to the States-General, announcing her intention to maintain the

* An Account of the Conduct, &c.—Her grace adds: "The truth is, though both these lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proofs of this by their conduct in their several employments in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion that the high-church party were the best friends to the constitution, both of church and state; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by experience. For my own part, I had not the same prepossessions. The word church had never a charm for me, in the mouths of those who made the most noise with it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing proof of their regard for the thing, than a frequent use of the word, like a spell to enchant weak minds; and a persecuting zeal against dissenters, and against those real friends of the church who would not admit that persecution was agreeable to its doctrine. And, as to state affairs, many of these churchmen seemed to me to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last reign, to undermine that very government which they had contributed to establish. I was heartily sorry, therefore, that, for the sake of such churchmen, others should be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the queen, and promote the welfare of our country, than the wrong-headed politicians that succeeded them."

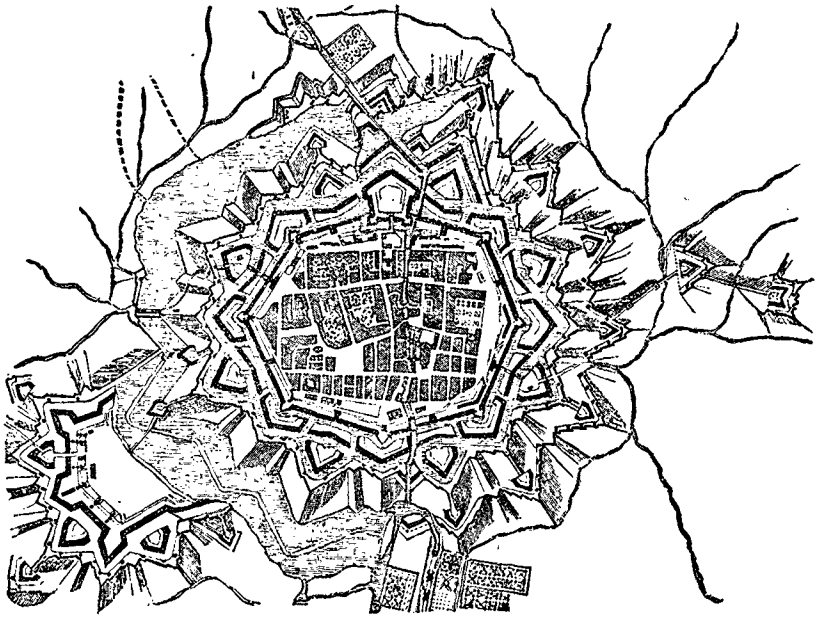
* Tindal remarks, that "the legality of such a council was much questioned, as it was a new court, which could not be authorised to act but by an act of parliament; yet, out of respect to the queen, no public question was made of it, and the objection to it never went beyond a secret murmur."

PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK. From a Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

alliances concluded by the late king William; and now she deputed Marlborough to Holland, as ambassador extraordinary. The lord-general reached the Hague on the 28th of March, and was received with transports of joy. His reputation stood high, though he had scarcely been tried as a general; his favour with, and absolute control over her Britannic majesty by means of his wife, were generally known; and he had the happiness and head to persuade the Dutch and their allies that he could well supply in the field the place of the deceased William. It was presently arranged with the heads of the republic, and the envoy of the emperor, that war should be declared on the same day at London, the Hague, and Vienna, and that Marlborough should have the chief command of the allied armies—a post coveted by the new King of Prussia, by the Elector of Hanover, by the Duke of Zell, and by the Archduke Charles of Austria. On his speedy return to London, it was made apparent that either Rochester must withdraw, or the cabinet be distracted by incessant jars. "The gibberish of that party," says her grace of Marlborough, "about non-resistance, and passive obedience, and hereditary right, I could not think to forbode any good to my mistress, whose title rested upon a different foundation." The head of the high church party retired to the country in disgust, being the first of the Tory leaders "that discovered a deep discontent with the queen and her administration." Towards the end of the year, her majesty was "so unreasonable as to press him to go" to Ireland, "to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his presence." Rochester told her with great insolence, that he would not go into Ireland, though she should give the country to him and his son. His resignation of the lord lieutenancy followed, and he was so angry, that he would neither go to court nor to council; the queen, after some time, ordered that he should no more be summoned. "Perhaps," adds the caustic narrator of these events, "his lordship's unwillingness to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the church, and from his fears lest it should be betrayed in his absence; but it was generally thought, and I believe with good reason, that the true source of his dissatisfaction was the queen's not making him her sole governor and director." As soon, however, as Rochester was excluded from the government, all the high church party took up the cry that he was a martyr to their cause, and that the church was in danger. This party was so strong in parliament, that the Commons in their first address, inserted the following clause—"Your majesty has been always a most illustrious ornament to this church, and has been exposed to great hazards for it, and therefore we promise ourselves, that, in your majesty's reign, we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and pri-

vileges, and secured in the same to posterity, which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power, who have shown they want not the will, to destroy it. "The queen had declared her resolution to defend and maintain the church as by law established; but this was not enough for the zealots, who wanted the power of persecuting and the exclusive occupancy of all places, civil and military, as well as ecclesiastic.* All this brewed a storm, which soon afterwards burst forth. In the mean time, however, the Commons voted her majesty for life 700,000*l.* a year, of which she chose to assign 100,000*l.* to the public service; the war had been proclaimed on the 4th of May, and the requisite measures adopted for prosecuting it with vigour; the oath of abjuring the Prince of Wales had been taken by the members of both Houses, and the name of the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, introduced in the public prayers, as next in succession to the throne; and Marlborough, on the 12th of May, had departed for Holland, on the frontiers of which country military operations had already commenced. After a short stay at the Hague, the rising general repaired to Nimeguen to assume the command, to which was attached the enticing salary of 10,000*l.* a year. The negotiations, which had been going on in Germany among the minor states, had induced the House of Brunswick to send 10,000 men to join Marlborough, had won over the Elector of Brandenburg, now King of Prussia, had compelled the Princes of Saxe Gotha and Wolfenbuttell to renounce their connexion with the King of France, had engaged the Elector Palatine in the grand alliance, and had compelled the Duke of Bavaria, the Elector of Cologne, and other little potentates who had been devoted to France, to remain neutral in the great struggle. The principal army of the allies, under the temporary command of the Earl of Athlone (Ginckel), was assembled in the vicinity of Cleves, to cover that part of the frontier which lies between the Rhine and the Meuse; Cohorne, the great engineer, stood with 10,000 men by the mouth of the Scheldt, to secure that quarter; Louis, Margrave of Baden, was on the Upper Rhine, the Prince of Saarbruck with 25,000 men, Prussians, Palatines, and Dutch, was besieging Kayserwerth, a place which the French had taken in the last war; and other forces were moving on different lines to co-operate. On the other hand, the main body of the French army was assembled on the Meuse, and in the strong fortresses existing in the bishopric of Liege, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, and Marshal Boufflers; Marshal Tallard was marching with 13,000 men to the relief of Keyserwerth; and the Count Delamotte and the Spanish Marquess of Bedmar, who commanded in the name of Philip King of Spain, covered the western frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. The first blow was struck, while Marlborough was employed in settling a plan of the campaign with the Dutch, and the ministers of the allies, by his royal highness the Duke of Burgundy, who, being joined by Marshal Tallard, made a sudden move upon Nimeguen, which was without a garrison, and almost without artillery: but the burghers were active and brave, and Athlone, by a brilliant march, got to their assistance, and saved the place. The Dutch, however, were much disconcerted by the narrow risk they had thus run on their own frontiers. Different plans of operation were proposed by the various members of the grand alliance; and Marlborough began to experience the extreme difficulty of giving a unity of plan and purpose to a heterogeneous coalition. And perhaps at that moment, he repented of his old criticisms upon the military performances of the late king, feeling as he did, the same difficulties which had so often impeded the career of William. It was near the end of June before he matured his arrangements, and then he found that the Prince of Saarbruck, Athlone, and the other leading generals were in no disposition to submit to his authority, and act cordially with him. At the same time he found himself checked by the field deputies—obstinate functionaries whom the States-General were accustomed to send out with their armies, and who, on their part, were bound to do nothing, and permit nothing, without advising with their high mightinesses at the Hague. However, Kayserwerth having surrendered, Marlborough collected the forces which had been engaged in that siege, brought up the English from Breda, and, being joined by other bodies of the allies, found himself at the head of 60,000 men. But even then he was distracted and hampered by three or four plans of operations, each of which had its advocates in the allied camp. Moreover, when he had overcome the timidity of the Dutch government, and was about to do something, the general of the Hanoverians announced that his men could not march without the orders of Bothmar the Elector's minister at the Hague. He summoned Bothmar to the camp, and, after losing some valuable time, removed these obstacles. But the Prussians had their scruples and difficulties as well as the Hanoverians, and the removal of these cost more time. At last, on the 7th of July, he crossed the Waal, and established his head-quarters at Duckenbourg, a country seat belonging to the Count Schulenberg, a little to the south-west of Nimeguen. On the 16th his army was posted at Over-hasselt, with the Meuse in the rear, and the French in front, at the distance of two short leagues. On the 20th he writes Godolphin, "I have this night proposed the leaving 20 squadrons of horse, and 18 battalions of foot, to entrench themselves before Nimeguen, and to pass the Meuse with the rest of the army, or to march with the whole towards Cleves, in order to get between Venloo and the French, so as to be able to attack them. The fear the

* According to the Duchess of Marlborough they wanted the queen "to restore Tories and high churchmen to their divine rights and privileges, of possessing all the civil offices in the state, and of being the only men elected to serve in parliament, to the exclusion of all Whigs and low churchmen."



PLAN OF LANDAU WITH ITS FORTIFICATIONS.
From a Print in the King's Library, British Museum.

States have of Nimeguen and the passage of the Rhine hinders the advantage of having the superiority." At length he removed these fears, and obtained from the States-General full powers to execute his own plan, which was offensive. He moved forward *en masse* on the 27th, and by the 30th had his advanced posts near Hamont. The French, meanwhile, had suddenly decamped by night, and were now making forced marches in the direction of Peer and Bray. He expected a battle; but the French would not risk an attack, though one or two small fortresses were assaulted and carried under their eyes. On the 31st, Marlborough was twelve hours on horseback, reconnoitring the ground and ascertaining the French line of march. Although Tallard had come up with fresh forces, the French continued to edge off towards the Demer. Marlborough's object was to throw himself between them and that little river, and to give them battle on some exposed heaths; but, either through the slowness of his troops, or the indecision of the Dutch field-deputies, he failed in this attempt; and, though during two days he was marching on a parallel line with the French, and at times near enough to them to open a cannonade, he could neither intercept their retreat nor do them any considerable mischief. The Duke of Burgundy, however, quitted the army to avoid the dishonour of witnessing the reduction of the fortresses on the Meuse; Venloo was invested on the 5th of September, and was forced to surrender on the 23rd; on the 29th Ruremond and Stevenswaert were invested, and both places were taken by the 7th of October. While these operations were in progress the army of the empire, under the command of Joseph, the young king of the Romans, had reduced Landau, and threatened the whole of Alsace. In consequence of this loss the French were obliged to weaken their main body, and to leave exposed the important city of Liege. Marlborough instantly moved upon that place, opened his batteries on the 20th of October, and compelled the French garrison to surrender on the 29th. By this important capture the Dutch frontier was secured, and the navigation of the Meuse was wholly free.

With these operations the campaign ended: the French retired within their lines, and Marlborough, after distributing his troops in winter-quarters, began his journey homeward. As he was descending the Meuse in a barge with the Dutch deputies, Cohorne being before him in a larger and swifter boat, he was surprised by a French partisan from Guelder, who, with thirty-five men, seized the tow-rope, hauled in the boat, and made all in it prisoners. The object of the party, however, seems to have been mere plunder, for, after pillaging the boat and the passengers, they let them go, on the production of false or forged French passports, which it is not likely that any of the marauders could read or cared for. On reaching the Hague, Marlborough was received with transports of joy, for the news of his capture had preceded his arrival. "Till they saw me," he writes

to his wife, "they thought me a prisoner in France; so that I was not ashore one minute before I had great crowds of the common people, some endeavouring to take me by the hand, and all crying out 'Welcome!'" In London he was received with almost equal applause, notwithstanding some severe criticisms which had been circulated on his campaign. His exploits, however, were set off by the failures of other officers in other quarters. The plan for the reduction of Cadiz had been formed by the late King William, and since promoted by Marlborough and Godolphin. The expedition, after being long delayed, was at last got to sea; and on the 12th of August, Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, with a fleet of 50 sail and a land force of 13,000 men, came to anchor in Cadiz Bay. The Spanish governor was summoned to surrender to the allies of the rightful sovereign of Spain; but he refused, and then Rooke and Ormond, like all sea and land officers in a similar situation, quarrelled as to what was to be done next. The general wanted to make an attack upon the Isla de Leon, but the admiral thought this too dangerous. The usual and mischievous recourse was had to a council of war: the majority sided with Rooke; and while they were debating the Spaniards all along the coast removed their property into the interior, and prepared to defend the landing-places. Ormond threw some troops on shore at Port St. Mary's; but they were too weak to do anything beyond plundering the wine stores; they grew drunk and lost all discipline, and when they were hastily reembarked they were followed by the contempt of the Spanish soldiery and the hatred of the plundered peasantry. After this miserable failure, Rooke and Ormond, still quarrelling with one another, made for Vigo, where a rich convoy of plate ships *from the New World* had sought a refuge. The prize was enticing; and English sailors were always ready to do desperate deeds when Spanish galleons were in sight. But, during the time which had been worse than thrown away in Cadiz Bay, the Spaniards at Vigo had time to fortify that harbour. The Duke of Ormond, however, landed about 2000 men, who carried by assault a tremendous battery which had been erected at the mouth of the harbour; and Admiral Hopson forced a great bomb, and led up the port. Hopson was followed by nearly all the fleet, who had to sustain a terrible fire from the Spanish ships and from other batteries that had not been carried by the land troops. After a stout resistance the Spaniards removed part of the rich cargoes, and then set fire to their ships. It was calculated that eight ships of war and six galleons, and fourteen millions of pieces of eight, or property to that value in merchandise and plate, were burnt or sunk; but the English and Dutch succeeded in bringing off ten men of war, several galleons, and seven millions of pieces of eight. With these prizes Sir George Rooke returned home in a sort of triumph, boasting that Cadiz might have been taken and other incalculable advantages obtained, if Ormond had but done his duty. On the other hand Ormond threw all the blame upon Rook, and seemed inclined to provoke a parliamentary inquiry.*

A new parliament had assembled on the 20th of October, and now the Tories were found to have a majority powerful enough to carry everything before it. Such was the effect of the known Tory predilection of the new sovereign, the discouragement of the Whigs at the death of William, and the exertions of the favoured party throughout the country. "The queen," says Burnet, "did not openly interpose in the elections, but her inclination to the Tories appeared plainly, and all people took it for granted that she wished they might be the majority: this wrought on the inconstancy and servility that is natural to multitudes; and the conceit which had been infused and propagated with much industry, that the Whigs had charged the nation with great taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, had so far turned the tide that the Tories in the House of Commons were at least double the number of the Whigs. They met full of fury against the memory of the late king, and against those who had been employed by him." Harley was again chosen Speaker. Anne, in her opening speech, spoke in the highest high-church and Tory tone. In their address the Commons praised her as the champion of the Church of England, and congratulated her on having, by her majesty's arms and the Duke of Marlborough, "signally *retrieved* the ancient honour and glory of the English nation." "The word *retrieved*," says Burnet, "implying that the honour of the kingdom was formerly lost, all that had a just regard to the king's memory opposed it: *he* had carried the honour of the nation farther than had been done in any reign before his; to him they owed their preservation, their safety, and even the queen's being on the throne; *he* had designed and formed that great confederacy, at the head of which she was now set. [And the bishop might have added, that *he* had trained and formed the troops who are now about to give glory to the reign of the successor, who hated and maligned his memory.]† In opposition to this, it was now said that during his reign things had been conducted by strangers, and trusted to them, and that a vast treasure had been spent in *unprofitable* campaigns in Flanders. The Partition Treaty, and everything else with which the former reign could be loaded, was

* Burnet.—Roger Coke.—Coxe, Life of Marlborough.

† Lord Bolingbroke says, "What I remember to have heard the Duke of Marlborough say, before he went to take on him the command of the army in the Low Countries, in 1702, proved true. The French mis-reckoned very much if they made the same comparison between their troops and those of their enemies as they had made in precedent wars. *Those that had been opposed to them in the last were raw for the most part when it began, the British particularly; but they had been disciplined, if I may say so, by their defeats. They were grown to be veteran at the peace of Ryswic;* and though many had been disbanded, yet they had been disbanded lately; so that even these were easily formed anew, and the spirit that had been raised continued in all."—*Sketch of the State of Europe, in Letters on the Study and Use of History.*

brought into the account." After a debate in which Marlborough was "praised at William's cost," the Whig amendment for substituting the word "maintained" for "retrieved" was rejected by a great majority: all that had favour at court, or that hoped for any, joining in the cry against the deceased king. "Controverted elections," adds the Whig historian, "were all judged in favour of the Tories, with such a barefaced partiality, that it showed the party was resolved on everything that might serve their ends." In all this the Tories were doing little more than had been done by their opponents, when they had the ascendancy; but presently they proceeded to undo the best deed that the Whigs had ever performed for the nation and humanity—to take a long step backwards towards the theory and practice of intolerance and persecution. They brought in the famous "Occasional Conformity Bill," the professed object of which was to prevent hypocrisy in religion and danger to the church; but the real object of which was to destroy the Toleration Act. By this bill, all those who took the sacrament and test as qualifications for office, and did after that go to the meetings of dissenters, or any meeting for religious worship, not according to the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, were to be disabled from holding their employments, punished with heavy and increasing fines, &c.; and, whereas the Test Act only included the magistrates and corporations, this new act was to embrace all the inferior officers or freemen having a right to vote for members of parliament, &c. "The preamble of this bill," says Burnet, "asserted toleration, and condemned all persecution for conscience sake in a high strain. Some thought the bill was of no consequence, and that, if it should pass into a law, it would be of no effect; or that the occasional conformists would become constant ones: others thought that it was such a breaking in upon toleration as would undermine it, and that it would have a great effect on corporations; as, indeed, the intent of it was believed to be the modelling elections, and by consequence the House of Commons. On behalf of the bill, it was said, the design of the Test Act was, that all in office should continue in the communion of the church; that coming only once to the sacrament for an office, and going afterwards to the meetings of dissenters, was both an eluding the intent of the law, and a profanation of the sacrament. . . . . Those who were against the bill said, the nation had been quiet ever since the toleration; the dissenters had lost more ground and strength by it than the church: the nation was now engaged in a great war; it seemed, therefore, unreasonable to raise animosities at home in matters of religion, and to encourage a tribe of informers, who were the worst sort of men: the fines were excessive, higher than any laid on papists by law; and, since no limitation of time nor concurrence of witnesses was provided for in the bill, men would be for ever exposed to the malice of a bold swearer or wicked servant." Neither Burnet nor wiser men than he saw the impropriety of the Test Act itself, and the monstrous mixture of folly and impiety that lay in forcing the great religious mystery upon those who doubted or disbelieved the virtue of the symbol. He continues—"It was moved, that since the greatest danger of all was from Atheists and Papists, that all such as received the sacrament for an office should be obliged to receive it three times a-year, which all were by law required to do; and to keep their parish church at least one Sunday a month; but this was not admitted. All who pleaded for the bill did *in words* declare for the continuance of the toleration, yet the sharpness with which they treated the dissenters in all their speeches showed as if they designed their extirpation." The bill was carried in the Commons by a great majority; but in the Upper House strong objections were taken to the high penalties imposed in it; some of the lords remembered the evil practices of informers in the reign of Charles II., "and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods;" and all of them believed that the chief design of the bill was to throw all the corporations of the kingdom into the hands of the Tory and high-church party. The queen had the matter at heart,—made her husband vote for the bill, although this royal Dane was himself one of the occasional conformists, having received the sacrament of the Anglican church to qualify him for the office of lord high admiral, and yet keeping a Lutheran chapel and Lutheran chaplains. The whole strength of the court was exerted; but still the majority of the Lords remained steady to their purpose of throwing out or greatly modifying the bill. Most of the bishops agreed with the secular peers upon this point, though upon different views. The Upper House, however, was ready to consent, that such persons as went to meetings and conventicles after they had received the sacrament should be disabled from holding any employments, and be fined 20*l*. "Many," says Burnet, "went into this, *though they were against every part of the bill*, because they thought this the most plausible way of losing it; since the House of Commons had of late set it up for a maxim that the Lords could not alter the fines that they should fix in a bill, this being meddling with money, which they thought was so peculiar to them, that they would not let the Lords, on any pretence, break in upon it." When the Lower House started this objection, the Lords made a search into all the rolls of the clerk of the parliament's office from the middle of King Henry VII.'s reign; and they found by numerous precedents, that in some bills the Lords had set the fines, and in other bills had altered them, and changed the uses to which they were applied. The Lords ordered this report to be entered upon their books: the Commons, without entering upon the discussion, resolved to maintain their point—that is, their original bill in all its rigour. The Lords proceeded

to make other alterations, introducing clauses that proof should be made by two witnesses, that the accusation and information about attending conventicles, &c., should be given in within ten days, and that the prosecution should commence within three months after the fact. The Commons, it appears, agreed to these modifications; but still they stuck to their high penalties and their exclusive right of fining the subject. "The thing," says Burnet, "depended long between the two Houses; both sides took pains to bring up the lords that would vote with them; so that there were above a hundred and thirty lords in the House: *the greatest number that had ever been together*. . . . . After some conferences, wherein each House had yielded some smaller differences to the other, it came to a free conference in the Painted Chamber, which was the most crowded upon that occasion that had ever been known, so much weight was laid on this matter on both sides. When the Lords retired, and it came to the final vote *of adhering*, the Lords were so equally divided, that, in three questions put on different heads, the *adhering* was carried but by one voice in every one of them; and it was a different person that gave it in all the three divisions. The Commons likewise *adhered*—so the bill was lost. This bill seemed to favour the interests of the church, so hot men were for it: and the greater number of the bishops being against it, they were censured as cold and slack in the concerns of the church; a reproach that all moderate men must expect, when they oppose violent motions. A great part of this fell on myself; for I bore a large share in the debates, both in the House of Lords, and at the free conference. Angry men took occasion from hence to charge the bishops as enemies to the church, and betrayers of its interests; because we would not run blindfold into the passions and designs of ill-tempered men."

It is important to observe that this bill against dissenters was first introduced to the House of Commons by Bromley and by the famed St. John, who had himself been brought up a dissenter, but who, having no religion at all, was willing to adopt even a scheme of religious intolerance and persecution if it favoured the views of the Tory party with which he had engaged. Marlborough threw all his weight into the scale of intolerance, speaking, and voting, and doing all that in him lay, to revive the severity of the penal statutes against non-conformists.* By pursuing this course he gratified the Tories, who then formed the majority in the Commons, and he pleased the queen, who always entertained the highest of high-church notions. If the case had been reversed,—if her majesty had been the warm friend of toleration, and the majority a consistent Whig one, the rising captain doubtless would have stood forward as the champion of religious liberty. We shall never go far wrong in attributing base and selfish motives to this renowned hero, whose whole life was one continued comment on the text—Help yourself. Upon his return he had received the votes of thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Both Marlborough and his countess affected to raise some delicate scruples touching such an elevation; but the queen insisted upon the lord general's being made a duke, and a duke he was made accordingly on the 14th of December; and as his property was considered insufficient to maintain that dignity, Anne sent a message to the House of Commons, intimating the creation, and stating that, with the title, she had conferred upon Marlborough 5000*l.* per annum for her own life; and, in conclusion, she requested the House to devise a proper mode for settling the said grant on himself and his successors. This seemed paying high for the capture of a few towns, which, with the exception of Liege, were only third or fourth-rate places; and this was all that Marlborough had done as yet. Both the court and the general, however, were apparently surprised as much as they were vexed by an instant appearance of opposition in the House. Insinuations were thrown out there that Marlborough and his wife were making a monopoly of the royal favour and bounty. Sir Christopher Musgrave said he had no wish to detract from the duke's services, but that he must insist they had already been well rewarded with profitable employments conferred on himself and family. The outcry was so loud that Anne, with the advice of Marlborough and his countess, withdrew her application. This, however, did not prevent the Commons from presenting a strong remonstrance, in which, while criticising the proposed grant, they reflected harshly upon the memory of King William, and his profusion to favourites. It was, of course, the Tories that did all this; and by so doing they began to lose Marlborough, whom we shall soon find converted into their bitterest enemy. His proud wife would of course never allow the existence of such base and personal motives; and she takes care to inform us that she had always entertained a strong partiality to the more liberal party, and that she began very early to incline the queen to the Whigs. "Nor," says she, still boasting of her high disinterestedness, "had I any motive of private interest to bias me to the Whigs. Every body must see, that, had I consulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the stream of my mistress's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the surest way to secure my favour with her. Nor had I any particular obligations to the Whigs that should bend me to their side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal enemies, at the same time that I saw the Tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me court. Even the pride of my Lord Rochester condescended to write me a

* The author of a violent pamphlet entitled "The Case of Toleration Recognised," who was one of the hundreds that were feeding the press with maledictions upon all toleration, dedicated his precious production to Marlborough.

very fine piece."* Facts which will be presently produced will better enable the reader to judge of the sincerity and disinterestedness of the Marlborough conversion to Whiggism. The queen styled the conduct of the Commons "*malicious;*" and, on the very day their remonstrance was presented to her, she desired Marlborough to accept of 2000*l.* a-year out of the privy purse. "This," said the queen, "can draw no envy, for nobody need know it." The Marlboroughs, however, with at least as much worldly wisdom as high-mindedness, declined this offer of what inevitably must have made a noise at court.

Anne, it is said, earnestly desired that her husband should be associated with her on the throne, but this being deemed unconstitutional, her next thought was to secure a permanent revenue for him. A royal message intimated this wish for the settlement of a further provision on the Prince of Denmark, in case of his surviving her majesty.† Mr. Howe, the fiery Tory, who had been so vehement against the grants of the late king, moved for an annual allowance of a hundred thousand pounds. "This," says Burnet, "was seconded by those who knew how acceptable the motion would be to the queen; though it was the double of what any Queen in England ever had in jointure." But while the Tories in the House of Commons were carrying through the bill, objections were taken to a clause annexed to it, intended to continue his highness in the offices already conferred on him, by exempting him from the effect of that part of the last Act of Settlement, by which foreigners were prohibited to hold offices of state on the accession of the House of Hanover. The bill, however, with this clause in it, was carried, and sent up to the Lords. But there it encountered a sterner opposition, not arising so much from any considerations about the prince or his places, as from a resolution previously adopted by their lordships never to pass any money bill, to which any clause was tacked that was foreign to the body of the bill. A secondary objection was, however, made to the wording of the clause, which seemed to imply that all other foreigners already naturalised would be incapacitated in the next reign. Marlborough fought hard for the royal Dane, who had in fact been little better than a puppet in his hands; but Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Spencer, recently raised to the House of Peers by the death of his father, the Earl of Sunderland, as strongly opposed the grant, and by so doing drew down upon himself the wrath of his imperious mother-in-law the duchess. "Great opposition," says Burnet, "was made; but the queen pressed it with the greatest earnestness she had yet shown in anything whatsoever; she thought it became her, as a good wife, to have the act passed. . . . The court managed the matter so dexterously that the bill passed, and the queen was highly displeased with those who opposed it; among whom I had my share." The question was decided, however, only by a majority of one; and twenty-eight peers entered a strong protest against the whole bill, while seven others protested against the tacked clause. This opposition, which so irritated the queen, was mainly, if not entirely, the work of the Whigs; and Burnet, who was one of the protesters, affirms that the clause was introduced by some of the Tories in the House of Commons, only because they believed it would be opposed by those against whom they intended to irritate the queen. Anne, in one of her extravagant letters to the Duchess of Marlborough, attributes the passing of the bill solely to the pains taken by her grace and her husband.* Another bill, which occupied and agitated this session, was one in favour of those who had not taken the oath abjuring the Prince of Wales by the day named, and granting another year for reflection. It was urged on one side that the whole Jacobite party had now come entirely into the queen's interest; but on the other hand, it was maintained that the Jacobites were still corresponding with the court of St. Germain;† that French agents were constantly coming and going, and recommending all persons to take the abjuration oath, that they might be capable of employments and seats in the Houses, and, in the end, be a majority in parliament powerful enough to repeal the oath imposed by force, and, with it, the whole of the Act of Succession or Settlement, that destined the crown to the Hanover line. The Tories in the Commons carried their point, and sent up this bill of indulgence for political offenders to the Lords. Their lordships added several clauses, one declaring it high treason to endeavour to change the succession to the crown as fixed by law, or to set aside the Princess Sophia, the next lawful successor; and another for sending the abjuration oath to Ireland, and obliging all there to take it in the same manner as it had been taken in England. To the surprise of most people, the Tories in the Commons consented to these two clauses; and, in the end, the whole of the bill, as amended by the Lords, was agreed to, but only by a majority of one. Burnet, who continued to overvalue such fragile securities as imposed oaths, says,—"All people were surprised to see a bill that was begun in favour of the Jacobites turned so terribly upon them; since, by it, we had a new security given, both in England and Ireland, for a Protestant successor."

A.D. 1703.—The clamour against the former reign and its Whig ministers was still kept up. A committee of the House of Commons prepared a long address to the queen, laying the whole of the increase of the national debt at the door of the Whigs. This step followed a report made by a commission appointed to examine the state of the public accounts, and which inculpated Lord Rane-

* Account of the Conduct, &c.

† "He was many years elder than the queen, and was troubled with an asthma, that every year had ill effects on his health: it had brought him into great danger this winter; yet the queen thought it became her to provide for all events."—*Burnet.*

* Letter of the queen, in Marlborough Papers, as given by Coxe.

† Godolphin and even Marlborough himself were still occasional correspondents!

lagh, paymaster of the army, and Lord Halifax, auditor of the exchequer. The first of these lords, whose reputation was none of the best, was expelled the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and compelled to resign his place; yet, according to Burnet, he appeared, upon all this inquiry, to be much more innocent than even his friends had believed him, there being only "a few inconsiderable articles, of some hundreds of pounds, proved, or half proved, against him." The Tories had charged him with millions! His profitable post was presently divided into two parts, and the best was given to Mr. Howe. Halifax was a member of the Upper House, and the majority of the Lords espoused his cause, and vindicated his character in a very decided resolution. Hereupon the Commons denied the competency of their lordships to interfere in any such matter, or to pass any vote of acquittal where the matter charged consisted of money, &c. This produced another violent quarrel, and drove both Houses to the press to explain their several motives and conduct. More serious consequences might have ensued if the queen had not suddenly prorogued parliament on the 27th of February. During this session the Lords had gained a great reputation throughout the country by their opposition to the Tory House of Commons. To strengthen their party in the Upper House, and to have a clear majority there, the Tories induced the queen, soon after the prorogation, to create four of the most violent members of the Commons peers. The four selected Tories were Finch, Leveson Gower, Granville, and Seymour. Harvey, though a Whig, was at the same time made a baron by private favour. "Great reflections," says Burnet, "were made upon these promotions. When some severe things had been thrown out in the House of Commons upon the opposition that they met with from the Lords, it was insinuated there that it would be easy to find men of merit and estate to make a clear majority in that House. This was an open declaration of a design to put everything in the hands and power of that party; it was also an encroachment on one of the tenderest points of the prerogative to make motions of creating peers in the House of Commons."

During the sitting of parliament a convocation of the clergy had continued its labours. Like the national parliament, the churchmen thus assembled were divided into an Upper and a Lower House; and, like the parliament in this present session, these two Houses disagreed and quarrelled with one another. The churchmen in the Lower House wished to cast some reflections on the preceding reign; but, as most of the bishops owed their promotion to William, and were personally pointed at in these reflections, they absolutely refused to concur. After this, the Lower House of Convocation sent an address to the bishops to suggest the expediency of putting an end to those disputes about privileges, &c., which had put a stop to the proceedings of former meetings. The prelates, while making some concessions, expressed their determination of supporting their own authority. Then the Lower House wished to refer the points in question to the decision of the queen, and of those her majesty might appoint. The bishops, after making the due loyal professions, said that the rights which the constitution of the church had vested in them were trusts which they were to convey to their successors as they had received them from their predecessors; so that they could not refer them to any one. Upon this the inferior clergy courted the favour and sought the assistance of the House of Commons; but the Tories there would not engage further than to vote that they would stand by them in all their just rights. They then made a separate application to the queen, desiring her protection, as if they were warring with Papists or Turks, and begging her majesty to determine the dispute. Neither the queen, however nor any of her ministers for her, gave any answer to this application for the royal interference. By this noisy opposition to their bishops the members of the Lower House of Convocation had incurred the suspicion of being Presbyterians, and enemies of subordination and of the whole hierarchy. To remove these, they suddenly voted that episcopacy was of divine and apostolical right; and, having signed a declaration to this effect, they carried it up to the bishops, desiring their concurrence. By a statute of Henry VIII.'s time, no canon or constitution was legal without the royal licence previously obtained, and a *præmunire* was incurred by any attempt to make such canon or constitution. The bishops resolved not to entertain the proposition. Thereupon the clergy in the Lower House, who knew and could practise all the arts and tricks of a merely lay assembly, prayed that the bishops would enter in their books that they had not concurred in that definition of the divine and apostolical character of episcopacy, &c. This manœuvre was looked upon as a masterpiece; if the bishops agreed with the request, the members of the Lower House gained their point—if their lordships refused, they could throw upon them the suspicions under which they had themselves laboured, and tax them with being secret friends of presbytery! But the prelates saw through the device, and replied that they acquiesced in that declaration about the rights and character of episcopacy which was already in the preface to the book of ordinations; and that they did not think it safe to go further in that matter without a royal licence. The convocation ended with the prorogation of parliament; the Lower and the Upper House, like the Commons and Lords, being apparently fixed in opposition and animosity to one another.* Hot disputes continued to prevail among

* Burnet. The Whig bishop continues,—"From those disputes in convocation divisions ran through the whole body of the clergy, and to fix these new names were found out: they were distinguished by the names of high church and low church. All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France;

the teachers of peace and good-will to all men. Precisely the same disposition had existed in the preceding reign; but, for various reasons, the chief among which was William's firm determination to take part with neither, the two church factions had not been able to make so much noise. But now Anne warmly favoured the high-church party, and gave importance to every dispute by entering into the merits of it. As an important part of her prerogative and right divine, Anne assumed the power of performing miracles—that is, she had revived the revolting practice of touching for the scrofula or king's evil, and her clergy had inserted in the liturgy and prayer-book an office to be used during that performance.* The war continued to rage at many points at once, and both by sea and land.

The Duke of Savoy, upon seeing the successes in Italy of Prince Eugene, began to waver in his alliance with Louis XIV., and the King of Portugal absolutely detached himself from the French, and entered into the grand alliance this spring. These defections were of the utmost importance to the French monarch; who, moreover, was distracted and distressed by the insurrection, within his own territories, of the oppressed Protestants of the Cevennes, a mountainous country bordering on the frontier of Catalonia. The Duke of Marlborough saw the advantages that might be derived from this formidable insurrection; and he proposed to the English ministry that assistance should be sent to the insurgents, and all means adopted for fomenting the troubles in the Cevennes. This was the "good old plan," so dear to Burleigh and Queen Elizabeth, and so often acted upon by France as well as by England and other nations. Louis had repeatedly encouraged insurrection in the dominions of the emperor;—he was at this very moment in a close correspondence with the oppressed Protestants in Hungary and Bohemia; and under his especial patronage the Hungarians were now organising a most important insurrection against the emperor. Yet Lord Nottingham and the other partisans of passive obedience strongly opposed Marlborough's proposition, simply upon the grounds of the injustice and the impolicy of assisting rebel subjects against their legitimate sovereign. To the higher view of the case, which exposes the iniquities of such an interference, these men were never capable of ascending. Their opposition was, however, overruled in the cabinet; supplies of arms and ammunition were forwarded to the Cevennes, direct communications were established, and a considerable body of Louis's troops, instead of being marched to the great seat of the war in Flanders and on the Rhine, were kept at home to prevent the spread of this dangerous insurrection. At the same time brilliant offers were made to the Duke of Savoy, who might have wavered again; as, at the close of the preceding year, fortune had seemed to turn against Prince Eugene, who was cooped up by the Duke of Vendome, the general to whom Louis had recently entrusted the war in that direction, between the Secchia and the Po, on a narrow strip of country exhausted by the preceding operations. And on the Rhine events had occurred, after Marlborough's campaign of the preceding year, that greatly tended to revive the spirit of the French. The Elector of Bavaria, who at last declared openly for France, had surprised Ulm, and had opened a communication with the French on the Upper Rhine; and on the 14th of October, when Marlborough was on his way to winter-quarters, Marshal Villars had defeated the Margrave of Baden, and cleared the passages leading to the Black Forest, while Marshal Tallard, on the other hand, extended his force along the Upper Rhine and Moselle, and reduced Treves and Traerbach. The Germans were thus prevented from profiting by the reduction of Landau, and were hemmed in at Stolhoffen, in as bad a plight as Prince Eugene. Louis had determined to open the campaign of the present year with the utmost vigour, and a mighty plan had been conceived for the utter destruction of the house of Austria. While Marshal Villeroy was again to threaten the Dutch frontier, and occupy Marlborough in that corner, the troops on the Upper Rhine were to march through the defiles of the Black Forest, and join the Bavarians; from beyond the Alps the Duke of Vendome was to open his way through the Tyrol; and these two armies, moving in different directions, and favoured in the very heart of the empire by the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the Bavarians, were to form a junction between the Inn and the Danube, were to call upon the insurgents in Hungary, and then, like a torrent swollen, were to roll on to Vienna. In accordance with this grand plan, Marshal Villars broke up from his cantonments before the winter was finished, surprised several bodies of Germans in their quarters, and on the 9th of March, eight days before Marlborough arrived at the Hague, he reduced the important town of Kehl. And soon after this, leaving Tallard to keep the Margrave of Baden in check at Stolhoffen, Villars struck through the Black Forest, and de-

were represented as secret favourers of presbytery, and as ill-affected to the church, and were called low churchmen. It was said that they were in the church only while the law and preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. With these false and invidious characters did the high party endeavour to load all those who could not be brought into their measures and designs."

* "It appears by the newspapers of the time that on the 30th of March, 1714, two hundred persons were touched by Queen Anne. Amongst these was Samuel Johnson, afterwards the justly celebrated moral writer. He was sent by the advice of Sir John Floyer, then a physician at Lichfield; and many years afterwards, being asked if he remembered Queen Anne, said he had a confused, but somehow a kind of solemn recollection, of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood. The Honourable Daines Barrington has preserved an anecdote, which he heard from an old man who was witness in a cause with respect to this supposed miraculous power of healing. 'He had, by his evidence, fixed the time of a fact, by Queen Anne's having been at Oxford, and touched him, whilst a child, for the evil. When he had finished his evidence, I had an opportunity of asking him whether he was really cured? Upon which he answered, with a significant smile, that he believed himself to have never had any complaint that deserved to be considered as the evil; but that his parents were poor, and had no objection to the bit of gold.' The learned and honourable writer very properly observes on this occasion, 'that this piece of gold which was given to those who were touched, accounts for the great resort upon this occasion, and the supposed afterwards miraculous cures.'" *Pegge, Curialia.*

scended into Bavaria, where he was joined by the Elector, who had already defeated the Austrians, driven them beyond the Inn and the Danube (thus leaving clear the proposed point of junction), and taken Neuburg and Ratisbon, in which imperial city a diet was assembled to pronounce his forfeiture, and put him to the ban of the empire. Count Styrum moved with 20,000 of the emperor's troops to free the Margrave of Baden; but, by the advice of Villars, the Elector of Bavaria threw himself between these two imperial forces, attacked the Count near Donawert, and completely routed him. Continuing this career of success, the French and Bavarians took Augsburg, and lay across what seemed an open road to the old walls of Vienna. But they were not cheered by any sight of the heads of columns which the Duke of Vendome was to lead from Italy through the Tyrol; the Elector and the French general disagreed, and Villars, who was wanted to look after the insurgents in the Cevennes, was recalled. And from this moment the grand scheme tottered.

It was the 17th of March ere Marlborough arrived in the Low Countries. Death had relieved him from the jealousies of the Prince of Saarbruch, and of the Earl of Athlone; and he found himself comparatively without a rival. By his advice, the Prussians had been acting during a part of the winter, as well as the French, and they had reduced in the month of February the fortress of Rheinberg, whence they had proceeded to blockade Guelder, the only place still held by the enemy in Spanish Guelderland. Marlborough found Holland still threatened on her frontier by Villeroy and Boufflers, who had commenced operations for recovering the strong places on the Meuse, from which he had driven them the year before. It appears to have been the design of the English general to act upon the offensive, and to invade French Flanders and Brabant; but the States-General preferred beginning with the siege of Bonn, flattering themselves that the Elector would capitulate rather than risk the ruin of his town. "I wish" says Marlborough, in a letter to Lord Godolphin, "it may prove so; for otherwise it will cost us a great many men, and a good deal of time, which we might expend more usefully in Brabant, now that a great many of their troops are gone towards Germany."* He repaired to Nimeguen to concert with Cohorne the plan for the siege of Bonn. He then inspected the fortifications and garrisons of Venloo, Ruremond, and Maestricht, and the other places he had taken on the Meuse. This done, he crossed the country to Cologne, where he felt "a good deal of spleen," for nothing was ready for the siege, and Cohorne coolly proposed to let it alone till the end of the year. Marlborough, however, gave orders for investing the place, and proceeded to Bonn, with forty battalions, sixty squadrons, and a hundred pieces of artillery. The trenches were opened on the 3rd of May, and the Marquis d'Allegre capitulated on the 15th. During the siege the news from Germany continued to be "very ill;" and Villeroy and Boufflers, who had manœuvred in vain to save Bonn, seemed to be increasing their strength upon the Meuse. Marlborough, however, returned to his former plan of transferring the war into the heart of Brabant and French Flanders; the Dutch generals Cohorne, Spaar, and Opdam were detached to Bergen-op-Zoom to forward the necessary preparations; and, as a part of this plan, an English fleet with a strong land force on board was to alarm the French coast from Calais to Dieppe, and, in conjunction with the Dutch troops, to make a descent near the latter place. With 59 battalions, and 129 squadrons, Marlborough crossed the river Yaar, close under the walls of Maestricht; and, near the heights of Hautain, between that river and the Meuse, he surprised a considerable part of the French army, and nearly cut them off. The French, who had so long been accustomed to slow movements on the part of the allies, had no expectation of such rapid ones; they retreated in confusion, destroyed the works of Tongres, and fled, without halting, three leagues beyond Thys. Marlborough fixed his camp at Thys, and there he was greatly disconcerted and vexed; for he learned that Cohorne had obtained the consent of the States-General to employ his troops in making an irruption into the country of Waes, where he hoped to levy large contributions—"which," says Marlborough, who had no objection to such prey himself, "these people like but too well."* This entirely deranged the plan of the English general, who had intended in the first place to reduce Antwerp and Ostend, two places of the utmost importance; but he was obliged to remain inactive, keeping as near to the French army as possible, till Cohorne's expedition was over. "At this time," he says to Godolphin, "the strength of the French army is 118 squadrons, and 61 battalions; ours consists of 125 squadrons, and 59 battalions, but our battalions are stronger than theirs, so that I think we have a good deal the superiority, which is very plainly the opinion of the French, *since they always decamp when we come near them.*" And Marlborough had other troubles; the confederates on the Upper Rhine were clamouring for reinforcements, and there were some both in England and Holland who would have greatly weakened the army in the Netherlands to send them succour. "This," said Marlborough, "would only answer the purpose of bringing things here into the same condition as they are there;" and he so far prevailed, that only twenty battalions and eight squadrons were detached to that quarter. His heart was set upon the taking of Ostend and Antwerp, but it was not till the 10th of June that he could move anywhere. Then he marched upon Hanef. In this march he expected an engagement, but the French

* *Life by Coxe.*

* He adds, "It is no wonder that Cohorne is for forcing the lines; for, as he is governor of West Flanders, he has the tenths of all the contributions."

retreated to a position on the Mehaigne. From his camp at Hanef, Marlborough wrote to urge Cohorne to prepare for the siege of Antwerp, and at the same time expressed to his friends in England a confident hope of bringing the French to a general battle, which he thought would be "a far greater advantage to the common cause than the taking of twenty towns." At this moment the French occupied lines which extended from the Mehaigne to Antwerp, as also a series of fortifications stretching from Antwerp towards Ostend; and to maintain these defences they had two flying camps—one under Bedmar near Antwerp, the other under Delamotte near Bruges. When Cohorne was ready to act, he took up a position near Stabroek, east of the Scheldt, and about four miles north of Antwerp: Opdam was posted at Bergen-op-Zoom, with a good body of fresh troops, who were suddenly to advance upon Antwerp: General Spaar was detached to occupy the attention of Delamotte, and to maintain a communication with Cohorne, while Marlborough himself was to harass and detain the main army of the French, and at a given moment to enter the lines between Lierre and Antwerp. This was a combined movement, or series of movements, from different points, always difficult to execute—a good plan, but liable to be disconcerted by a hundred accidents, and by the slightest imprudence or want of regularity in any one of the co-operating columns. The French main carefully avoided an action; they were thrown into consternation by Marlborough's sudden march to Opheer; but after passing a whole night under arms, they felt themselves safe upon some strong ground near Landen. "Since we had no action yesterday," says Marlborough, writing to his wife on the 17th of June, "I believe we shall have none this campaign; for the French are now in a very strong country, and go behind their lines when they please." Cohorne and his Dutchmen, who had generally been accused of being too slow, were now too fast. Cohorne himself on the 15th of June, had crossed the Scheldt to Liefenshoeck, and formed a junction with Spaar, who had been looking after Delamotte; and on the following morning these two Dutch generals made a combined attack on the French lines near Antwerp. Spaar penetrated as far as Steenbrock, suffering considerable loss; Cohorne forced the works at the point of Callo, and reduced fort St. Anthony. But Marlborough was not, and could not possibly be at hand, and it was the evening of the 18th before Opdam got up from Bergen-op-Zoom to the village of Ekeren, a little to the north of Antwerp, where he established himself in an isolated position, being left without support by Cohorne's crossing the Scheldt. The French, though no longer led by the genius of a Turenne, a Condé, or a Luxembourg, saw the gross mistake committed, and profited by it. Boufflers, with 20,000 men, principally cavalry, marched in all haste for Antwerp. Marlborough endeavoured, but in vain, to keep up with him. Boufflers reached Antwerp, united his forces with those of Bedmar, and completely routed Opdam's division. Opdam himself fled like a blockhead, but his second in command availed himself of the dykes, rallied the troops, repulsed some charges, and effected a retreat to Lillo with comparatively little loss. But by this movement Boufflers had wholly disconcerted Marlborough's grand object of gaining Antwerp; and all that the allies could do during the rest of this campaign was, to take the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelders.

In his letters, Marlborough throws the entire blame upon the Dutch generals and the Dutch field-deputies; but those functionaries, on their side, inculpated him; and in some respects his conduct was, perhaps, open to military criticism. It may be that his attention was distracted by the political intrigues and feuds carrying on in England, where his former friends, the Tories, were devising his disgrace, and where his busy wife was maintaining a most cordial intercourse with the Whigs, in the view of bringing about a coalition between Marlborough and that party. The general insisted that affairs could never be well managed so long as Lord Nottingham remained in the ministry and joined with Seymour and other Tories in obstructing business. Godolphin took the same view of the case, but he was forced to undergo the bitter reproaches of the queen whenever he ventured to speak of the necessity of removing Nottingham and employing Whigs. At one moment Godolphin, himself the main stay of Marlborough in the cabinet, was well nigh resigning and withdrawing from public affairs altogether. That minister's situation in the cabinet and at court was, indeed, so irksome, that his friend was obliged to confess that he would rather be where he was, notwithstanding the Dutch, who "made his life a burden," and all the hardships incident to war. "I hear so much of the unreasonable animosities of parties," says Marlborough in a letter to Godolphin, "that I pity you with all my heart. I have very little rest here, but I should have less quiet of mind if I were obliged to be in your station." At the same time the Whigs, who were not yet sure of their man, assailed Marlborough with importunities, while others, less sanguine, criticised his operations in the field, and made him the subject of satires and lampoons.

On the other side, the far grander plan of the French, of concentrating their forces upon the Danube and capturing Vienna, had gone absolutely to wreck. Vendome, who was to advance through the passes of the Alps from Italy, was obstructed by the brave Tyrolese, who fought gallantly for their old family sovereign, the emperor, and for their own independence; and he was still further impeded by the now avowed defection of the Duke of Savoy, who had made a very profitable bargain with the emperor, England, and Holland, the maritime powers agreeing, among other things, to pay him a monthly subsidy of 80,000

crowns. In the mean time, to obviate the objection against uniting the crown of Spain with those of Austria and the empire, Leopold and his eldest son Joseph renounced their claims to the Spanish succession in favour of the Archduke Charles, the second son of that house. This young prince was accordingly proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, and, that ceremony being over, the emperor, his father, made preparations to send him to Portugal (which country was further confirmed to the grand alliance)* by way of Holland and England. About the middle of September the Archduke or King Charles of Spain, the Indies, &c., set out from Vienna on his journey: passing through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, he was met by that prince, and complimented on his accession; at Dusseldorf he was received, on the 16th of October, by the Elector Palatine and by the Duke of Marlborough, who was charged by her majesty of England with congratulations to the young sovereign. Marlborough, who was at least as good a courtier as he was a general, said, "I have just had the honour of putting your majesty in possession of Limburg." According to a current story, which may be true or not, the Catholic king took his sword from his side, and gave it to the duke, saying, "I am as yet but a poor prince; I have nothing but my cloak and my sword; the latter may be of use to your grace, and I hope you will not esteem it the worse from my wearing it one day." Marlborough, it is added, kissed the diamonded hilt, and pledged himself to hazard his life and all that was dear to him in rendering Charles the greatest prince of Christendom. The king without a kingdom, and the fortunate general who was in the course of acquiring almost wealth enough to buy one, travelled on together to the Hague, where the States-General received them both with nearly equal honour. Marlborough hastened over to England on the last day of October, but presently was dispatched from court to Portsmouth, to compliment his majesty of Spain on his happy arrival in the dominions of England, and to conduct him to Windsor Castle.† Charles well knew that the Duchess of Marlborough was as important a personage as the duke: he made some splendid presents to both of them, and treated the proud beauty—beautiful still, though a grandmother—with respect and gallantry. When the duchess, doing her court duty to a royal personage, offered him the basin and ewer, he took them from her hand and held them for the queen; and, on returning them to her grace, he presented her with a ring of great value from his own finger.

But there were other scenes to go through far less complimentary and courtly. The parliament assembled on the 9th of November. The speech of the queen was warlike and confident. She announced the advantages secured to herself and her allies by the treaty with the King of Portugal and the declaration of the Duke of Savoy, which, she said, were, in great measure, to be imputed to the cheerfulness with which her parliament had supported her in this war, which there was now a fair prospect of bringing to a glorious and speedy conclusion. William, in his treaties, and in his formation of the grand alliance, had stopped far short of the point which Anne now took up, and which tended to lengthen the war beyond the period when war was needful or politic, and, in the end, to deprive England of the advantages which she might and ought to have secured by the costly and blood-wasting struggle. She announced, in short, that it was the intention of the allies "to recover the monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, and restore it to the House of Austria." The treaty which she had lately made with the King of Portugal to this end, she added, would occasion great expense; and the subsidies which would be immediately required by the Duke of Savoy would occasion a further necessary charge. She further observed to them that, though the funds for the civil government had been diminished by the war, she had been obliged to contribute out of her own revenue towards some public services, as particularly the support of the circle of Suabia, whose steadiness and firm adherence to the interest of the allies, under the greatest pressures, had well deserved such seasonable assistance. She expressed a wish for the adoption of some more easy and less chargeable method for the speedy and effectual manning of the fleet; and that some regulations might be devised for preventing the excessive price of coals. In conclusion, she expressed her earnest hope that they would carefully avoid, in this session, any heats or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the *church and state*. On the 11th of November the Commons presented a very complaisant address, thanking her majesty for all that had been done, and assuring her that they would support her in all her alliances, new and old, &c. On the 12th the Lords presented an address quite as warm, expressing their satisfaction at the zeal with which her majesty espoused the public interest, *even beyond the obligations of her treaties*. Neither Lords nor Commons remonstrated against the dangerous intention of carrying on the war till Charles of Austria was seated on the Spanish throne. The Commons resolved that the army should be raised to 58,000 men, the navy to 40,000 sailors and marines; and they voted the necessary supplies with great readi-

* In the month of July the combined fleet of England and Holland, consisting of forty-nine ships, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, came to anchor before Lisbon, where they remained a whole week to encourage his majesty of Portugal to continue firm, and to promise protection to his coasts against the French. Admiral Shovel afterwards sailed through the Straits, made some descents on the coast of Valencia, and detached two ships to the gulf of Narbonne, with the arms and ammunition destined for the insurgents in the Cevennes.

† "The King of Spain, landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertained by the queen, and behaved himself so nobly, that everybody was taken with his graceful deportment. After two days, having presented the great ladies and others with very valuable jewels, he went back to Portsmouth and immediately embarked for Spain."—*Evelyn, Diary.*

ness. But a new storm was raised by the reintroduction of the Occasional Conformity Bill, shorn of some of its penalties, but still severe and irritating to all classes of men that differed from the established church. It was again carried triumphantly through the House of Commons, upon the old pretence that the church was in danger; but in the House of Lords it encountered a much stronger opposition than in the preceding session, and the second reading was negatived by a majority of 71 to 59. "It is not for me," says Roger Coke, "to pretend to give a reason why there was so great a majority this year in comparison of last year, where there was not above one or two odds: one should think the new-made lords might have added such a weight to the balance on the other side, as to have carried it cleverly; but the event has proved the contrary, and so we believe it dormant."* But unluckily the spirit which dictated the Bill was not dormant.

On the 17th of December, her majesty, after giving her assent to the Land-tax Bill, took occasion to inform the House of Commons that she had received unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carrying on in Scotland by emissaries from France, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of these kingdoms, as they would see by the particulars which should be laid before them as soon as they could be made public without prejudice. The Lords, having appointed a committee to examine some persons implicated in this Scottish plot, afterwards committed some of them to the custody of the black rod, who took them from the queen's messengers. Their lordships, however, soon sent back their prisoners and left them to the disposal of the secretaries of state. But the Tory majority in the Commons, who were irritated by their second defeat on the Occasional Conformity Bill, "made a handle of the matter," and voted an address to the queen, expressive of their great and just concern at this violation of the royal prerogative. "Your faithful Commons," said they, "believe the administration of the government best secured when it is left to your majesty, with whom the law has entrusted it; and have so firm a dependence upon your majesty's affection to your people, and your great wisdom, that they can never apprehend so little danger from any conspiracy, as when the examination thereof is under your majesty's direction. We are, therefore, surprised to find that, when several persons suspected of treasonable practices against your majesty were taken into custody by your messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, have wrested them out of your majesty's hands, and without your majesty's leave or knowledge, in a most extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them solely to themselves; whereby a due examination into evil practices and designs against your majesty's person and government may in a manner be obstructed. Your loyal Commons do therefore most earnestly desire your majesty to suffer no diminution of that prerogative, which, during your majesty's reign, they are confident will always be exerted for the good of your people." And then, after repeating their assurances about timely and effectual supplies of money for the wars abroad, they assured her majesty that they would, to the utmost of their power, support her in the exercise of her just prerogatives at home, and against all invasions whatsoever. Prerogative was a word which Anne loved most to hear after that of *church;* but she was anxious to avoid rather than promote any collision between the two Houses, and she told the Commons that the matter which had occasioned their address was now at an end. The Lords, however, could not pass over that address without notice; and to vindicate their honour and assert their privileges they resolved and declared—"That, by the known laws and customs of parliament, they have an undoubted right, whenever they conceive it to be for the safety of her majesty and the kingdom, to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in custody or not; and to order that persons to be so examined be taken into custody of her majesty's sworn officer attending their House" (the black rod); and "That the address of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, and highly injurious to the House of Peers, tending to interrupt the good correspondence between the two Houses, and create an ill opinion in her majesty of their House, and of dangerous consequences to the liberties of the people, the constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament." And then they appointed a committee to draw up a representation, which, when ready, they presented to the queen. Anne replied that she was very sorry for these misunderstandings, which were so inconvenient for the public service, and so uneasy to her that she could not but take notice with satisfaction of their assurance that they were anxious to avoid all such quarrels; and then she thanked them as she had done the Commons, for their great concern for the rights of the crown and for her prerogative.

The affair which gave rise to this prolonged quarrel was what is commonly called "Fraser's plot," the hero of which was Simon Fraser of Lovat, who, in the preceding reign, had led his family clan, with pybroch playing, to join the banner of Dundee; and who, from his early youth to his final exit in his old age upon a scaffold on Tower Hill, was engaged in plots and conspiracies and the most lawless enterprises. This Fraser of Lovat had a genius for iniquity—a cultivated intellect with the heart of a savage. He had brutally violated the sister of Lord Atholl, and, upon his consequent outlawry, had settled in France, the language of which country he spoke like a native. The nature of his offence, and the

* Detection.

immorality and violence of his whole life and character, were no obstacle to his being received into the favour and confidence of the devout court of St. Germain. He undertook to excite a fresh insurrection in the mountains of Scotland, and to assemble 12,000 Highlanders for the Prince of Wales, if the court of France would only contribute a few regular troops, some officers, arms, ammunition, and *money*. Louis XIV. entered into the project; but, as so many schemes of the same kind had signally failed, and as he had no great confidence in Fraser's sincerity, he insisted that the outlaw should first return to Scotland, with two persons upon whom his majesty might rely, and who were instructed to examine the Highlands and sound the clans themselves. But Fraser no sooner reached Scotland with these two individuals, than he privately discovered the whole plot to the Duke of Queensberry, undertaking to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the Scottish Jacobites and the courts of St. Germain and Versailles. Queensberry, who had reasons for suspecting many persons of name and influence, concluded a bargain with the double dealer, gave Fraser a pass to secure him from arrest or molestation, and sent him into the Highlands, where he was to learn and report to the minister *who* were determined Jacobites, ready for insurrection and civil war, and who were *not*. Before setting out upon this treacherous, trepanning circuit, Fraser delivered to the duke a letter from the Queen-dowager Maria d'Este, directed to the Marquess of Atholl, whose sister the civilised ruffian had dishonoured, and whose prosecution of him for that offence he sought to avenge through a sentence for treason and death on the scaffold. After his journey in the Highlands, Fraser proposed returning to France, where, as he affirmed, he could obtain still more ample evidence, learn all the schemes and plots going on at the court of St. Germain, and disconcert them all by leading the plotters into false tracks. The Duke of Queensberry procured him a passport, but under a feigned name, from the Earl of Nottingham, and Fraser went off for France by way of Holland. Queensberry communicated his discovery secretly to the queen, and Anne's own spies at Paris confirmed the particulars of the plot for a rising in the Highlands. At the same time Sir John Maclean, the head of a clan, was arrested with his wife at Folkestone, in Kent, where he had landed from the French coast, and was carried up to London in the custody of the queen's messengers. Maclean, on first being examined in the Secretary of State's (Nottingham's) office, pretended that his intention was merely to go through England into Scotland, in order to submit to the present government, and to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but, subsequently, he confessed that there had been some consultation at St. Germain about sending over a body of troops to join the malcontents in Scotland. Maclean further gave the clue for discovering and apprehending one Keith, whose uncle was one of the two that had accompanied Fraser from France at the desire of King Louis or his minister. This Keith, the nephew, confessed in his prison that there was a design on foot for securing the crowns of England and Scotland for the young Pretender, *after her present majesty's death*.* At nearly the same moment, Mr. David Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to King James and the Prince of Wales, was arrested; † and Mr. James Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, was taken on the coast of Sussex, coming clandestinely from France. According to their own account, they all came proposing to live peaceably at home under her majesty's happy government; and at this moment the far-famed presbyterian preacher, Ferguson, whose hand was in every plot, came in voluntarily, and declared his readiness to disclose all that he knew of the matter. This *knowledge* was such as might have been expected from the character of the man and the nature of the whole transaction: he affirmed that Fraser was indeed employed by the Duke of Queensberry, her majesty's high commissioner in Scotland, to draw some persons into a plot; but there was, in reality, no Jacobite plot at this time; for they were very glad to see one of the race of the Stuarts upon the throne; though they hoped that matters would be so compromised that the queen might enjoy the crown for life, and that her brother might succeed her. Where men like this Ferguson and Fraser of Lovat were concerned, and where Queensberry, for the old state reasons, had promoted double-dealing and machination, it was not probable that the truth should be easily arrived at. It may be, as affirmed by Ferguson, that Queensberry, whose fears were excited, and whose power was on the decline, lent a too ready ear to the greatest of the villains, and even encouraged Fraser to disclose more than he knew, or more than was strictly true; yet at the same time we are disposed to believe that plots were actually on foot in Scotland. The nearly simultaneous arrival of the several Jacobites is a suspicious circumstance, and, as there is ample evidence to show that there was a most extensive conspiracy in Scotland, with a design for support-

* "When I heard this," says Burnet, "I could not but remember what the Marquess of Atholl had said to myself, soon after the queen's coming to the crown. I said I hoped none in Scotland thought of the Prince of Wales. He answered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the queen lived. I replied, that, if any thought of him after that, I was sure the queen would live no longer than till they thought their designs for him were well laid: but he seemed to have no apprehensions of that. I presently told the queen this, without naming the person; and she answered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that."

† Burnet says that this Lindsay had served first under James's Catholic secretary, the Earl of Melfort, and then under his Protestant secretary, the Earl of Middleton; that he had, years before, brought over from France the letters and orders that gave rise to Dundee's insurrection; that he had always been much trusted at St. Germain, and so it was not doubted but that he came hither to manage the correspondence and intrigues. "He pretended he knew of no designs against the queen and her government; and that the court of St. Germain's, and the Earl of Middleton in particular, had no design against the queen; but when he was showed Fraser's commission to be a colonel, signed by the pretended king, and countersigned by Middleton, he seemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a forgery, but he said that things of that kind were never communicated to him."

ing it in France, in the years 1706 and 1707,* in which the Frasers, Atholl, and others were engaged, it is not unreasonable to believe that there might have been something of the same sort in the years 1703 and 1704. Upon the arrest of Boucher, who was well known, and who was suspected of being "sent on great designs," the House of Lords, apprehending a remissness in the ministry in searching and examining those who came from France, requested that the said Boucher might be well looked to, and that Sir John Maclean might be brought before them. After some delay the Earl of Nottingham told the House that the prisoners were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleased. And it was then that their lordships had committed them for a short time to the custody of the black rod, and had named a committee of seven to examine all the prisoners,—the circumstance which had excited such a storm in the Commons. Boucher persisted in denying his participation in, or knowledge of, any plot: he said he was weary of living so long out of his native country, and that, being unable to obtain a pass, he had preferred throwing himself upon the queen's mercy to wasting the rest of his life in exile. This story obtained no credit, and the Lords prayed, in an address to her majesty, that the man might have no hopes of pardon "till he was more sincere in his discoveries." He was then prosecuted on the statute of treason; confessed his crime (for it was impossible to deny that he had been in arms against the government established by the Revolution), and received sentence of death. But he continued still to deny that he knew anything of this particular conspiracy, or Fraser's plot. "Few," says Burnet, "could believe this; yet, there being no special matter laid against him, his case was to be pitied: he proved that he had saved the lives of many prisoners, during the war of Ireland, and that, during the war in Flanders, he had been very careful of all English prisoners: and when all this was laid before the Lords, they did not think fit to carry the matter farther; so he was reprieved, and that matter slept." But it slept merely for Boucher, who died soon after in Newgate.

A.D. 1704.—On the 29th of January the Earl of Nottingham informed the House that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumstance which could not be communicated without running the risk of preventing a discovery of still greater importance. Nottingham had been all along suspected of a desire to cover the conspirators, or at least to make the conspiracy appear as a very insignificant affair. The papers produced went merely to show that many messages had been exchanged between the courts of St. Germain and Versailles with relation to the affairs of Scotland; that the French king was willing to send an army to Scotland, but desired to be well-assured beforehand of the assistance that might be expected there, and that Fraser of Lovat and two others had come over to ascertain that point. The Lords, dissatisfied, ordered their committee to pursue their examination, which they insisted would lead to the discovery of much more important facts than Nottingham had chosen to reveal. The Tory majority in the Commons struck in again, went with a new address to the queen, insisting on their former complaints against their lordships for wresting the matter out of the queen's hands and taking it wholly into their own, and praying her majesty to resume her just prerogative. And, still further to support the head of their party, they had presented a resolution that the Earl of Nottingham, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen, and for his steady adherence to the church of England, highly merited the trust her majesty reposed in him. But all this could neither save Nottingham, nor stop the scrutiny. The committee of the Lords went on with their examinations, and after some days presented a very full and alarming report—for, if the Commons were inclined to treat the matter too lightly, their lordships, on the other hand, had determined to make the most of it. After the report was read, the Upper House came to the following unanimous resolution:—"That it did appear to them that there had been a dangerous conspiracy carried on for the raising a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to the subverting of her majesty's government, both in England and Scotland, and the bringing in the pretended Prince of Wales: and that they were of opinion that nothing had given so much encouragement to this conspiracy as the Scots not coming yet into the Hanover succession, as fixed in England." And in an address they besought the queen to use her endeavours to have the succession of the crown of Scotland declared to be settled on the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, assuring her majesty that, when her endeavours for settling the succession should have taken effect, they would do all in their power *to promote the Union of the two kingdoms*. This last assurance was far too important to be overlooked, and Anne, in a short but courteous reply, told their lordships that, she had some time since testified to her subjects in Scotland her earnest desire for their adoption of the Protestant succession, "as the most effectual means for securing their quiet and her own, and the readiest way to an entire Union betwixt both kingdoms; *in the perfecting of which it was desirable no time should be lost.*" After this their lordships drew up and presented an answer to the second address of the Commons, accusing their house of trenching on the royal prerogative. They charged the Lower House with

* See "A Memorial concerning the Advantages that will result to France, in supporting a Rebellion in Scotland, presented to the Court by Colonel Hooke, in 1707."

a want of zeal for the queen's safety and the preservation of the country, with having betrayed uneasiness during the whole of their inquiry into the plot, and with having done all they could to delay and obstruct that inquiry: they quoted a vast number of precedents to justify every step they had taken, and to prove that their conduct in the matter had been strictly regular and parliamentary: and, quitting the defensive and the exculpatory, they taxed the House of Commons with gross partiality and injustice in matters of election.* "The address," says Burnet, "was penned with great care and much force. All these addresses were drawn up by the Lord Somers, and were read over, and considered, and corrected very critically by a few lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other papers that were published by the Lords, made a great impression on the body of the nation."

But the Occasional Conformity Bill was not the only difference, nor was the Fraser plot the only ground of open quarrel between the two houses during this turbulent session. One Matthew Ashby, a freeman of Aylesbury, brought an action against William White and others, the constables of Aylesbury, for having debarred him from voting at the late election.† The cause was tried at the assizes, and White and his brother constables were cast with damages, the jury finding that Ashby had been admitted to vote in former elections, and that the constables had denied him a right of which he was undoubtedly in possession. But it was moved in the Queen's Bench to annul this sentence and to quash all the proceedings, since no action at common law had ever been brought upon any such account. Three of the judges, Powell, Gould, and Powis, were of opinion that no hurt was done to Ashby; that the judging of elections belonged to the House of Commons; that, as this action was the first of its kind, so, if it was allowed, it would not be the last, but would bring on an infinity of suits, and reduce all the officers concerned in such matters to the greatest difficulties. Lord Chief Justice Holt, though alone, differed from the rest, representing that this was in fact a matter of the greatest importance, both to the nation in general and to every man in it in his own particular; that there was a vast difference between an election of a member and a right to vote in such election: of the former the House of Commons were properly the only judges, and competent to decide whether such election was rightly managed, without bribery, fraud, or violence, or otherwise; but the latter, or the right of voting, was an original right founded either on a freehold of forty shillings a-year in a county, or upon burgage land, or upon a prescription, or upon a charter in a borough; and these were all legal claims and titles recognisable by a court of law. But Holt was one against three; and so the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench went in favour of the constables. By this time the cause occupied the attention of the whole Whig party, and it was brought by a writ of error before the House of Lords. Their lordships heard the case very fully argued at their bar, and called upon the judges to deliver their opinions upon the whole question. And after hearing the judges, and going through another long debate, the Lords, by a great majority, set aside the judgment of the Queen's Bench, and confirmed the judgment given in favour of Ashby at the assizes. This threw the House of Commons into a blaze: they passed five resolutions—against the man of Aylesbury (Ashby) as guilty of a breach of their privileges; against all others who, following his example, should bring any such suit into a court of law; against all counsel, attorneys, and others who should assist in any such suit, &c. They affirmed that the whole matter relating to elections, and the right of examining and determining the qualifications of electors, belonged wholly and solely to them, the Commons of England. And these their resolutions, signed by the clerk of their house, were fixed upon the gates of Westminster Hall. The Upper House lost no time in retorting: they appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case, and upon their report resolved—That every person being wilfully hindered from exercising his right of voting might seek for justice and redress in common courts of law against the officer by whom his vote had been refused; that any assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subject, against the freedom of election, and manifestly tending to the encouragement of partiality and corruption; and, finally, that the declaring Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of Parliament in the House of Lords, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the will and votes of the House of Commons. And they ordered the lord keeper to send copies of the case and of their votes to all the sheriffs of England, to be by them communicated to all the boroughs in their respective counties. "The House of Commons," says Burnet, "was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it: the thing

* "They made severe observations on some of the proceedings in the House of Commons, particularly on their not ordering writs to be issued out for some boroughs to proceed to new elections, when they, upon pretence of corruption, had voted an election void; which had been practised of late when it was visible that the election would not fall on the person they favoured. They charged this as a denial of justice, and of the right that such boroughs had to be represented in parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding."—*Burnet.*

† "In Aylesbury, the return was made by four constables, and it was believed that they made a bargain with some of the candidates, and then managed the matter so as to be sure that the majority should be for the person to whom they had engaged themselves; they canvassed about the town to know how the voters were set, and they resolved to find some pretence for disabling those who were engaged to vote for other persons than their friends, that they might be sure to have the majority in their own hands. And when this matter came to be examined by the House of Commons they gave the election always for him who was reckoned of the party of the majority, in a manner so barefaced, that they were scarce out of countenance when they were charged for injustices in judging elections. It was not easy to find a remedy to such a crying abuse, of which all sides in their turns, as they happened to be depressed, had made great complaints; but when they came to be the majority, seemed to have forgot all that they had formerly cried out on. Some few excused this on the topic of retaliation; they said they dealt with others as they dealt with them or their friends. At last an action was brought against the constables of Aylesbury, &c."—*Burnet.*

was popular, and the lords got great credit by the judgment they gave. . . . . This may prove a restraint on the returning officers, now that they see they are liable to be sued, and that a vote of the House of Commons cannot cover them."

Towards the close of the session the queen gave what was considered a very unequivocal proof of her attachment to the established church. On the 7th of February Secretary Hedges informed the House of Commons that her majesty, having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, in order to give them some ease, had been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy, and that, for an augmentation of their livings, she had declared that she would make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of the first fruits and tenths, as far as it was or should hereafter become free from encumbrances; and that, if the House of Commons could find any proper method by which this good intention might be made more effectual, it would be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her majesty. These tenths amounted to about 11,000*l.* a year, and the first fruits, one year with another, to about 5000*l.*: the money, Burnet tells us, was not brought into the treasury like the other branches of the revenue; but the bishops, who had been the pope's collectors, were now, and had been ever since the Reformation, collectors for the crown, and so persons in favour obtained assignations upon them for life, or for a term of years. "This," adds the bishop, "had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favourites for themselves and their friends: and, in King Charles's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. It seemed strange, that while the clergy had much credit at court they had never represented this as sacrilege unless it was applied to some religious purpose, and that during Archbishop Laud's favour with King Charles I., or at the Restoration of King Charles II., no endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better uses: sacrilege was charged on other things, on very slight grounds; but this, which was more visible, was always forgot." He goes on to lament that no means had formerly been thought of for providing a better subsistence for the poor clergy; "we having then amongst us some hundreds of cures that had not, of certain provision, 20*l.* a year, and some thousands that had not 50*l.* Where the encouragement is so small, what can it be expected clergymen should be? It is a crying scandal that, at the Restoration of King Charles II., the bishops and other dignitaries, who raised much above a million in fines, yet did so little in this way."* The Commons in an address expressed their sense of her majesty's pious concern for the church; and a bill was brought in to enable her majesty to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation, by charter, to apply the money, according to the queen's intention, in increasing the miserable stipends of the poorer clergy. Sir John Holland, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and other Whigs, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from that tax of first fruits and tenths, seeing that they bore their share in other taxes; and that another fund might be raised of equal value for the augmentation of the small benefices; but this was opposed by Musgrave and other Tories, who said that the clergy ought still to be kept in a dependence on the crown. To the act was appended a repeal of the statute of Mortemain, so far, at least, that it might be free to all men to give, by deed or by *their last wills*, whatever they chose towards the augmenting of benefices. "It was suggested," says Burnet, "but how truly I cannot tell, that this addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the scandal of losing the bill might lie on them." The Lords, in fact, objected to the repeal of a law which had been made and kept up even during the times of popery, and urged that it was unreasonable "to open a door to practise upon dying men." According to Burnet, who ought, however, to have known that it is quite possible to work upon the minds and the purses of dying men without purgatory and the doctrine of the efficacy of the prayers of the living for the dead, it was answered "that we had not the arts of affrightening men by the terrors of purgatory, or by fables of apparitions: where these were practised, it was very reasonable to restrain priests from those artifices by which they had so enriched their church, that, without some such effectual checks, they would have swallowed up the whole wealth of the world; as they had indeed in England, during popery, made themselves masters of a full third part of the nation." The bishops, however, were unanimous for the whole bill, and it was carried and passed into a law. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgments from all the clergy of England were presented to Anne, who rejoiced more especially in the title of "Nursing Mother to the Church." But this tender care, this easy generosity did not of course extend to other sects of the Protestant communion. The Presbyterians, chiefly Scots, or of Scottish descent, settled in the north of Ireland, had done as much for the Revolution and the prevention of popery and tyranny as any class of men; and to the Presbyterian preacher, Walker, was mainly owing the heroic defence of Londonderry, upon which the fate of the war

* "I had possessed the late queen with this, so that she was fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and settlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the assignations that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of small benefices. This is plainly insinuated in the essay that I wrote on her memory some time after her death. I laid the matter before the late king, when there was a prospect of peace, as a proper expression both of his thankfulness to Almighty God, and of his care of the church; I hoped that this might have joined the hearts of the clergy: it might at least have put a stop to a groundless clamour raised against him, that he was an enemy to the clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his affairs. He entertained this so well that he ordered me to speak to his ministers about it: they all approved it; the Lord Somers and the Lord Halifax did it in a most particular manner; but the Earl of Sunderland obtained an assignation upon two dioceses for 2000*l.* a year for two lives; so nothing was to be hoped for after that."—*Burnet.*

hung. Yet she had just allowed the parliament of Ireland to stop the trifling sum of 1200*l.* per annum, which had been paid to the poor Presbyterian ministers in Ulster in the reign of King William.

While parliament was still sitting; the fate of the Earl of Nottingham was sealed. "Pushing at such hot measures, like an axe struck upon a hard stone, the blow rebounded, and the weapon flew out of the hand of the unskilful workman."* His projects had all failed, his party had overcast themselves, and never recovered. After a vain attempt to induce the queen to dismiss the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the council, he resigned, and retired in disgust, though, like Rochester, he was consoled by the applause of the high Tory party. Harley, still rising and now favoured by Godolphin and the all-prevalent Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, succeeded him as chief secretary of state, and was allowed to continue Speaker of the House of Commons notwithstanding this appointment. Mr. St. John at the same time became secretary-at-war. Soon after Sir Edward Seymour was dismissed, the lord keeper, Sir Nathan Wright,† "deposed," and other props of the "high-flying party" were left out of the council and removed from their places in the government. An inquiry into the condition and management of the navy—which had been grossly *mismanaged*‡—gave rise to another collision between the two houses. And still another quarrel arose out of an act for recruiting the army. The impressing of soldiers by the crown had been looked upon as one of the greatest of grievances before the Revolution; yet in this session the Whigs agreed with the Tories in promoting an act empowering justices of the peace to impress for the land service such men, not being entitled to vote for members of parliament, as they saw fit: that is, the justices of peace, or any three of them, might take up such idle persons as had no callings or means of subsistence, and deliver them to the officers of the army, upon paying them the levy money usually allowed for recruits. Burnet, whose zeal in favour of the war was not at all repressed by his religious feelings and his office, thought this an excellent plan. "If well managed," he says, "it will prove of great advantage to the nation; since by this means it will be delivered from many vicious and idle persons, who are become a burthen to their country." He did not see the dangerous impropriety of leaving three country gentlemen—a class, generally speaking, distinguished neither by quickness of sight nor freedom from prejudice—to be judges of who were idle and vicious, and who not. Nor did the House of Lords extend their opposition to the principle of the measure: on the contrary, they looked at it by a party light, and seem merely to have objected to the great power lodged in country justices of the peace, because the existing magistrates had been put into commission by their political adversaries. They urged, in short, that the justices of peace had been put in and put out in a very strange manner, ever since Sir Nathan Wright had held the great seal; that they could not deserve to have so great a power lodged with them; that many gentlemen of good estates and ancient families had been of late put out of the commission, for no other visible reason but because they had gone heartily into the Revolution, and had continued zealous for the late king; and that, on the other hand, men of no worth, of no estate, men known to be ill-affected to the queen's title and to the Protestant succession, had been put in, to the great encouragement of evil-intentioned individuals, and to a dangerous bias in county elections, &c. The bill for recruits was, however, passed for a single year, and it was afterwards re-voted year by year. But the Lords presented a strong address to the queen, begging that no person who had refused the oaths to the late King William might be in the commission of the peace; that she would put in none but men of quality and good estates, of known affection to her majesty, to the Protestant succession, and the established church; and that she would order such to be restored as had been turned out without just cause. Passing over the oaths of allegiance to William—for, with a strange casuistry, Anne held that those oaths and William's right were *illegal*, while the oaths to herself and her own right, which were equally opposed to the theory of divine right and unalterable succession, and equally dependent on acts of parliament and the will of the nation, were strictly and incontrovertibly legal and sacred—she assured their lordships that she thought it reasonable that the commissions of the

* Defoe, History of the Union between England and Scotland.

† "Wright," says Burnet, "was a zealot to the party, and was become very exceptionable in all respects. Money, as was said, did everything with him; only in his court, I never heard him charged for anything but great slowness, *by which the Chancery was become one of the heaviest grievances of the nation.*"

‡ Attempts were made to seize the Plate ships, and to stop the trade between Spain and her colonies; but these all failed, and continued to fail, in a very strange manner, during the whole of the war. Lord Bolingbroke attributes the most important consequences to this circumstance; and is of opinion that we might have hindered France from importing annually, from the year 1702, such immense treasures as she did import by the ships she sent, with the permission of Spain, to the South Seas, to Mexico, and Peru. This year Admiral Munden was detached with a good squadron to intercept some ships in the West Indies; but coming in sight of the French admiral Du Casse, he declined attacking him. Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but the queen, nevertheless, thought fit to cashier him. Soon after (on the 19th of August) the brave old Benbowe fell in with the same Du Casse, and instantly attacked him, though he had only seven ships to ten. Four of his captains fell astern in the action, and scarcely fired a shot; but Benbowe kept off the enemy, and continued a running fight from the 19th to the 24th, when he crippled one of the enemy's chief ships. But Du Casse held his wind when he saw that three or four of the English ships were so far astern that they could give no assistance to their admiral; and the French and Spaniards renewed the action with great fury. Old Benbowe had his leg shattered, and was otherwise badly wounded; but he ordered his hammock to be brought upon deck, and lying upon it, still continued the fight. But he was wretchedly seconded by his captains, and the enemy were suffered to escape, and carry off their disabled ship. Old Benbowe returning to his station at Jamaica, brought the captains to a court-martial for cowardice and breach of orders: Captain Kirby of the Defiance and Captain Wade of the Greenwich were sentenced to be shot; Captain Constable of the Windsor was sentenced to be cashiered and imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure; Captain Hudson of the Pendennis died some days before his trial. The other two captains were sentenced to be suspended. Benbowe died of his wounds at Jamaica; but the queen did him that justice to order Captains Kirby and Wade to be shot on ship-board on their arrival at Plymouth, without suffering them to set foot on shore. Comodore Leake destroyed the French settlements in Newfoundland, and took a few fishing-vessels,—and these were all our naval successes this year.

COLLAR OF THE ORDER OF THE THISTLE, OR ST. ANDREW.

peace should be filled with gentlemen of the *best* quality and estates, and as fit that they should be of known loyalty and affection to the government, the Protestant succession, and the church; and that she would give directions accordingly.

During this session Anne was pleased to revive the Order of the Thistle in Scotland; and, on the 4th of February, she conferred the green ribbon on his grace the Duke of Argyll. The vista was opened towards a union, but in either nation there was so much passion and prejudice as to make it doubtful to many statesmen whether that great measure could be carried in their lifetime. On the 3rd of April the queen prorogued parliament with a gracious speech, in which, however, she took occasion to lament, very gently, that her desires of seeing a perfect unity among themselves were not yet realised.

The day after the parliament rose, David Lindsay was brought to trial for high treason, which was taken to be proved by his returning from France without pass or licence. He showed that he was a Scotchman, and pleaded a Scotch pardon; but he was told that this could not avail him in England, and he was condemned as a traitor in dangerous correspondence with France, &c. He denied all knowledge of Fraser's plot. To frighten him into a confession he was drawn to Tyburn; but he was proof even to the sight of the fatal tree; ministers did not mean to hang him: he was conveyed back to Newgate, where he remained some years; and the end of the man was, that he died in want and misery in Holland. Simon Fraser of Lovat, in the meanwhile, had found his way back to Paris, but had there been shut up in the Bastille. He had delivered a long memorial to Maria d'Este, the so called queen-regent, in which he gave a pompous account of the success of his mission, not merely in the Highlands, but also in the Lowlands—with the ministers of the crown as well as the chiefs of the clans. But the Earl of Middleton perceived his falsehood and double treachery, and, by means of a letter to M. de Torcy, laid him fast for the present.* One effect of his manœuvres was the temporary disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, whose interest in Scotland had been long on the decline. Anne, who at this moment was accused "of a secret bias of sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain," appointed the Marquess of Tweeddale her commissioner. The Scottish parliament assembled on the 6th of July, ministers having previously exerted themselves among parties to engage them to vote ample supplies for the continental war, which they had refused the preceding session, and to settle the great question of the succession. The queen, in a letter, delivered instead of an opening speech, deplored that the divisions among her Scottish subjects should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their secret emissaries among them: she promised to grant, in a parliamentary manner, whatever might be demanded for quieting the minds of the people; assured them that she had empowered her commissioner to give unquestionable proofs of her affection and of her determination to maintain the government in church and state, and had authorised him to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of her ancient kingdom. But the clause of the letter which

* Middleton, who continued to act as a sort of secretary of state to Maria d'Este and her son, tells the French minister that he never had a very good opinion of Lovat. "He acknowledges," continues the earl, "a formal disobedience; for he was absolutely forbidden to treat with any but the Highlanders. He told me that Queensberry, Argyll, and Loven were the greatest enemies of the king in that country; yet he communicated to them the whole of his commission. He rejects extraordinary offers, but obtains a pass to go to London; and from thence the same Queensberry obtains another pass for him; under a borrowed name, to secure his safe return to France. It is, therefore, clear as daylight, that these noblemen wanted to employ him here as a spy, and for seizing letters and commissions which might serve as proofs against the men of honour in that country."—*Macpherson, State Papers.*

was the most important of all, was that where her majesty exhorted them to settle the succession in the Protestant line. This clause was expected, and ample preparations had been made to meet it. The Duke of Hamilton forthwith presented a resolution declaring that the parliament would not name a successor to the crown until a good treaty in relation to commerce and other concerns had been concluded with' England.—Fletcher of Saltoun exposed, in a striking manner, the many hardships which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two crowns in one sovereign, and the impossibility of their bettering their condition, unless by forethought and care to anticipate any design that tended to perpetuate the same hardships and insults. Remembering the recent tragedy at Darien, many of the assembly would have asked broadly for a full share in the plantation trade of England, and for the shipping of Scotland to be included and comprehended in the English Navigation Act. This, as Burnet observes, could not be granted without the concurrence of the parliament of England; but the Scots were perfectly right in demanding it as they did. Another resolution was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing that the Scottish parliament should first take into consideration the questions of privileges and nationality, make such limitation on the power of the crown as might be proper for rectifying the constitution, and for vindicating and securing the independence of the nation; and, all that being done, they might take into consideration the resolution offered by the Duke of Hamilton for a previous treaty of commerce, &c. A violent debate ensued; but, at last, Sir James Falconer suggested a double resolution, that the parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor until the previous treaty with England should be discussed; and that it would *not* nominate the successor until after the necessary conditions and limitations on the crown had been made. This was carried by a considerable majority. Then the Duke of Atholl, who led all these violent motions, moved that her majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and papers relating to the late conspiracy, in order that those who had been *unjustly* accused in England might be vindicated, and the real guilty brought to punishment. The Marquess of Tweeddale declared that he had already written to her majesty upon this important matter, and would write again. It was the design of Atholl, and of all those who were most friendly to the Pretender, to convict the Duke of Queensberry of malice and calumny—to prove, in short, that he was the fabricator of the Fraser plot, and, as such, merited death. Beyond the walls of parliament there was a loud and universal outcry among the people, that sundry of their innocent countrymen had been maliciously charged with a conspiracy, had been seized, examined, tried, and condemned in England with an obvious disregard to the rights of a nation which was as free and independent as England herself, &c. Anne had certainly no affection for Queensberry,—she would probably have cared very little if he had been thrown, bound and helpless, in the midst of the furious Jacobites; but she, or her ministers for her, both in Scotland and England, saw that, if the examination was allowed, the business would not end with Queensberry,—that it would, on the contrary, raise and prolong such a ferment as might prove of the most dangerous consequence, while it would inevitably divert attention from the subject of the Protestant succession, and delay or stop altogether the vote of supply. She, therefore, returned no answer to the repeated applications for the witnesses and the papers; and the friends of peace and of the Protestant succession so managed matters that the inquiry was let fall. The Duke of Hamilton, who was by this time more than suspected of sharing the political sentiments of his grace of Atholl, now moved that the parliament should proceed to the limitations, and to the treaty about trade, and name commissioners to treat with England, before entering upon any other business, except the passing of a land-tax for two months only, to provide for the immediate subsistence of the forces actually on foot in Scotland, to whom arrears were due—the latter a circumstance tending greatly to shake their loyalty to Queen Anne. The Earl of Marchmont rose and proposed an instant act to exclude for ever from the throne of Scotland all *popish* successors. Hamilton and his party, with great heat, opposed the motion as unseasonable. The Lord Justice Clerk brought up a bill of supply, but this bill "had a tack to it." They fastened, in fact, to this money bill a great part of a bill which had passed in the preceding session, but to which the queen had refused her assent—a bill providing, "that, if the queen should die without issue, a Scottish parliament should presently meet, and *they* were to declare the successor to the crown, who should not be the same person that was possessed of the crown of England, unless, before that time, there should be a settlement made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English councils."* This "tack" to the supply bill put the Scottish ministry into extreme difficulties: if they rejected it the army could no longer be kept up, for the arrears were considerable, and there was no money in the treasury to pay them. Some suggested asking the English ministry to advance the sub-

* "By another clause in the act, it was made lawful to arm the subjects, and to train them and put them in a posture of defence. This was chiefly pressed, in behalf of the best affected in the kingdom, who were not armed: for the Highlanders, who were the worst affected, were well armed; so, to balance that, it was moved, that leave should be given to arm the rest. All was carried with great heat and much vehemence; for a national humour of being independent on England fermented so strongly among all sorts of people without doors, that those who went not into every hot motion that was made, were looked on as the betrayers of their country; and they were so exposed to a popular fury, that some of those who studied to stop this tide were thought to be in danger of their lives. The Presbyterians were so overawed with this, that, though they wished well to the settling the succession, they durst not openly declare it. The Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl led all those violent motions, and the whole nation was strangely inflamed."—*Burnet.*

sistence money till better measures could be taken, but none of the Scottish ministers would venture upon this; for, as an army is reckoned to belong to those who pay it, so an army paid by England would be called by the Scots an English army. "Men's minds," adds Burnet, "were then so full of the *conceit of independence* (this Anglo-prelatised Scot ought to have spoken with more respect of the high and proud national feeling of his countrymen), that, if a suspicion had arisen of any such practice, probably it would have occasioned tumults; and even the army was so enkindled with this, that it was believed that neither officers nor soldiers would have taken their pay, if they had believed it came from England. It came then to this, that either the army must be disbanded, or the bill must pass. It is true the army was a very small one—not above three thousand; but it was so ordered, that it was doubly or trebly officered; so that it could have been easily increased to a much greater number, if there had been occasion for it. The officers had served long, and were men of a good character: so, since they were alarmed with an invasion—which both sides looked for, and the intelligence which the court had from France assured them it was intended—they thought the inconveniences arising from the tack might be remedied afterwards: but the breaking up of the army was such a pernicious thing, and might end so fatally, that it was not to be ventured on."

While the streets of Edinburgh were crowded with people of all ranks exclaiming against English influence, and threatening to sacrifice all that should prove traitors to their country and enemies to the ancient independence of Scotland, the appalled ministers, one and all, signed a letter to the queen, advising her to pass the bill, encumbered as it was with the greater part of that act of security which she had formerly refused. This measure involved Godolphin, who was now considered as the confidential adviser of the queen in all things, and who had already been marked out by the high-flying Tories for destruction. If he accepted the bill with the tack, he would be accused of promoting the disseverance of the two kingdoms; if, on the contrary, he refused the bill, he would be held liable for the ill consequences of breaking the Scottish army, and laying that kingdom open to an invasion. But Godolphin had courage enough to act with decision in this difficult dilemma; and, as the safest thing for the queen, and the least evil for the two nations, he induced Anne to pass the bill, and so be in a condition to defend Scotland against the incursions of the Jacobite Highland clans and against invasions threatened from abroad.*

But for the brilliant successes of Marlborough, who relied upon Godolphin as his main stay in the cabinet, Godolphin would have been annihilated in consequence of this measure. For the present, the Scottish ministers got the supplies, and the forces in Scotland were kept up and somewhat increased. The parliament of that country, however, was not yet satisfied; they debated anew upon the Fraser plot, denounced the proceedings of the House of Lords in England upon that business as an officious intermeddling in their concerns—an encroachment upon the independence of their nation; and they drew up an address to the queen, desiring that, next session at least, all the papers and evidence relating to that conspiracy might be laid before them. To still the storm the lord commissioner hastened to a prorogation. The English Tories got possession of the whole of the Scottish Security Bill, printed it, and circulated it through the country, in order to show that the two kingdoms were now separated so as never to be united again. At the same time dark reports were spread of vast quantities of arms and ammunition coming from France into Scotland, and of designs entertained by the Scots to cross the borders and make war upon England!

In the meanwhile Marlborough was gaining the greatest of his victories—was becoming "the hero of Blenheim." That fortunate soldier and politician, accepting a pressing invitation from the Pensionary Heinsius, and imitating the famed winter journey of the late king, had left London for the Hague on the 15th of January, while the English parliament was sitting, and when the season was intensely cold and stormy. He arrived safely at the Hague on the 19th; and, encouraged by the prospect of having 50,000 British troops under his immediate command, he proposed to the Dutch to open the campaign on the Moselle with his own troops and part of the foreign auxiliaries, while General Auverquerque remained to act on the defensive in the Netherlands with the Dutch and the rest of the auxiliaries. This, in fact, was only part of a bold plan he had formed for carrying the war beyond the Rhine, where the cause of the emperor seemed still falling to ruin; but this part was all he thought fit to confide for the present to the States-General, whose timidity and irresolution would, he feared, have opposed his daring scheme if they had known the whole of it at once. And there was also another reason, and a weighty one, for this *reticence:* somehow it had generally happened, that, when a scheme of operations was laid, and produced in the Dutch cabinet, in the allied camp, or in conferences with the ministers of the confederated powers, it was forthwith communicated partially or entire to the court of Versailles, or to the French generals commanding in the field! At first the States-General would hardly enter into Marlborough's modified or half-revealed proposal, considering it too hazardous and as likely to leave Holland too much exposed; but the pensionary, who had always so ably assisted King William, seconded the proposal, and engaged to employ all his influence and that of his friends in procuring the concur-

* "This," says Burnet, "was under consultation in the month of July, when our matters abroad were yet in a great uncertainty; for, though the victory at Schellemberg was a good step, yet the great decision was not then come."

rence of his government. At the same time, Heinsius and Marlborough induced the States to grant a subsidy to the Margrave of Baden and a supply to the circle of Suabia; to take into pay 4000 Wirtemburgers in lieu of 4000 or 5000 English and Dutch, who had been detached to Portugal, and also to make a promise of money to the Duke of Savoy, with the assurance of so vigorous a campaign on the part of the allies as should effectually prevent the French from sending more troops across the Alps. Under the same influences fresh encouragements were given to the Elector Palatine, and to the new King of Prussia, the most selfish and wrong-headed of all the allied princes. This over, Marlborough hurried back to London, where he arrived on the 24th of February, and instantly persuaded the queen to remit a hundred thousand crowns to the circle of Suabia; and to send out of her *privy purse* some of the money he had promised the Margrave of Baden. Having remodelled his politics so as to square with those of a partly Whig cabinet, Marlborough left London early in April to put himself at the head of the army. In spite of all the endeavours of the pensionary and his friends, he encountered considerable opposition even to that part of the plan which he had revealed (the real plan in its full extent was still a mystery even in England): the states of Zealand and Friezland in particular objected strongly to any movement of troops to such a distance from the Low Countries. But at length Marlborough, who had procured a general instruction from the English cabinet empowering him to take such measures as should be deemed proper for relieving the emperor and reducing the Elector of Bavaria, told the States that he was fully resolved upon going to the Moselle with upwards of 40,000 men. In a letter to Godolphin, he says, "I do no way doubt but her majesty will approve this: I am very sensible that I take a great deal upon me; but, should I act otherwise, the empire will be undone, and consequently the confederacy." The States-General were silenced by his determined declaration, and consented, with a good grace, to what they could not prevent. At the same time, however, they intrusted him with powers which they might and would have withheld if they had known the whole of his hazardous project. The only one of the generals of the allied powers that was intrusted with the secret was Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been appointed to the command of the emperor's army on the Upper Danube.* Leaving Auverquerque with the Dutch troops and part of the auxiliaries to guard the frontiers, Marlborough proceeded to Utrecht, near which place he passed some days with the Earl of Albemarle, the favourite of the late king, and the depositary of William's secrets and plans. He then went by Ruremond to Maestricht, and thence to Bedburg, in the duchy of Juliers, which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the forces concentrating from different quarters. Here he found his brother, General Churchill, with fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons of horse.* With these troops, which were to be joined on their line of march by Prussians, Hessians, Lunenburgers, and others, quartered on the Rhine, and by eleven Dutch battalions stationed at Rothweil, Marlborough, on the 19th of May (N. S.), began his celebrated expedition. He had got no farther than Kerpen (on the 20th), when he received an express from Auverquerque, imploring him to halt, because Villeroy had crossed the Meuse at Namur, and was threatening Huy.† At the same moment letters arrived from the Margrave of Baden urging him to hasten his march towards the lines of Stolhoffen, because Tallard had made a movement towards the Rhine. But Marlborough adhered to his grand project; and, only halting a day to quiet the alarms of Auverquerque and the Margrave of Baden, he pushed forward might and main to Kalsecken. At that point he deemed it expedient to disclose more of his plan: he wrote to the States-General to assure them that no danger was to be apprehended on the side of the Netherlands, while his own sudden operations engaged the entire attention of the French; he even ventured to ask for further reinforcements, insisting that Auverquerque would still be strong enough to cover their lines. Then he pushed forward to Sinzig, where he acted as if he intended to make the banks of the Moselle the scene of his campaign. He had not only kept his own design secret, but had established the means of a most rapid communication in all directions—if not a correspondence with some of the allies of the French, who betrayed the movements of Louis's generals. Upon intelligence that Tallard had passed the Rhine, thrown forward a reinforcement of 10,000 men to the Elector of Bavaria, and then resumed his former position near Strasburg, he accelerated his march, advancing with the cavalry

* It appears, indeed, from the letters written by Eugene to Marlborough (preserved among the Blenheim Papers, and in Archdeacon Coxe's copies in the Brit. Mus.), and from the *Vie du Prince Eugène* (the latter an equivocal authority, however,) that Marlborough had arranged the whole plan of the campaign with that prince, who must, therefore, come in for some of the honours of it. Prince Eugene had induced the emperor to write a letter to Anne, representing his extreme danger, and praying for assistance.

* "On which day the Prince of Saxe Zeist, Bishop of Raab, and several canons of Cologne, attended his grace with the compliments of that Chapter. The same day M. Brianzoni, envoy extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy to her majesty, came to wait upon his grace from Cologne, whither they returned together in the evening. The Bishop of Raab carried a letter with him from the Duke to the Elector of Treves, informing his highness of the approach of the army towards Coblentz, and earnestly desiring him that, as there was a great number of bread-waggons, tumbrills, pontoons, and other wheel-carriages, which shortened and embarrassed their marches, his highness would be pleased to order a bridge to be laid forthwith over the Rhine; and that not only to facilitate the passage of these troops, but to spare his highness's territories, which would suffer the more if the army continued longer upon them."—*Dr. Hare's MS. Journal.* This reverend doctor attended Marlborough as his chaplain, and was a good and minute observer of the whole campaign. Archdeacon Coxe made from the MSS. at Blenheim a copy of the Journal, which now exists in the Library of the British Museum; but the laborious Archdeacon can hardly be said to have made use of the *best* parts of the chaplain's journal, or of the letters which Hare afterwards wrote when the Marlboroughs were in disgrace, and when the government were mean enough to stop and examine their letters at the Post Office.

† "The movement of the enemy gave some jealousy to M. d'Auverquerque himself; but his grace soon satisfied him that there was more advantage than danger in it."—*Hare's MS. Journal.*

upon Coblentz, and leaving his brother to follow with the infantry and artillery. His progress was favoured by the German people;* and on the 26th of May, while visiting the Elector of Treves, who was sojourning in that lofty and romantic citadel, he witnessed from the heights of Ehrenbreitstein the passage of his army across the Moselle and the Rhine. Again calling urgently upon the States-General for reinforcements he advanced along the bank of the Rhine to Broubach. The march, though rapid, was admirably conducted, so as to save the troops from the heat of the mid-day sun and from all unnecessary fatigue. From Broubach he wrote to the King of Prussia, who was wittily and correctly described by his son, the great Frederick, as being a great man in little matters, and a little man in great matters, praising the valour of the Prussian troops, and requesting to have more of them. He arrived at Mentz on the 29th, and rested there a day to refresh the troops and to partake of the hospitality of the elector. The army was fresh, and in such admirable order and *tenue*, that the elector exclaimed, "These gentlemen seem to be all dressed for a ball."†

While at Mentz, Marlborough received advices that the States had consented to send after him twenty squadrons and eight battalions of Danish auxiliaries; but at the same moment he received the less welcome intelligence that the Margrave of Baden, to whom he had made his mistress send money out of the privy purse, had not only suffered the 10,000 men that Tallard had thrown forward to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria, but had also neglected a most favourable opportunity of bringing that elector to battle. In fact, 30,000 German troops, of different circles, had permitted the Elector of Bavaria to move from his camp at Ulm, towards the head of the Danube, to meet the French forwarded by Tallard; had allowed the elector to pass unmolested through narrow defiles, to march, in a manner, right through the main body of the Imperialists, to effect his junction with the French, and then to return through the narrow and dangerous pass of Stochach with a long line of carriages—whereas, by his seizing that pass, he might have cut off the Elector's retreat, and reduced him to surrender at discretion, his army being without bread, so that any delay or stoppage must have been fatal to it. Marlborough, however, did not lose heart: he persuaded the Landgrave of Hesse to put his artillery at his disposal, summoned several of the auxiliary or partisan leaders to receive his instructions as to the proper points where they were to join him, took up money to pay the English, "who, notwithstanding the continual marching, were extremely pleased with this expedition;" and moved towards the Neckar, where he had previously ordered bridges to be constructed. He had already saved the emperor from all fears of the Elector of Bavaria and his French allies; but, hoping to achieve much more than this, he was now directing his steps to the banks of the Danube, leaving the French in his rear lost in astonishment, and too weak and too indifferently commanded to be able to do anything but look on. They, indeed, were still uncertain as to his real intentions: at first they had expected an attack by the Moselle, then upon Alsace; his throwing a bridge over the Rhine at Philipsberg, and the advance of the Landgrave of Hesse's artillery to Manheim seemed to indicate the siege of Landau, which place had been retaken by the French and much improved in its fortifications.—The French generals were at last completely bewildered. If the Condés and the Turennes had been alive, affairs might have gone differently; but Marlborough's genius was opposed by the mediocrity of Villeroy and Tallard: the first of these generals, who had followed him at a respectful distance from the Meuse, brought up reinforcements from French Flanders:* Tallard, on the other hand, descended to the Lauter, with the view of joining Villeroy, so as to protect Alsace. They were thus at fault, when Marlborough crossed the Neckar, and proceeded to Erpingen, with a force continually increasing by means of small bodies of Prussians, Hessians, Palatines, and others who flowed in to his line of march, right and left, like tributary streams to a main river. On the 7th of June he encamped at Erpingen, to wait for his brother, who was several marches behind him, with the cannon and part of the infantry. On that day he wrote to Godolphin:—"Having received intelligence yesterday that in three or four days the Duke of Villeroy, with his army, would join that of the Marshal de Tallard about Landau, in order to force the passage of the Rhine, I prevailed with Count Wratislaw to make all the haste he could to Prince Louis of Baden's army, where he will be this night, that he might make him sensible of the great consequence it is to hinder the French from passing that river, while we are acting against the Elector of Bavaria. I have also desired him to press, and not to be refused, that either Prince Louis or Prince Eugene go immediately to the Rhine. I am in hopes to know to-morrow what resolution they have taken. If I could decide it by my wishes, Prince Eugene should stay on the Danube, although Prince Louis has assured me, by the Count de Frise, that he will not make the least motion with his army but as we shall concert. At this time it is agreed that Prince Louis shall act on the Iller, and I on the Danube. If the Marshal de Villeroy can be kept on the other side of the Rhine, we must be contented to suffer him to do what he pleases there, whilst we are acting in

* Wherever he went he sent forward assurances that the strictest discipline would be observed; and these promises were kept much better than they usually had been.

† Hare's Journal.

* "Marshal Villeroy," says Voltaire, "who had wished to follow him on his first marches, suddenly lost sight of him altogether, and only learned where he really was on hearing of his victory at Donawert."—*Siècle de Louis XIV.*

Bavaria. If we can hinder the junction of more troops to the elector, I hope six weeks after we begin may be sufficient for the reducing of him, or the entire ruining of his country." His rest at Erpingen was short; and on the 9th he crossed the Neckar in another part of its course, and advanced to Mondelsheim, where on the 10th he met for the first time Prince Eugene of Savoy, the partner or rival in his glory. Many compliments passed, and the prince bestowed great praise on the English cavalry, which has not usually been the best part of our armies. At Hippach* they halted three days, to await the arrival of the infantry and artillery, who were still behind, and to concert their future operations, which could only fully succeed by an entire understanding and cordial co-operation. The Margrave of Baden, after detaching some troops to secure the passage of the Rhine against Villeroy, came up and joined them at Hippach, where he saluted Marlborough as "the deliverer of the empire." Of necessity, this margrave was admitted into their councils and deliberations, and from that moment there arose differences and jealousies, which might have deranged the whole plan. Marlborough, as we have seen, wished the margrave to remain on the Rhine, and to have Prince Eugene as his colleague on the Danube, where the brilliant and decisive part of the campaign was to be enacted; but the margrave, who was older in rank than Prince Eugene, and unwilling to be kept in an inferior field of action, insisted on a right of choice, and, in fact, on a right of supreme command on the Danube; and it was not without difficulty that the obstinate German consented to share that command by alternate days with the English general. Greatly to the mortification both of Eugene and Marlborough, the former was therefore left upon the Rhine, while the latter moved towards the Danube with the Margrave of Baden. At the same time news was received that Auverquerque had been baffled in an attempt upon the French lines in Flanders, and had lost an excellent opportunity upon the Meuse. Nor was this all: there were misfortunes nearer at hand, for some Prussian and Suabian corps, that were appointed to join between the Rhine and the Danube, mistook their instructions and lost ten days in marches and countermarches. Marlborough, however, went on to Ebersbach, where he rested two days. Here Count Wratislaw waited upon him, on the part of his master the emperor, who was "desirous to write to the queen that he might have her consent to make the duke a prince of the empire, which he would do by creating some land he had in the empire into a principality, which would give him a privilege of being in the College, or Diet, with the sovereign princes of the empire." The aspiring general was wise enough to suppress any anxiety about this honour, and to declare that he must previously know the will of his mistress; saying, at the same time, that in his opinion nothing of the sort ought to be done until the fate of the war was decided. Yet in the letter to his wife in which he communicates this offer his exultation is very apparent, as is also that regard to money which marked his character from first to last.*

On the 15th of June, Prince Eugene was at Philipsberg, on the Rhine; and Marlborough, still hampered by the delays and blunders of his allies, was preparing to cross the range of mountains which separated him from the valley of the Danube, beyond which river he expected the Elector of Bavaria would retreat. It was not till the 20th that everything was ready, and then, while the States-General were sending courier after courier to induce him to weaken his army and send back troops to the Netherlands, he traversed the narrow and dangerous pass of Gieslingen with his entire force, and without accident.† Beyond that defile he came in communication with the troops of Prince Louis, who had taken up a position near Westersteppen. On the 24th he advanced to Elchingen, close on the Danube, thus compelling the Elector of Bavaria to withdraw from his post at Ulm. On the 25th, amid torrents of rain, which lasted several days, Marlborough fixed his head-quarters at Langenau, the Elector of Bavaria retiring along the bank of the Danube, to an entrenched camp constructed by himself and his French allies in the preceding campaign, between Lawingen and Dillingen, having broad morasses in front, and the Danube in the rear. On the following day Marlborough moved, and halted on the little river Brentz, only two short leagues from the enemy; but his brother, General

* At Hippach Marlborough reviewed his cavalry in the presence of Eugene, "who expressed his surprise to find them in such excellent condition after so long a march, and told his Grace that he had heard much of the English cavalry, and found it to be the best appointed and the finest he had ever seen. 'But,' says he, 'money (which you do not want in England) will buy fine clothes and fine horses, but it cannot buy that lively air which I see in every one of those troopers' faces.' To which his Grace replied, that that must be attributed to their heartiness in the common cause, and the particular pleasure and satisfaction they had in seeing his highness."—*Hare's MS. Journal.*

* He says to the duchess, "What is offered will in history for ever remain an honour to my family. But I wish myself so well that I hope I shall never want the income of the land, *which no doubt will be but little*, nor enjoy the privilege of German assemblies. However, this is the utmost expression that they can make, and therefore ought to be taken as it is meant." In the same confidential letter his real eagerness for the honour and title peeps out rather plainly: —"I know you wish the queen and me so well that you would be glad that nothing should be done that might do either of us hurt. Therefore, my opinion of this matter is, that there can be no inconvenience in allowing Count Wratislaw's master to write to the queen to ask her consent for the doing this, and then to bring the letter to the cabinet council. In the mean time I shall take care with Count Wratislaw, that no further step be made till I know the queen's pleasure, and the opinion of the lord treasurer. I am very clear in my own opinion, that if anything of this be to be done, it will have a much better grace for me when the business of the war is over; but I beg you to assure the queen, that I will with great pleasure obey in this matter, as well as in everything else, what is most agreeable to her." And a day or two after, in writing to Godolphin about the serious business of the campaign, he eagerly reverts to the subject, begging the minister to let nobody know of it but the queen and her husband. —*Original Letters, as quoted by Coxe, Life of Marlborough.*

† "There is a continued defile, of about two English miles, which would take up almost a day's time in the best season of the year to pass with any number of troops; but it was much more difficult now because of the excessive rains which had fallen for the last three or four days together, and had so levelled the rivulets and deepened the roads that they would have been thought altogether impassable by any but such as were carried on by an invincible resolution."—*Hare's MS. Journal.*

Churchill, did not arrive with the artillery and part of the foot till the 27th, when the combined army amounted to 96 battalions and 202 squadrons, with a train of 48 pieces of artillery, pontoons, &c. None of the expected forces were wanting except the Danish horse, under the Duke of Wirtemburg; but Marlborough did not think himself able to act against the Elector of Bavaria as he could wish until that Danish cavalry came up. While he was waiting, the elector and the French officers serving with him threw up some fresh works in front of their entrenched camp on the bank of the Danube, and detached General d'Arco with 12,000 men to occupy the Schellenberg, a commanding height overhanging the important town of Donawert. Marlborough saw clearly that by this skilful disposition the Elector hoped to cover his own dominions, and keep the allies in check, till he should receive reinforcements every day expected from France: he therefore insisted upon an immediate attack upon the heights of Schellenberg, representing to those who suggested doubts, that if time was lost the enemy would either escape or would have time to make an entrenched camp there more formidable than the one they occupied among the morasses. The Margrave of Baden hesitated, but at last consented to an advance; and on the 1st of July, when Marlborough had the command for the day, he defiled before the elector in his marshy camp, and directed his march to the foot of the Schellenberg. The roads were little better than bogs, the horses frequently sunk to their saddle girths, the artillery and heavy baggage waggons stuck in the mud, and the march was altogether slow and most laborious. Yet towards evening Marlborough rested on a convenient plain a few miles from the foot of the mountain, from whose summit the Gallo-Bavarians were watching his progress with evident uneasiness. Gazing on those heights, and foreseeing that they would not be carried without great bloodshed, he gave orders for establishing an hospital for his wounded—an attention not as yet generally bestowed by generals on suffering humanity. He also took 130 picked men from each battalion of the army, joined these, which, collectively, amounted to 6,000 foot, to 30 squadrons of horse and three regiments of Austrian grenadiers, and ordered that this detachment should precede the main body of the army and begin the attack. At three o'clock in the morning, as the first rays of the sun began to light up the Danube, the plain and the mountain, this column was put in motion by Marlborough in person, who, at five, followed with the rest of the army. There remained to be crossed, at about a mile from the foot of the Schellenberg, the Wernitz, a deep and rapid stream flowing into the Danube; but bridges had been prepared to throw across, and the van were provided with pontoons and fascines. It was about nine o'clock when Marlborough joined the head of the attacking column on the bank of this stream, where he was saluted by the enemy with a heavy cannonade, and whence he could see the very formidable nature of the attack he contemplated. The Schellenberg was rough and steep; the summit was covered with troops, and protected by an old fort and by entrenchments, which, though not completed, were in a rapid progress; and besides all this, there lay between him and the summit a thick wood, a rivulet, and a ravine; while on the opposite side of the Danube there was a regular camp, occupied by a strong detachment of cavalry, who could communicate with the town of Donawert and the acclivities of the Schellenberg by a bridge. About noon, Marlborough, without waiting for the Imperialists, who were still in the rear, crossed the Wernitz, and at about five in the afternoon he gave his last orders to the attacking column, the command of which was consigned to the Dutch General Goor, and the first line of which was led by Brigadier Ferguson, the whole being preceded by a forlorn hope of fifty English grenadiers, under Lord Mordaunt. The assailants advanced to the hill with a firm step, under a tremendous fire from the enemy's works. As soon as they arrived within the range of grape shot, the carnage became dreadful. General Goor and other officers fell, and for a moment the men paused and hung back. But other officers stepped forward to supply the places of those who had fallen, and then the column moved forward till they came to the ravine, which some of the men in their ignorance mistook for the ditch of the entrenchment, which could be made passable by the fascines they carried. While they were throwing in their fascines, standing exposed on the edge of the ravine, General d'Arco plied them with every gun he could bring to bear upon them; and when this tremendous fire had produced some effect, he threw out some French and Bavarian battalions, who, rushing from their works, charged with the bayonet. This charge was repulsed principally by a battalion of the English guards, who stood their ground almost alone, and kept in perfect order, though nearly all their officers had been knocked on the head before the charge began. The attacking column soon formed again, and advanced still nearer to the works. But d'Arco concentrated nearly his whole force in their front, by drawing in the men that had occupied the flanks, and he not only continued to ply the assailants with grape shot, but sent out beyond his trenches several strong sallying parties, who fought bravely, and used both musket and bayonet with great effect. Again the allies began to waver and to give way; and their repulse seemed complete, when General Lumley led forward a body of horse, threw back the enemy, and closed up or re-formed the ranks of the allies. During their severe sufferings, the French and Bavarians had not escaped tremendous loss: of some of the parties that sallied from the trenches scarcely a man had returned; and at this critical moment, the accidental explosion of some gunpowder in their works spread a sudden panic, which could not be overcome in the shortness of

time allowed them. For the next moment the English and the Dutch burst into the entrenchments, and the Imperialists, led on by the Margrave of Baden, were seen advancing towards the heights from under the walls of Donawert. While the English and the Dutch were, as yet, part in the ditch, and part scaling the entrenchment, the French and Bavarians, abandoning every part of the work, fled in complete disorder down the hill side, towards the bridge over the Danube. The fugitives were followed by the whole body of the allied cavalry, and the carnage was terrific. And when the unhappy fugitives reached the bridge, it broke down under their weight, and hundreds of them were drowned. Other bodies were driven over the banks; and in the end, between the sword and the Danube, 7,000 or 8,000 perished on that fatal evening. Of the whole force detached to Schellenberg, only 3,000 men rejoined the elector; but a considerable number came in as deserters to the allies. Sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken. The night set in with a heavy rain; and, in spite of the shouts of triumph, the allied camp presented a sight of horror: there were 4,000 men wounded, and at the very least 1,500 killed. The loss in officers was particularly heavy; eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains being among the slain; and the Prince of Bevern and Count Styrum being mortally wounded. The sufferings of the wounded were, of course, greatly aggravated by the state of the weather; but Marlborough, it is said, paid particular attention to them. He then left a considerable body to keep possession of the Schellenberg, and withdrew to his camp on the Wernitz, attributing his success to the particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of her majesty's troops.*

After this battle of Schellenberg or Donawert, as it is variously called, fresh misunderstandings broke out between the English general and the Margrave of Baden. The German general had been slightly wounded in the engagement, and had entered the entrenchments before Marlborough came up in person; hence the margrave and his friends claimed for him the chief honour of the victory, regardless of the obvious facts, that the whole plan was the English general's, and that, without the decided will of Marlborough, there would have been no battle at all. Marlborough, on the other side, spoke with contempt of his colleague. A feud was the consequence, which spread from the army, where it might have proved very dangerous, to the Low Countries and the Hague, where the party inimical to Marlborough struck a medal with the effigies of the margrave on the one side and the lines of Schellenberg on the reverse to commemorate the victory. But the world at large took a juster view of the case, and of the relative merits of the two commanders: throughout Germany, throughout Italy, in every part of the Continent, by friends and by foes, the merit of the achievement was given to Anne's general, and the name of Marlborough was on every man's tongue. Even the French began to sing him in songs, and the Italians, farther off, dreamed of him as of some fierce conqueror of the old times.* But Marlborough had more serious thoughts to occupy his mind than these jealousies and bickerings. He received intelligence that Villeroy had promised the Elector of Bavaria that he would send him, by way of the Black Forest, fifty battalions of foot and sixty squadrons of horse—"the best troops of France, which would make him stronger than the confederates." The English general, however, relied much on the assurances of Prince Eugene, that he would venture everything rather than suffer these French reinforcements to pass quietly as the last had done. Marlborough also expected that the enemy would defend Donawert to the last extremity. But here he was agreeably disappointed, for the Elector of Bavaria withdrew his garrison, set fire to his magazines, abandoned all his positions, and commenced a retreat towards Augsburg, thus leaving his hereditary dominions open to invasion. On the 6th of July he wrote to Godolphin: "We are now taking care for a passage over this river of Lech, and then we shall be in the heart of the elector's country. If he will ever make propositions it must be then. The Marshals de Villeroy and Tallard are separated. The latter is to join the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke de Villeroy is to act on the Rhine. Prince Eugene will be obliged to divide his army, so that he may observe each of their motions. As for his person it will be with that army that is to observe M. Tallard. By all the intelligence we have, our last action has very much disheartened the enemy, so that, if we can get over the river to engage them, I no ways doubt but God will help us with the victory. Our greatest difficulty is, that of making our bread follow us: *for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it, and the Germans, that are used to starve, cannot advance without us.*"

On the 7th the passage of the deep, broad, and rapid river Lech was effected at Gunderkingen, and upon this the Bavarian garrison at Neuburg abandoned that important place and retired to Ingoldstadt. On the 10th, Marlborough was encamped near Mittelstetten with 73 battalions and 174 squadrons. He had now the whole of the army in the elector's country, and he announced that if that unfortunate prince would not con-

* See note to the queen immediately after the victory in Coxe, Life. In taking Providence into partnership in these dreadful doings, Marlborough did no more than what was common with all commanders down to the time of our great living general, whose good sense and juster feeling put an end to the practice. Marlborough, however, in the hurry of the moment, used an awkward mode of expression. "Our success," he says, "is *in a great measure* owing to the particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of your troops."

* The Duke of Shrewsbury, in a congratulatory letter from Rome where he was still residing, says: "I will not suspend your time with politic reflections, which you can make much better than I, but must tell you that in this holy, ignorant city they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane; and, had I a picture of old Colonel Birch with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours, and change it for one done by Raphael."

descend to terms he would do his utmost to ruin that country. At this moment the elector, showing no disposition whatever to treat, lay strongly encamped at Augsburg, awaiting the reinforcements which Villeroy had promised. Bread was now plentiful in Marlborough's camp; provisions were brought out of Franconia, and the soldiers helped themselves in Bavaria, plundering the poor people without mercy. Marlborough exulted in this pleasant state of things, and still more at the promptitude with which he was obeyed on all hands. "I have the pleasure," he writes to his wife, "to find all the officers willing to obey, *without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire*, which is very different from what it was in Flanders, where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for everything I undertook." If we are to believe his own account, several unwise delays which now took place were owing entirely to the backwardness and wilful obstinacy of the Margrave of Baden. Rain, an insignificant fortress, detained him five or six days, and when he proposed a rapid movement for the reduction of Munich, the capital of Bavaria, he was unable to obtain the artillery and stores which had been promised by the Margrave. On the 31st of July he wrote to Godolphin:—"For want of cannon, and the King of France doing all he can to succour the elector, we shall be obliged to take such measures as our wants will permit us; but you may be assured if they give us any opportunity we shall be glad to come to a battle; for that would decide the whole, because our troops are very good. But our misfortune is, that we want everything for attacking towns, otherwise this would have been dated from Munich." In the mean time he had detached thirty squadrons to assist Eugene in disputing the advance of the promised French reinforcements, which were now known to be under the command of Tallard. Without cannon and without money, Marlborough was glad to receive, at last, some propositions from the elector. Though unwillingly, the emperor's ambassador entered into these preliminaries, engaging to obtain for the elector the restoration of his dominions, and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns, upon condition of his entirely breaking off from the French, and furnishing 12,000 men for the service of the emperor. But Villeroy's assurances and Tallard's advance revived the spirit of the Bavarian prince; he failed in an appointment to meet the Austrian plenipotentiary for the conclusion of the treaty, and sent a message to announce that the French general was approaching to his succour with 35,000 men, and that he should run the chances of his brave and steady ally. No doubt the elector's propositions and overtures had been illusory from the first, and meant merely to gain time. Marlborough felt it in this way, and, forthwith, he gave up the whole country, as far as Munich, to military execution. The sight of the burning towns and villages, however, went to his heart; and he deplored the cruel necessity which he considered he lay under.* On the other side Tallard got through the Black Forest, and, after losing five days in a fruitless and absurd attempt on Villingen, forded the Danube at Moskirk, and emerged into the plains about Ulm. He then struck away to the north-west, and, with a few rapid marches, came into communication with the electoral army, which continued to hold its ground at Augsburg. Prince Eugene, unable to prevent these movements, made a parallel march from the Rhine with an inferior force, and reached the plains of Hochstadt with his 18,000 men nearly at the same time that Tallard effected his junction with the Bavarians. He was still far apart from Marlborough and the rest of the confederates—he was precisely in that position where a Condé or a Turenne would have crushed him by a concentrated attack, and then marched away with a superior force, flushed with success, to crush Marlborough. The confederates were, in fact, in that very situation which the Austrians so often fell into, and which Napoleon Buonaparte, at a later day, so often revelled in. But Tallard had none of this genius and decision; and Marlborough and Eugene were left to exercise their superior abilities, and to join their separated armies in one compact and formidable mass. Marlborough fell back upon Neuburg, and, on the 6th of August, encamped on the Paar near Schrobenhausen. Here Prince Eugene, who had left his army, galloped into the camp almost alone and unknown, to concert measures with the English commander. One of their first resolutions appears to have been to get rid of the conflicting voice and authority of the Margrave of Baden, who fortunately consented to go with 23 battalions and 31 squadrons to lay siege to Ingoldstadt, a fortress which had never before opened its gates to a conqueror, and the possession of which was indispensable to the confederates if they meant to keep their *footing* in Bavaria. On the 8th, Marlborough approached the bridges laid near the conflux of the Lech and the Danube; and, on the morrow, upon intelligence that the united Gallo-Bavarians were marching down to the Danube, he advanced to Exheim. At this last point Eugene left him to bring up his own 18,000 men, but in an hour or two the prince galloped back to apprise Marlborough that the enemy were in full march towards Dillingen, in the evident intention of crossing the Danube and overwhelming his (Eugene's) little army. By joint advice Eugene's troops were thereupon ordered to fall back, and the mass of the forces of Marlborough were put in motion to recross the Danube, in order to be on the same side of the river with those of Eugene, and to join them as soon as possible. This operation was exceedingly difficult. Marlborough had

* In letters to the Duchess he says: "This is contrary to my nature, and nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean that you would be pleased with them. . . . . You will, I hope, believe me, that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the Elector will not hinder it."

to traverse the Aicha, the Lech, and the Wernitz, as well as the Danube, and all these streams were swollen by the recent rains. The operations, however, were conducted with admirable skill and forethought, and by the 10th Marlborough had pitched his camp between Mittelstadt and Peuchingen, having, to quiet the alarms of the Margrave of Baden, promised to cover the siege of Ingoldstadt. On the evening of that day he threw across the Danube 28 squadrons of horse and 20 battalions to reinforce Prince Eugene, who was now at Donawert, and prepared to follow with his whole army as soon as he should be certain that the Elector of Bavaria and the French marshal had passed the Danube with *their* whole army. "When," he says in a confidential letter to Godolphin, "Prince Eugene and I have joined, our army will consist of 160 squadrons and 65 battalions. . . . The French make their boast of having a great superiority, but I am very confident they will not venture a battle. Yet if we find a fair occasion we shall be glad to embrace it, being persuaded that the ill condition of our affairs in most parts requires it." As he was retiring in the night for a short rest, Eugene announced, by express, that the enemy had crossed the Danube in force, and that he stood in need of instant succour. The prince had posted his infantry in d'Arco's old position on the Schellenberg, with orders to repair the entrenchments: his baggage he had left at Donawert, and he himself, supported by the Duke of Wirtemburg, was endeavouring to maintain himself on the Kessel. No time was to be lost, as the heads of the Gallo-Bavarian columns were already appearing near Steinheim. At midnight Marlborough ordered his brother, General Churchill, who had already crossed the Danube, to advance and join Eugene, and within two hours the whole of the main army was in motion, crossing the river at different points: but it was ten o'clock at night before the junction with Eugene was completed. Then the combined armies encamped with the Danube on their left and the Kessel in their front, beyond which rivulet General Rowe and some of the English guards were posted. At the dawn of day (the 12th) Marlborough's baggage and artillery came up. At the same moment the English guards moved in the direction of Schweningen, Marlborough and Eugene being with them to survey the ground. Presently these two generals, having ascended the tower of a church, discovered the quarter-masters of the Gallo-Bavarian army marking out a camp between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and instantly they resolved to give battle, and begin the attack before the confusion, inseparable from a change of camps, should be over. Some officers, acquainted with the superiority of the enemy's forces, and the strength of their position, ventured to remonstrate. "I know the danger," said Marlborough; "but a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops, which will make amends for our disadvantages." During the night, while the French and Bavarians were moving to the new camp they had selected, and extending their lines along the elevated ground which stretches from Blenheim to Lutzingen, Marlborough concerted with Prince Eugene the arrangements for a general battle. And as early as two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the memorable 13th of August, these two generals broke up their camp, and by three crossed the Kessel with an aggregate force of 52,000 men and 52 pieces of artillery. Tallard watched their movement with joy, anticipating nothing less than cutting them off from their communications with the places Marlborough had taken in Bavaria, and sliding between them and the Danube. Meanwhile the confederates continued to advance over difficult ground, intersected with rivulets and ditches, Eugene leading the right wing and Marlborough the left. The water-courses, the woods, and the hills behind Blenheim, were scanned with a careful eye; nearer at hand every inch of ground was examined; and from a certain point Marlborough and Eugene rode forward to observe the positions of the enemy, being attended by a Prussian general, who was perfectly well acquainted with the ground and all the local peculiarities from having fought on it and been made prisoner the preceding year in the battle which Villars had gained over the Imperialists. At seven o'clock the outposts and picquets of the Gallo-Bavarians were running back from all points, and the columns were seen forming in the encampment in order of battle. In all they amounted to 56,000 or 57,000 men, or to 4,000 or 5,000 more than the confederates; and they had an immense advantage over the confederates in their ground. But in case of a defeat their situation must be hopeless, and Tallard and the elector had committed a great fault in forming in two separate bodies at a considerable distance from each other with hardly any infantry between them as a sentry.*

The united troops of the elector and General Marsin occupied the left, at Lutzingen; Tallard stood on the right, by Blenheim. A brigade of dismounted dragoons was posted behind a barricade of waggons between the village of Blenheim and the Danube, and three brigades occupied the village, and communicated with the dismounted dragoons. There were palisades, barricades, and gates, and the open spaces in the village between the houses and the gardens were blocked up with carts, felled trees, and boards, all having behind them well covered musketeers. There was also a small old castle by the village, and this and the church tower were garnished with muskets; while a battalion of artillery was distributed on various points in and about Blenheim, under the command of the French general Clerambault, who was instructed to maintain the village to the last extremity. It was to this formidable point, having the

* "I have often heard," says Voltaire, "from the mouth of Marshal Villars, that this disposition of the army was inexcusable."

little river Nebel flowing before it, that Marlborough, after a short cannonade on both sides, during which he was nearly struck by a French ball, led his left wing, while Prince Eugene moved with the right to fall upon the Elector and Marsin. Marlborough sent the brave Lord Cutts to begin the attack on the village of Blenheim, he himself moving down the Nebel under a heavy fire of grape-shot, in order to seize an opportunity of throwing himself between the two divisions of the Gallo-Bavarians, whose communications were now maintained apparently by nothing but horse. Cutts, under another fire of grape, threw fascines into the bed of the Nebel, got across that stream, and deliberately advanced towards the palisades and enclosures. The French there held there fire till he was within thirty paces; and then they gave such a volley as laid prostrate a vast number of officers and men. But General Rowe, at the head of the leading brigade of English, walked on, and stuck his sword into the palisades, before he gave the word to fire. The French were covered, and the English uncovered; the palisades were strong; Rowe was mortally wounded by a musket-ball; his lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove his body; and the leading brigade, after losing one-third of its numbers, was driven back and broken, and charged by three squadrons of gens d'armes. But a body of Hessians moved forward to the support of the English, and drove the French horse back to their lines. Lord Cutts then got up five squadrons of cavalry, who experienced great difficulty in clearing the swamp, and who would have been driven back across the Nebel but for the steadiness of the Hessian infantry. After several sanguinary attacks and sallies on the part of the French, the brigades of Ferguson and Hudson crossed the stream at another point, forced the enemy to withdraw some artillery with which they had swept the fords, and advanced right in front of the village. The old national animosity and rivalry blazed out in a fury; the French and English officers crossed swords through the palisades, and fought hand to hand; and the English soldiery, here and there, losing patience for the operations of loading and priming, thrust at the French through the openings in their defences with the points of their bayonets, or beat them on the head over the barricades with the butt ends of their muskets. But Lord Cutts, who appears to have had not a single cannon with him, saw that there was no hope of forcing the village without artillery, and he was compelled to order back his thinned ranks to the cover of some rising ground. But in the mean time, Marlborough, with his eye on the wide gap that interposed between Tallard and Blenheim, and the Elector and Marsin, pushed part of his infantry over some little bridges, and then, by means of fascines and planks, sent his cavalry after them. Both horse and foot were enfiladed on their passage by a portion of Clerambault's artillery; nevertheless, they formed on the opposite bank of the rivulet, threw back the charges of the French and Bavarian cavalry, and kept their ground, waiting for the Prince of Holstein-Beck and his artillery,—an arm which seems to have been badly disposed of during the early part of this battle, for the prince had been cannonading the enemy from a point whence his balls could scarcely reach them, while Cutts and others had been hammered to death, without a cannon to reply. Holstein-Beck had scarcely got half his column across the stream when he was charged by the Irish brigade in the pay of Louis XIV., who fought most desperately, and by other fresh troops: his highness was mortally wounded, and made prisoner; his men, that were not driven back into the rivulet, were cut to pieces. It was at this critical moment that Marlborough in person galloped to the spot, and led a brigade across the stream, ordering at the same time some artillery to be brought up, and extending some Danish and Hanoverian horse along the banks. He compelled the French horse to fall back in an instant, and, by one or two simple movements, he established a connexion with the troops fighting under Eugene, and masked his own intended movement (with his entire centre) upon Tallard, who had committed a series of blunders, and who was now about to be entirely cut off from his ally, the Elector, having vainly trusted that the cavalry placed in the gap and his moving batteries would prevent any advance in that direction. By five in the afternoon the English general) had formed his cavalry in two strong lines, and posted his infantry in their rear; and then, amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, he moved rapidly forward up a steep hill, upon which the French horse were now concentrated with a part of Tallard's infantry brought out from Blenheim. The summit of the hill was gained; but there Marlborough was brought to a pause by the firm array of the enemy, and even thrown back some hundred paces; but he repeated his attack with artillery and small arms, gradually overpowered the fire of the enemy, and then, with a charge, broke the French horse, and cut to pieces or made prisoners some regiments of infantry. Abandoned by the flight of their cavalry, Tallard now sent an officer to order the infantry to evacuate Blenheim, and another to press the Elector either to support him with a reinforcement, or to make a diversion in his favour by a dashing offensive movement in the opposite direction. But the Elector could do neither of these things; the Imperial cavalry and other masses of the confederate army now occupied the gap which the French horse had held before; and Prince Eugene, after sustaining several repulses, had driven the Elector's troops beyond Lutzingen, had turned his flank, and posted himself on the edge of a ravine where he could scarcely be attacked with any effect. Thus left to himself, and apparently before he could bring up or put in order the troops which had been stationed in the village of Blenheim, Tallard was

charged with the overwhelming force of the allied horse; and, broken and dismayed at once, he fled with part of his cavalry to Sonderheim, while the rest fled towards Hochstadt. Marlborough followed Tallard with the sword in his loins, drove a vast number of his men down the declivity near Blenheim into the Danube, and took still more prisoners. At Sonderheim, with the Danube on one side and victorious enemies on all other sides, Tallard, who had seen his son killed, and who had been wounded himself, surrendered with many officers of distinction. Nor had those who fled towards Hochstadt a better fate: they got entangled in a morass; were cut off by dragoons, and, in the end, they were nearly all killed, made prisoners, or drowned in the Danube, except the famous brigade of Grignan and some of the gens d'armes, who fell back to some heights beyond Hochstadt. In one or two instances whole battalions laid down their arms, and cried for mercy. Prince Eugene witnessed part of the operations which ended in the flight of Tallard from the verge of the ravine above Lutzingen, where he had posted himself; and shortly after, observing Marsin's horse and the Bavarian infantry pouring along the Lutzingen road in great disorder, he judged that the Elector was about to retreat from that point. Although his way lay across the ravine and through woods, and although he had only two squadrons of horse with him, Eugene advanced to intercept this retreat, and emerging into the plain, he did some mischief, and then awaited the arrival of the confederate cavalry, who were pressing hard on the flying Bavarian horse. Marlborough, who had now nothing to do on his side, saw the flames rising from Lutzingen, which the retreating forces had fired, and, being made aware of the advance of Eugene, he detached a mass of cavalry to co-operate with that prince. But night was now falling, and the smoke from the burning town, with that from the burnt gunpowder, prevented Hompesch, who led this mass of cavalry, from seeing distinctly. Eugene's force was mistaken for the Gallo-Bavarian army, and Hompesch drew rein and wheeled about, when a joint attack and pursuit must have destroyed all the forces that remained with the Elector and Marsin. As it was, the Elector fell back in tolerably good order upon Dillingen. But still the village of Blenheim was held by 12,000 men, who either had not had time to obey the evacuating order sent by Tallard, or who had fallen back into the village as the safest place in the headlong retreat. Clerambault, who had commanded there, was missing, — it was afterwards found he was drowned in the Danube,—but the French troops made a most resolute resistance. When they saw that Marlborough was surrounding the village with troops and artillery, they attempted to rush out and gain a road which led to Sonderheim, but here they were checked by the Scots Greys; and, when they tried in another direction, their way was barred by the cavalry of General Ross. Still, however, they sheltered themselves behind their barricades and the walls and houses of Blenheim, and kept up a sharp fire. At length, however, fire was set to the houses; batteries were planted all round within musket-shot; and every road, every path, was blocked up. Then a parley took place, and the French proposed a capitulation; but General Churchill rode to the spot, and insisted on an unconditional surrender; and to these hard terms they were forced to come at last, twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons laying down their arms to the conqueror. The total loss of the Gallo-Bavarians on this decisive day, in prisoners, killed, and drowned, exceeded rather than fell short of 35,000 men. The army, which

Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of Blenheim.

On the Obverse are Portraits of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. On the Reverse the Battle of Blenheim, showing the rout of the French army and the surrender of Marshal Tallard.

was to have overturned the empire, and to impose the will of Louis XIV. on the whole of Europe, was annihilated. Marlborough and his allies on their side lost above 12,000 men.*

We have entered into far more details respecting this brilliant and decisive campaign than we can attempt to do in any of the succeeding parts of this war. We were anxious to present something like a competent notion of the prowess and ability of one who is always ranked among the greatest of English captains. The plan of the campaign, the mode in which it was conducted, and the result of it, may, after every possible deduction, justify the laurels which have been put upon the head of the hero of Blenheim. Soon after the battle about 3000 Germans, who had been serving with the French, enlisted under the banner of Marlborough, and this number was subsequently increased considerably. The Elector of Bavaria, continuing his retreat, scarcely stopped till he reached Villeroy in Flanders. The whole of his dominions were abandoned to the conqueror. The court of Versailles had small comfort to offer their unfortunate ally, and the French nation fell for a time into gloom and despondency.†

On the 19th of August Marlborough and Eugene advanced in the direction of Ulm, in the hopes of obtaining that important place either by a siege or by a treaty with the unfortunate wife of the Elector. On the 21st Marlborough informed his duchess that he and the prince had offered to restore the whole of Bavaria, and obtain for the Elector 400,000 crowns per annum, if he would only enter into the confederacy, and furnish the allies with 8000 men. But he adds, "I take it for granted he is determined to go for France, and abandon his own country to the rage of the Germans." Leaving a force for the reduction of Ulm, the army, on the 28th, began to march in different columns to the Rhine; and by the beginning of September the different columns were all concentrated round Philipsberg. By the 8th the whole army had crossed the Rhine into Alsace, and commenced their march upon Landau, which was to be invested by the Margrave of Baden, while Marlborough and Eugene covered the siege; and before the campaign closed Landau and Traerbach were both taken, the besiegers being strengthened in men and in materials by the arrival of the greater part of the force left before Ulm, which had surrendered after a very short resistance.

Before Marlborough returned home, he received from the Emperor Leopold a letter addressed "To THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE OF US, AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH," &c., announcing in form his elevation to a place among the princes of the empire, &c. The fortunate soldier, however, liked not this empty title; he wished the *lands* from which he was to take his title to be named beforehand, representing that he could not have a seat in the Diet till he was master of an imperial fief in the empire; his friends Godolphin and Harley raised other objections, and as Leopold was ready neither with money nor land, the high honour was held in suspense for the present. Marlborough, however, employed his influence and address to bring about a reconciliation between the emperor and his revolted subjects in Hungary, whose formidable insurrection, promoted by the French, had embarrassed the operations of this present campaign, by obliging Leopold to keep a large part of his army continually on the frontiers, or in the provinces of Hungary. His success fell short of his expectation; for Leopold, who would have listened to terms in the moment of danger, when Tallard and the Elector of Bavaria were upon the high road to Vienna, would give ear to none when Marlborough had dissipated the danger. In the month of November the English general, who was at least as able in negotiations and court proceedings as he was in war, made a journey to Berlin to engage the king of Prussia to suspend certain claims he had upon the Dutch, to enter into the confederacy still more earnestly, and to furnish still more troops. His Prussian majesty promised 8,000 men for the speedy relief of the Duke of Savoy; and then Marlborough travelled, in miserably cold weather, to Hanover, where he met with a warm reception from "the Protestant Succession"—the family which only waited for the death of Anne to ascend the throne of England. The elector was an ally, a member of the confederacy which had been the means of raising the general to the summit of honour; but, apart from the business of war, there were, of course, other powerful considerations to draw Marlborough to the court of the Guelphs. From Hanover he went to the Hague, and thence set out for England. He arrived at the palace of St. James's in the middle of December, carrying with him Marshal Tallard and the rest of his more distinguished prisoners, together with the standards he had taken and the other trophies of his great victory. His reception was in every way flattering, and all classes seemed in an ecstasy except the ultra-Tories, who threatened nothing less than an impeachment for

* Coxe, Life of Marlborough.—Hare's Journal.—Coxe, Marlborough MSS., as existing in copies in Brit. Mus.—Life and Reign of Queen Anne.—Roger Coke.—Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.

† "Such," says Voltaire, "was the celebrated battle which the French call the battle of Hochstet, the Germans Plentheim, and the English Blenheim. The conquerors had about 5000 killed and 8000 wounded, the greater part being on the side of Prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely destroyed: of 60,000 men, so long victorious, there never re-assembled more than 20,000 effective. About 12,000 killed, 14,000 prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of colours and standards, all the tents and equipages, the general of the army, and 1200 officers of mark in the power of the conqueror, signalized that day! The fugitives dispersed in all directions; more than a hundred leagues of country were lost in less than one month. The whole of Bavaria, falling under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the rigour of the irritated Austrian government, and all the rapacity and barbarity of a victorious soldiery. The Elector, flying for refuge to Brussels, met on the road his brother the Elector of Cologne, driven, like himself, out of his States: they embraced in a flood of tears. Astonishment and consternation seized the court of Versailles, so long accustomed to prosperity. The news of the defeat arrived there in the midst of the rejoicings for the birth of a great-grandson of Louis XIV. Nobody dared inform the king of so cruel a truth. Madame de Maintenon was obliged to tell his majesty *that he was no longer invincible.*"—*Siècle de Louis XIV.*

what, even after its success, they chose to style his *rash* march on the Danube. The parliament had assembled on the preceding 29th of October, and on the 15th of December, the day after his arrival, Marlborough took his seat in the House of Peers, being welcomed by the lord keeper with an address of congratulation. On the same day a committee of the Commons waited upon him with the thanks of their House for his glorious services. Processions and city feasts followed in abundance.*

While Marlborough had been fighting on the Danube, another English force under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, and then of the Earl of Galway, had been engaged on the Tagus, the Douro, and the frontiers of Spain. The Archduke Charles, or, as he was now called, King Charles of Spain, had been conveyed to Portugal by our English fleet; and 6,000 English and Dutch troops were sent to assist him in his bold enterprise of invading Spain and dethroning Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. Great preparations had been counted upon on the part of the King of Portugal, now a member of the confederacy; but when the English and Dutch arrived in his country they found that he had prepared nothing, and that they must distribute themselves among the garrisons on his frontiers, which were menaced by the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II. (by Arabella Churchill, the sister of Marlborough), but now a Spanish grandee, and in the service of the French King of Spain. And, in effect, Portugal, instead of invading, was invaded. Berwick entered at one point, and took the town of Segura, while Villadarias entered at another. Two Dutch battalions were surprised and taken by Berwick, who pushed forward for the Tagus, which his colleague Villadarias was approaching by another line of march. King Philip soon joined Berwick in person, and then Portalegre was invested, and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot, compelled to surrender. Philip or Berwick then moved to Castel Davide, and that place also surrendered at discretion. On the other hand, the allies, to make a diversion, sent Das Minas into Spain with 15,000 men; and this general took one or two places in Castile, and defeated a body of French and Spanish troops. In other quarters it was usual to suspend military operations on account of winter; but here the heats of summer had that effect, for Philip, finding the weather grew excessively hot, sent his troops into quarters, and the allies followed his example.

* "On the 3rd of January (1705) the trophies of the victory were removed from the Tower, where they were first deposited, to Westminster Hall. The cavalcade consisted of companies of horse and foot guards, intermixed with persons of distinction, who attended to do honour to the occasion, and was closed by 128 pikemen, each having an uplifted standard. Amidst the thunder of artillery, and the shouts of an exulting multitude, the procession moved through the streets of London and Westminster, in solemn pomp, and, traversing the Green Park, was viewed by the queen from one of the windows of the palace. Since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, so triumphant a spectacle had never gladdened the eyes of a British public; nor was the effect unworthy of the occasion: the pulse of the nation beat high with joy, and the names of Anne and Marlborough were mingled amidst the testimonies of tumultuous exultation which burst from all ranks and orders."—*Coxe, Life.*

Schomberg, who had disagreed with the Dutch and Portuguese commanders, and who was disgusted with everything he saw, desired leave to resign his command. The Earl of Galway (Rouvigny) was then appointed; and that general arrived in the Tagus about the middle of July, with some reinforcements. All was quiet till the first rains of autumn had cooled the air, and then King Charles and the King of Portugal went to the frontiers of Castile, with an intention of doing great things. But they did nothing, nor did King Philip or the Duke of Berwick perform much more.

As for Villadarias, he had been recalled from his insignificant conquests in Portugal, and sent to recover The Rock of Gibraltar, which had been taken by the English rather by accident than by any matured design. Sir George Rooke, after landing King Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartel, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who took three Spanish men-of-war, after a smart engagement. Rooke himself soon received orders from the English cabinet to sail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were supposed to be in danger from the French: at the same time he was pressed by King Charles, who had been given to believe that the people of that city and all the Catalonians would declare in his favour, to appear with his fleet before Barcelona. Rooke was ready to perform both services: taking the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt on board, who had formerly been Viceroy of Catalonia, he sailed for Barcelona, and invited the governor to surrender to his lawful sovereign, King Charles the Third. The Spaniard replied that Philip V. was his lawful sovereign. Thereupon, by the advice of Hesse Darmstadt, who assured him that there were five to one for King Charles in the city, and that upon his landing some troops this popular majority would oblige the governor to surrender, Rooke disembarked his marines, and sent a new summons. But there was no rising, or sign of rising; the governor was firm, the place strong; and, after throwing some fifty or sixty bombs, the English admiral re-embarked his marines, and sailed up the Mediterranean to Nice. That place was in no danger; but Toulon was close at hand, and off that port he learned from an English scout that vast preparations were making, and that the Count de Toulouse (a natural son of Louis XIV.) was coming into the Mediterranean with the Brest fleet, in order to join that of Toulon. Rooke immediately slipped down the Mediterranean towards the Straits, where he was joined by a good squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. No French fleet was in *sight*—Toulouse had passed Rooke on his way from Toulon;—the English fleet therefore sailed to the coast of Portugal, in order to protect that country against the French, who were invading it. But Rooke and Shovel soon returned to the Straits; and on the 17th of July, when they were about seven leagues

to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catherine, wherein it was represented that the most important of places of arms, Gibraltar, was at that moment weakly garrisoned, and resolved thereupon that an attempt should be made to carry the place by a sudden assault. On the 21st the whole fleet came to anchor in Gibraltar Bay. The marines, amounting to about 2000 men, were put under the command of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and landed on that narrow, short, sandy isthmus which connects the all but isolated rock with the main, and which is now known by the name of the Neutral Ground. Having thus cut off his communications with the country, Hesse summoned the Spanish governor, who, weak as he was, declared that he would defend the place to the utmost. On the following day, Rooke ordered Rear-Admiral Byng and Rear-Admiral Vanderdussen to range their ships in a line and batter the works: but the wind blew so hard all that day that they could not get into position and order. On the morrow, however (the 23rd), soon after day-break, the ships lay with their broadsides to the works: Rooke gave the signal, and the cannonading was commenced with tremendous effect. Fifteen thousand shots were discharged within five or six hours. The South Molehead was demolished, and the Spaniards at nearly all points were beaten from their guns. Captain Whittaker was ordered to take all the boats, filled with marines and sailors, and to possess himself of the South Molehead. The boats were soon ready, and Captain Jumper and Captain Hicks, being the foremost in their pinnaces, landed on the Mole sword in hand, being followed by their men and others from other boats. But their footing was insecure,—they were treading upon a mine, which the Spaniards now sprung. The explosion was terrific, and when the smoke cleared away two English officers and about a hundred men were found killed or wounded. The rest of the assailants, however, kept their ground; others followed them, the sailors climbing up the face of the rock as nimbly as the monkeys which are native to it. Captain Whittaker joined Jumper and Hicks on a platform, and then led the seamen up to a redoubt between the mole and the town. The Prince of Hesse, in the meanwhile, was doing what he could with the marines on the side of the isthmus—which, from the nature of the ground, was very little—and other bodies of sailors effected a landing between Europa Point and the town. Captain Whittaker's party soon carried the redoubt, and thereupon the Spanish governor capitulated, and threw open the gates which led to the isthmus, for the entrance of the Prince of Hesse and the marines. Thus was carried in three days the famous old rock, which has since sustained sieges of many months' duration, baffling more than once the united power of France and Spain—a place so strong by nature, and so fortified by modern science, by successive excavations and other works, that it can scarcely be taken from us so long as England remains sufficiently strong at sea to keep it supplied with provisions and ammunition. The Spanish general, Villadarias, who was sent from Portugal to recapture it, found he could do nothing against it. Admiral Rooke, leaving the Prince of Hesse and the marines to garrison the valuable conquest, sailed again up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of August he came in sight of the united Brest and Toulon fleets, all clean out of harbour and in excellent condition; whereas the English and Dutch ships were foul and thinly manned, having been long from home, and weakened by casualties, drafts, and the recent abstraction of nearly all their marines. Rooke, however, determined to engage, and on Sunday the 13th of August he came up with the French, under the supreme command of the Count de Toulouse, off Malaga. The count had fifty-two ships, many of which were first-rates, and twenty-four galleys: Rooke, between English and Dutch, had fifty-three ships, but scarcely any first-rates among them, and a few frigates, that were ordered to check the French galleys. The allies bore down upon the French, who were formed in line; and the battle began at ten o'clock. In the course of an hour or two some of Rooke's ships were obliged to quit the line for want of gunpowder! At about two in the afternoon the van of the French gave way; but the fight was maintained at longer shots till night set in, when Toulouse bore away to leeward, under a light breeze. On the following morning the wind shifted, and gave the French the advantage of the weather-gauge; but, though they were close within sight, they made no use of this advantage; and on the 15th Toulouse slided off for Toulon, followed closely by Rooke, who would have renewed the combat had he been able. As it ended, the affair off Malaga was little better than a drawn battle; not a ship on either side was taken or destroyed; but the loss of human life was great, and here the French suffered most.* Nor was the Count de Toulouse left in a state to take the sea again this summer. In fact, the French did not venture another great engagement at sea during the whole war. After the battle, Rooke sailed to his important conquest of Gibraltar to refit; and towards the end of August he sailed for England, leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake to protect the coast of Portugal, and to keep the Rock, threatened by Villadarias, well supplied.†

* The loss of the English and Dutch in killed and wounded was computed at nearly 3000 men; but, as the French lost 200 officers, it was assumed that, in proportion, some 4000 of their men must have been killed or wounded. Both sides most indisputably fought with great bravery while the battle lasted. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who commanded in the van, declared in his official letter "that the like never had been in any former time."

† Villadarias, marching from Portugal and concentrating all the Spanish forces in Estremadura and Andalusia, presented himself at the edge of the isthmus or Neutral Ground, and began to invest Gibraltar towards the end of October. As the Spaniard was thought deficient in activity and military science, the Marquis de Tessè was sent from France to supersede him in the command of the besieging army; but the Frenchman could do no more than the Spaniard, and, after four or five months of fruitless endeavours, the siege was raised. In the great importance of the acquisition of Gibraltar itself, historians have generally overlooked the timely and very important diversion

Every exploit was now weighed in England in the balances of party and faction. The Whigs had their pet hero, the Tories theirs; and each of these classes laboured to underrate the services of their opponents. In the House of Lords, where the Whigs prevailed, and where Marlborough was considered as a convert to the party, nothing was spoken of but the glory of our arms upon the Danube and the great battle of Blenheim; not so much as an allusion being made to Rooke's capture of Gibraltar, or to his hard-fought battle off Malaga: in the Commons, where the Tories still prevailed, and where Rooke was considered as a pillar of the party, they made as much of that admiral's skill and courage as of Marlborough's; and coupled in one sentence the battles of Blenheim and Malaga. Anne, in the speech with which she had opened the session, had again recommended that there should be no contention among them, and declared her intention of being kind and indulgent to all classes of her subjects. Yet the Occasional Conformity Bill, though twice rejected, was again brought forward, to the great disgust of Godolphin, who, after many vain attempts to moderate that party, abandoned the Tories altogether, and began to put himself in a hostile attitude towards them. The bill, still further mitigated, but still oppressive, was carried through the Commons, where Bromley, the mover, declared that the church of England was in as much danger from dissenters as it was in from papists when the tests were enacted: but it was again thrown out in the Lords by a considerable majority, Godolphin, who had formerly voted for it to conciliate the queen, now directly opposing it.*

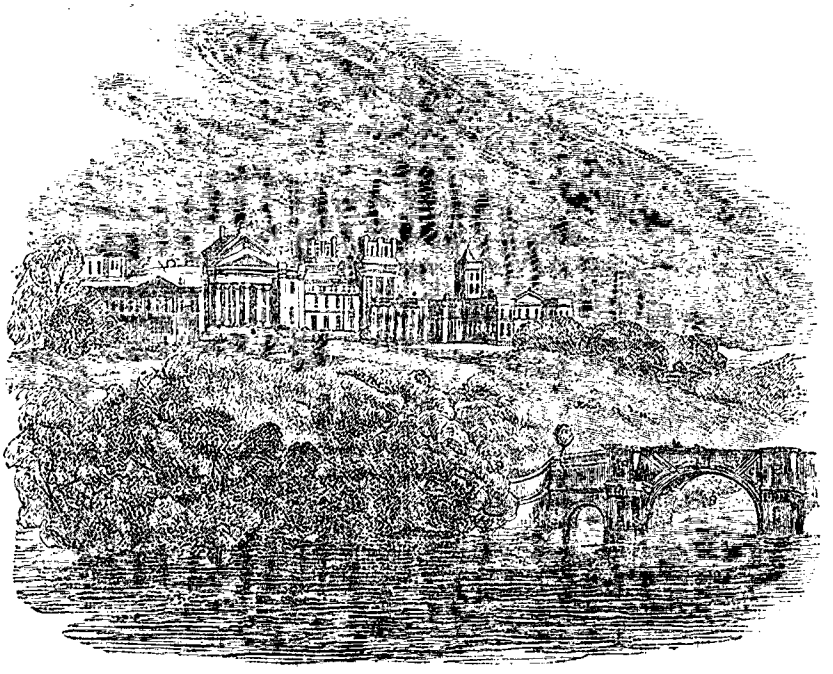
The transactions of the Scottish parliament during their last session attracted the attention and excited the passions of the English Houses, both Lords and Commons. While Lord Wharton, to practise on the timidity of Godolphin, was openly boasting that he had the treasurer's head in a bag ever since the Scots had passed their Act of Security, Lord Haversham proposed a censure upon ministers, and was seconded by the displaced, discontented, and furious Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. It was proclaimed to the House that the Act of Security, pretended to have been granted in order to obviate a rebellion in Scotland, had furnished the Scots with an incitement to rebellion, and a sanction for resistance. The storm was terrible, but Lord Godolphin's friends and the Whig party prevented a direct vote of censure. They were, however, obliged to agree to a variety of resolutions, as also to present an address to the queen, praying her majesty (as if the Scots really intended an invasion) to fortify Newcastle, Tynemouth, Carlisle, and Hull; to call out the militia of the four northern counties; and to send a competent number of regular troops to the borders. A bill, founded upon their lordships' resolutions, was sent down to the Commons. But, though as furious against the Scots and their Bill of Security as the Lords could be, the Commons were still disposed to quarrel with everything that came to them from the Upper House, and they threw out the bill, and prepared one of their own, which so nearly resembled the other that the Lords passed it without difficulty.* Godolphin at this trying moment derived strength from the growing greatness of his near ally, Marlborough; and he and other statesmen seemed at last to have made up their minds to effect the Union.

A.D. 1705. On the 17th of February Anne informed the House of Commons that she purposed to convey to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs the interest of the crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton, and requested supplies to enable her to clear off the encumbrances on that princely domain. A bill was forthwith passed by both Houses, and received the royal assent early in March. And Anne accompanied the grant with an order to the Board of Works to erect, at the expense of the crown, a splendid palace, to bear the name of Blenheim. This work was presently commenced under Vanbrugh, the architect, poet, and dramatist; but Marlborough and, yet more, his wife, were annoyed almost to death during its progress, and the hero did not live to see the completion of this monument to his fame. Sir George Rooke, on the other hand, nearly got an impeachment instead of a palace and princely manor. The Whigs in the House of Lords commenced an inquiry into various mismanagements, alleged to have taken place in the navy and admiralty departments, which were chiefly under the direction of Rooke, whom the Commons spared because he

which the unexpected capture of that place caused in favour of Portugal.

* Anne herself was present in the House of Lords when the Occasional Conformity Bill was rejected. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, declared his decided disapprobation of the persecuting bill. "The employing of persons," said he, "of a religion different from the established in civil offices has been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience has been allowed. We have already gone further in excluding dissenters than any country has done. Whatever reasons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from papists when the Test Act was passed cannot be applicable to the dissenters at present. On the contrary, manifest inconveniences result from this exclusion." Defoe, who took up the pen whenever religious liberty was menaced, said at this time:—"But our eyes are at last opened; the name of Protestant is now the common title of an *Englishman*, the Church of England extends her protection to the tender consciences of her weaker brethren, knowing that all may be Christians, though not alike informed, and the dissenter extends his charity to the Church of England, believing that in his due time *God shall reveal even this unto them*. If this is not, I wish this were, the temper of both parties; and I am sure it is already the temper of some of each side, which few are of the wisest, most pious, and most judicious. But while frailty and infirmity are essential to humanity, and pride and hypocrisy are the two regnant vices of the Church, this good spirit cannot be universal, and we do not expect t"—*Discourse upon Occasional Conformity.*

* The resolutions of the Lords were—"1. That the queen be enabled by act of parliament to nominate commissioners, the former commission having expired, to treat concerning an union with Scotland. 2. That the natives of Scotland should not enjoy the privileges of Englishmen until an union be effected, or the succession settled as in England. 3. That the bringing of cattle from Scotland into England be prevented. 4. That the lord high admiral be required to issue orders for capturing such Scottish vessels as shall be found trading to the ports of France, or any other of her majesty's enemies. 5. That the exportation of English wool into Scotland be prohibited." The chief additions made by the Commons were the prohibition of Scottish linen in England or Ireland, and a permission to the Protestant freeholders of the six northern counties of England to furnish themselves with arms, &c.



BLENHEIM HOUSE, WOODSTOCK.

was a Tory. Some doubt may be entertained whether the admiral was guilty to any serious extent; but the Whigs had now a firm hold on Marlborough, and, through him and his wife, upon the queen; and Rooke was dismissed when their lordships presented their elaborate representation, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was appointed to the command of the fleet.

The Commons had not deemed it expedient to pursue the burgess of Aylesbury, who had questioned their authority in the preceding session. Upon their denunciation of all the lawyers who had assisted Ashby, the Lord Chief Justice Holt is said to have declared publicly that, if any messenger of the House of Commons presumed to enter Westminster Hall, in order to seize the person of any attorney or pleader, he would commit him to Newgate. Encouraged by these circumstances, and by the circular which the House of Lords had addressed to the sheriffs and borough-reeves of the kingdom, five other burgesses of Aylesbury brought their several actions for damages upon the same grounds. The Commons on the other hand, resolute to maintain what they considered their privileges, committed the five burgesses, who lay in prison for nearly three months without offering any submission. No notice, it appears, was taken of their case till the money bills had been all safely passed; then a motion was made in the Queen's Bench for a *Habeas Corpus*: the puisne judges declared their opinion as before, that the court could take no cognizance of the matter; but the chief justice maintained that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and, as it appeared upon the face of the warrant itself, that the five prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unless to claim the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the House of Commons was such, it was his opinion that they ought instantly to be discharged. The prisoners being, however, remanded by the decision of the majority of the court, moved for a writ of error in order to bring the matter before the Lords. As this writ could only be obtained by a petition to the throne, the Commons, anticipating, presented an address to the queen, in which they affirmed that in this case no writ of error could lie, and requested her majesty not to grant one. Anne replied that she hoped never to give her faithful Commons any just ground of complaint; but to obstruct the course of judicial proceedings was a matter of such importance, that she thought it necessary to weigh and consider carefully what it might be proper for her to do. Upon this the Commons ordered the five prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant-at-arms, lest they should be discharged by the queen's granting the writ of error; and, again striking at the lawyers, resolved that all such as had pleaded in behalf of the prisoners were guilty of a breach of privilege, and should be taken into custody. The

Lords, on the other hand, passed resolutions declaring that for subjects to claim their just rights in a court of law was no breach of privilege; that the imprisonment of the men of Aylesbury was contrary to law; and that the writ of error could not be refused without a violation of Magna Charta. And they followed up this vote by an address to the queen, beseeching that immediate orders might be given for issuing the writ of error. The dispute was now complicated by a doubt whether a writ of error was of right or only of grace. And here the judges agreed that it was of right. Each House had recourse to the pen and the press; but in the end the victory remained with the Lords; for the queen declared to them that she would certainly have complied with their lordships' request in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became absolutely necessary to put an end to the session, she knew it could produce no effect: and, in fact, upon that very day, the 14th of March, she put an end to the session, by prorogation: and, on the 5th of April following, she dissolved this high Tory House of Commons by proclamation. "It was no small blessing," says the Whig Bishop Burnet, "to the queen and to the nation that they had got well out of such hands." According to the Tories, "the Whigs had leaped into the saddle again" by the practice of base arts and manœuvres, had thrown open the flood-gates of Presbyterianism, of universal dissent and republicanism, and had exposed both church and state to inevitable destruction.* The Whigs certainly showed a disposition to get everything into their own hands: new promotions of men of their party were made in the church, in the navy, in the army; and there were many alterations in the lord-lieutenancies of the counties, all in favour of the Whigs.

In the month of April Marlborough went to the wars, hoping to be able to act with 90,000 men upon the Moselle. But he encountered innumerable difficulties on the part of the States General, the empire, and other members of the confederacy, and, instead of being opposed by Villeroy and the other French generals, who had found their way to promotion and command through the favour and countenance of Madame de Maintenon and confessors and Jesuits, he was fronted by Villars, almost the only real soldier left in a high command, and who, if not a great strategician, was dashing and resolute in the extreme. Prince Louis, the Margrave of Baden, was, or pretended to be, in very bad health; but Marlborough waited upon him at Radstadt, in the month of May, and induced the prince to promise to join him on the Moselle. Upon the faith of this promise the English general advanced with the intention of bringing Villars to battle; but the Margrave failed him altogether, and he was obliged to fall back with some precipitation to the Meuse, where the French, by a sudden effort, had captured Huy, taken the town of Liege, and invested the citadel; while the Dutch general Auverquerque was cooped up in a camp near Maestricht, with a force too weak to do anything but look on. The States General trembled for their own territory; but Marlborough re-appearing on the Meuse, recaptured Huy, drove the enemy from Liege, forced their lines at Tirlemont, and pushed them back to the Dyle. It is said that he got them into a position where he might have annihilated them, but that the Dutch field-deputies refused to let their troops act. Whatever was the cause, the enemy was allowed to retreat unmolested to Brussels, and the campaign of 1705 closed ingloriously for the allies.* "I never," says Burnet, who still maintained a close intimacy with the general, "knew the Duke of Marlborough go out so full of hopes as in the beginning of it; but things had not answered his expectations." In the course of the summer the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph, both in his hereditary and elective dignities. According to our bishop, the defunct emperor "was the most knowing and the most virtuous prince of his communion, only he wanted the judgment that was necessary for conducting great affairs in such critical times. He was almost always betrayed, and yet he was so firm to those who had the address to insinuate themselves into his good opinion and confidence, that it was not possible to let him see those miscarriages that ruined his affairs so often, and brought them sometimes near the last extremities: of these everybody else seemed more sensible than he himself. He was devout and strict in his religion, and was so implicit in his submission to those priests who had credit with him, the Jesuits in particular, that he owed all his troubles to their counsels. The persecution they began in Hungary raised one great war, which

* "It has been thought strange, that, when both the queen and the Commons appeared so zealously affected to the established church, such a flood of Whiggism should so suddenly break in upon us. But if it be considered that the ministers, who countenanced the introducing them, were, or pretended to be, once the great patrons of the church; and, by this and other specious pretences, had established themselves in the queen's favour; that the confederate arms, during their administration, had met with great success, which rendered their leaders very popular; and that it was long ere they were suspected of any designs to the prejudice of the establishment, either by the queen or the Tories themselves; that some very crafty courtiers, who had been soured by prosecutions, out of revenge and hopes of a restoration, very readily joined with them; and that they were supported by a great assembly at home, and the allies abroad; we may cease to wonder how the Whigs leaped into the saddle once again. They drew gentlemen in gradually, from one step to another, till they rendered their retreat difficult, and at length made them instruments in getting the parliament dissolved, and another House of Commons chosen after their own heart; inasmuch, that the church was really apprehended to be in distress by some, under a queen of known affection to her establishment. And when the Whigs had once engrossed all the posts of power and profit, and entered into strict engagements with foreigners of the same stamp, their next policy was to represent themselves as so formidable a body, that it was not safe to touch them: and it is a much greater wonder that her Majesty ever disengaged herself than that she remained under their influence so long."—*Life and Reign of Her late Excellent Majesty Queen Anne, &c.: to which is annexed, some Political Remarks on Bishop Burnet's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.* 8vo. 1738.

* "The Prince of Baden's conduct, through this whole matter, was liable to great censure: the worst suspicion was, that he was corrupted by the French. Those who did not carry their censures so far attributed his acting as he did to his pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of Marlborough, and apprehending that the whole glory of the campaign would be ascribed to him, since he had the stronger army, chose rather to defeat the whole design than see another carry away the chief honour of any successes that might have happened."—*Burnet.*

gave the Turks occasion to besiege Vienna, by which he was almost entirely swallowed up: this danger did not produce more caution: after the peace of Carlowitz, there was so much violence and oppression in the government of Hungary, both of Papists and Protestants, that this raised a second war there, which, in conjunction with the revolt of the Elector of Bavaria, brought him a second time very near utter ruin: yet he could never be prevailed on either to punish, or so much as to suspect, those who had so fatally entangled his affairs, that without foreign aid, nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the punishment of criminals was uneasy to him. Yet all the cruelty in the persecution of heretics seemed to raise no relenting in him." The most favourable reports were spread respecting the character, habits of business, and intentions of his successor Joseph, who, in the course of the autumn was visited at Vienna by Marlborough, bearing a promise of a good English loan to that court, to enable it to equip an army for Italy, where the French were regaining the ascendancy. Prince Eugene was now on that side of the Alps with a weak army, and a dispirited colleague in the Duke of Savoy. After being shut up in the country about Bergamo, Eugene broke through the French lines and fought the Duke of Vendome at Cassano, on the Adda. Both parties claimed the victory; but the French were enabled to threaten Turin, to take one or two other places, and, at the end of the campaign, to reduce and demolish Nice. The campaign in Portugal opened advantageously for the allies, and more might have been done there had it not been for the jealousies and dissensions of the Earl of Galway, who commanded the English, Fagel, who commanded the Dutch, and Das Minas, who commanded the Portuguese. But, on the other side, a great error had been committed by the court of King Philip in sending back to France the Duke of Berwick, who had some of the qualities of a great general, and who was indisputably better than those who succeeded him. While the Gallo-Spanish court was concentrating a large portion of its disposable forces on the side of Gibraltar, Lord Galway crossed the frontier of Estremadura, took the towns of Valencia, De Alcantara, and Alvuquerque, and invested Badajoz. But here Galway's hand was carried off by a shot, a stern resistance was encountered, and, the French General Tessè coming up in force, and Das Minas, the Portuguese general, not appearing at all, the allies were constrained to give up the siege and to fall back upon Portugal. Spain, however, was invaded by sea by a small English army, under the command of the most daring and most brilliant soldier of the day, who only wanted a few sober qualities to be more than a rival to the fortunate Marlborough. This was the witty, eccentric, and unscrupulous Lord Mordaunt, now (by the death of his uncle, in 1697,) Earl of Peterborough, who sailed from Portsmouth in the month of June with about 5000 men, embarked in a fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. At Lisbon they took on board the Austrian claimant Charles. His majesty of Spain and the Indies was, like his brother the Emperor Joseph, in a sad state of impecuniosity; so Peterborough, who was as careless of money as Marlborough was fond of it, munificently entertained him and his suite at his own private cost on their voyage from the Tagus. At the rock some more troops were embarked; and then Peterborough, with Charles and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, set sail for the coast of Valencia. Peterborough landed, took the small fort of Denia, circulated proclamations in the name of Charles III., and, finding the disposition of the Spaniards in those parts to be very favourable, and that insurrections against the French claimant Philip had broken out in other quarters, he, with his characteristic daring, proposed making a forced march inland, and setting the Austrian on the throne at Madrid, which capital he was confident he could carry by a *coup de main*. But those who were acting with Peterborough had none of his romantic boldness; his project was overruled, and he was constrained to go and undertake the siege of Barcelona. It may be doubted whether it would not have been easier to march and take Madrid. There were 5000 brave men within the walls of Barcelona,—the Spaniards in all ages have been famous for their resistance in such places,—and the fortifications had recently undergone considerable repairs. Yet Peterborough landed, and sat down before the place in the end of August with little more than 6000 effective men. The English and Dutch generals serving under him were all of opinion that the attempt amounted to madness; but he persisted; and, throwing off all the trammels of routine and military pedantry, he carried on the siege in a way that confirmed all the old generals in their notion that the man was mad. They said that it was impossible such wild and irregular plans could succeed; but they succeeded nevertheless. It was, for example, against all rule and precedent to attack the castle before taking the town; but Peterborough saw that, if he could only take the strong castle of Montjuich, which commanded the town, first, the town itself must soon fall: he perceived at once that the arduous part of the undertaking was the capture of the castle; and therefore he resolved to begin with it while his men were fresh and vigorous, and free from those casualties and miseries which inevitably attend protracted sieges. Accordingly he took a near view of the castle in person, discovered enough to convince him that the garrison in it was neither strong nor vigilant; and then, pretending to give up his enterprise, he re-embarked some of his troops, in order to make the Spaniards believe he was on the point of sailing away. Communicating his real design to none but the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, Peterborough, on the night of the 3rd of September, suddenly put about 1400

men under arms, and sent them by two different bye-roads to fall upon the castle. The first body, consisting of 800 men, he led in person, having the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt with him, who had volunteered to partake in the hazard. "The second body," says Burnet, "were led by General Stanhope, from whom I had this account." About day-break Peterborough fell upon the defences of the castle, and, with no artillery with him except a few small field-pieces and mortars, he established himself on the outworks; but the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt received a shot in his body, fell, and expired soon after; Stanhope, owing to some of his men mistaking their way, did not come up for some time; and the Spanish governor made a fierce sally from the body of the castle, hoping to sweep the assailants down the hill before him. But Peterborough and his brave men kept their ground: the Spaniard, thinking them more numerous than they were, wheeled round without coming to blows, and ran back within the castle. Then Stanhope's men came up, and Peterborough threw a few bombs into the castle. One of these bombs fell into the powder magazine, blew it up, and caused the death of the governor and some of the best officers, and thereupon the rest surrendered without delay. Then Peterborough directed his attention to the town below, reached the walls, and induced the governor, Velasco, to agree to surrender within four days, if not relieved. Relief was out of the question; and within the town the Austrian partisans were numerous and daring: bands of Miquelets, a sort of lawless association of Catalans, threatened to throw open the gates, and subject the whole city to fire, sword, and plunder; so that even before the time mentioned, Velasco was forced to capitulate, and to entreat the enemy to enter, and secure him and the respectable inhabitants from the fury of the Miquelets and the rabble of the town. Peterborough, like a *preux chevalier*, rode into Barcelona instantly with only a few attendants, and rescued from the rabble a beautiful lady, who proved to be the Duchess of Popoli, the wife of a grandee of Spain, who derived his title from a town in the Abruzzi, and who possessed, or rather had possessed, immense estates in the Neapolitan kingdom. He restored the fair lady to her lord; and, riding through a loose, mad fire of guns and pistols, and making use of persuasions and of the flat of his sword, he at last succeeded in reducing that rabble rout to order, and saved the lives of the governor and his officers.* "The Spaniards," says Voltaire, "were confounded at the sight of so much magnanimity in the English, whom the populace had taken for pitiless barbarians, because they were heretics." Immediately after this remarkable achievement, the whole of Catalonia and every fortified place in it, with the exception of Rosas, submitted to Charles. But Peterborough was not the man to sleep under his laurels; he flew in search of fresh exploits, and led his troops over the ground as fast as Spanish cabinet couriers travelled. St. Matteo, which had declared for the Austrian, was invested by an army which served King Philip; the place was thirty leagues distant from Barcelona, and the roads were like what Spanish roads have always been and still are; but Peterborough was there in a week; St. Matteo was relieved; and thence, continuing his meteor-like course, and never stopping till he reached the city of Valencia, he saw the whole of that province reduced to obedience, or confirmed in its submission, to Charles, with the exception of the sea-port of Alicant, which held out for Philip. The whole of this campaign is like a piece of romance, and by it Peterborough indisputably gave to the military history of his country one of its most sparkling episodes. The officers with him could scarcely believe what had been done with such insignificant means, even when the work was achieved. The Spaniards said he had a devil in him; and, besides that, the assistance of magic and necromancy.

During these brilliant operations there was a party-war at home, which was prosecuted without any chivalry or romance, but with infinite cunning and still more animosity. The high Tories made a kind of death struggle; but the court-ground, their best position, sunk beneath their feet; and Anne, after a long struggle with herself, wholly deprived the party of the light of her countenance. The great seal was given to Mr. William Cowper, soon afterwards created Baron Cowper, one of the most accomplished orators and politicians of his time,—a Whig in all essentials, and an enthusiastic admirer of the principles of the Revolution. The Duke of Buckingham, the witty Lord Normanby of former days, who adhered to the high church party, though he was a sceptic in religion and of very doubtful morals,* was deprived of the privy seal, which was given to the Whig Duke of Newcastle. When the new parliament met, in the month of October, it was found that the Whigs had the majority, and that the Tories, in spite of their abstract doctrines, had resolved to show as little respect to the court as oppositions generally do. The nominee of the Whigs was elected to the speakership by a majority of 250 to 207. The queen's opening speech was the production of the Whig Lord-Keeper Cowper, and the whole

* "The Earl of Peterborough, with Stanhope and other officers, rode about the streets to stop this fury, and to prevail with the people to maintain their articles of capitulation religiously; and in doing this, Stanhope said to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the shooting and fire that was flying about in that disorder, than they had done during the whole siege."—*Burnet.*

* "John, Duke of Buckinghamshire, &c., Lord Privy Seal, was Earl of Mulgrave in the reign of Charles II., had the Garter, and made a considerable figure at court. His presumption made him make love to the Princess Anne (now queen), for which he left the kingdom, but soon after returned, and was made Lord Chamberlain by King James. He opposed the Revolution; nor did he ever enter into the measures of the court all King William's reign, yet was created by that king Marquis of Normanby. On the queen's accession to the throne he was made of the cabinet, Lord Privy Seal, and Duke of Buckinghamshire. He is a nobleman of learning and good natural points, but of no principles. Very proud, insolent, and takes all advantages. In paying his debts unwilling; and is neither esteemed nor beloved: for, notwithstanding his great interest at court, it is certain he hath none in either House of Parliament or in the country. He is of a middle stature, of a brown complexion, with a sour, lofty look, near sixty years old."—*Characters in John Macky's Memoirs.*

thing bore the impress of Whig feeling. In it Anne announced, more strongly than before, her intention of continuing the war till the Bourbon prince was driven from Spain, and the Austrian fully established upon that throne. "Nothing," she said, "can be more evident than that, if the French king continues master of the Spanish monarchy, the balance of power in Europe will be utterly destroyed; and he will be able, in a short time, to engross the trade and the wealth of the world. No good Englishman could at any time be content to sit still and acquiesce in such a prospect; and at this time we have great ground to hope that a good foundation is laid for restoring the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria, the consequence of which will not only be safe and advantageous, but glorious for England. I may add, that we have learned, by our own experience, that no peace with France will last longer than the first opportunity of their dividing the allies, and attacking some of them with advantage." Then followed the usual pressing demand for supplies to carry on the next year's war; and after this there was a high encomium of the firmness and conduct which the Duke of Savoy had shown amidst extreme difficulties, and a flattering compliment to the vain-glorious King of Prussia. Her majesty told the lords and gentlemen that she had appointed commissioners to treat with Scottish commissioners concerning a nearer and more complete union between the two kingdoms, which would not only prevent many inconveniences which might otherwise happen, but must also conduce to the peace and happiness of both nations. "But," continued Anne, "there is another union I *think* myself obliged to recommend to you in the most earnest and affectionate manner—I mean a union of minds and affections among ourselves. . . . . I cannot but with grief observe, there are some amongst us who endeavour to foment animosities; but I persuade myself they will be found to be very few when you appear to assist me in discountenancing and defeating such practices. I mention this with a little more warmth, because there have not been wanting some so very malicious as, even in print, to suggest the Church of England to be in danger at this time."—[Here allusion was made to "The Memorial of the Church of England," a furious pamphlet which had just been published by the high-church party, to show that the religion by law established must inevitably be subverted by her majesty's present advisers.]—The speech ended with assurances that her majesty's affection for the church was beyond the reach of a doubt; that the best proof of zeal for the preservation of that church would be to join heartily in prosecuting the war against an enemy who was engaged to extirpate our religion and our liberties; that her majesty was fully resolved to do her part to support and affectionately countenance the Church of England as by law established, *yet, at the same time, inviolably to maintain toleration.*

The Lords, in their address, not only concurred with her majesty, but also desired and besought her to prosecute and punish with the utmost rigour of the law all those who should suggest that the church was in danger; such men being the most spiteful and dangerous enemies to both church and state. The Commons also, in their address, expressed their indignation at the high church cry, and stigmatised those who raised it and kept it up as incendiaries. The first effort the Tories made in opposition was in the Upper House, on the 15th of November, when Lord Haversham violently censured the conduct of the Dutch, the Imperialists, and our other allies in this year's campaign;* and complained of the great decay of our trade and of the selfish policy of the Dutch, who were enriching themselves at our expense.† The queen's animadverting in her speech upon the heats between the two Houses in the last parliament, he also said, was unparliamentary, seeing that the prince ought not to take notice of anything transacted in parliament unless it was laid before the throne in a parliamentary way. But the principal object of the speech of Lord Haversham was reserved to the end, when he proposed that, for the security of the Protestant succession, the church, &c., an address should be presented to her majesty, praying her to invite over the presumptive heir of the crown to reside here,—that is to say, the Electress Sophia, who was, in religion, not an Anglican, but a Lutheran, and who was many years older than the queen. Haversham, who made this singular proposal, had been a Whig, but disappointment had made him join the Tories, who had now made up their minds to go beyond the Whigs themselves in their zeal for the House of Hanover. By this course they seemed to have promised themselves many advantages either direct or indirect: by expressing an anxiety for this Protestant succession they fell in with the prevailing popular feeling, and so might escape in part the old imputations of Jacobitism or a leaning to the Pretender after Anne's death; if the Electress Sophia came over, her son,

* He represented that the Imperialists did not join the Duke of Marlborough on his advance to the Moselle, and thereby made that design prove abortive; and that the Dutch had prevented the Duke of Marlborough's engaging the French after he had actually forced their lines. "We had then," said he, "a fair opportunity of putting an end to the war at once; but the Dutch held our hands, and would not let us give the deciding blow. Therefore, let our supplies be never so full and speedy,—let our management be never so great and frugal,—yet, if it be our misfortune to have allies that are as slow and backward as we are zealous and forward,—that hold our hands, and suffer us not to take any opportunity that offers,—that are coming into the field when we are going into winter quarters, I cannot see what we are reasonably to expect in this war." There was some truth as well as point in these remarks.

† Lord Haversham said, upon this subject, "that there was a word we were very fond of, which we call the *balance of power*; but the Dutch, who were a very wise people, had a double view, and took as much care of the *balance of trade* as they did of the balance of power, and were as much afraid of our power by sea as of the power of France by land;—that trade begets wealth, and wealth power;—that it was very hard for England, that, while the Dutch lived at peace under the protection of our arms, if we would have any part of trade with them we must have it under the protection of French passes; that the Dutch, indeed, complained of poverty, but he could not see how they had been out of pocket one shilling by this war, for they got more by remittances from England than all the money that went out of Holland to Portugal, Savoy, and the German princes."

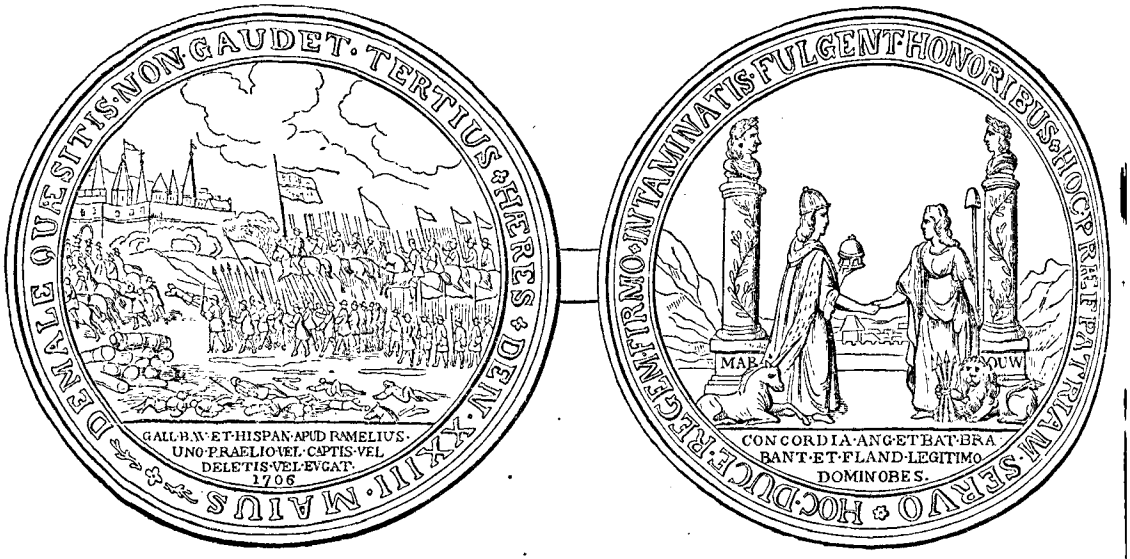
Prince George, would be a resident or a frequent visitor, and then there would be two courts and two court parties, and the consequent dissensions and intrigues might lift them into the places from which the Whigs had made them descend,—might derange the whole scheme of the succession, and leave them the power of making a new one with a large margin for their personal interests and advancements. Many of the party most undoubtedly looked to the enthronement of the Pretender; but a still greater number had no very decided partiality either for the House of Stuart or the House of Hanover, except such as arose out of their interests and hopes of re-establishing themselves in place. Others there were that were actuated merely by spite against the queen for her recent abandonment of them; and these men well knew that the name of Hanover was odious to her ears,—that Anne could never hear mention of the electress or of her son (who had once rejected her as a bride) without irritation and extreme uneasiness. Princes pretty generally hate those who are to succeed them, even when they are of their own begetting; but in the present case the feeling was the more bitter on account of remoteness of connexion, difference in language, in manners, and in everything, and by reason of the slight which the unforgiving Anne had received in her youth. None knew this better than the Duke of Buckingham, her own uncle the Earl of Rochester, and her former counsellor the Earl of Nottingham, who all three supported Lord Haversham's motion. Buckingham, whose wrongs—as he considered his dismissal—were most recent, throwing aside all delicacy, all decency, put the case of the queen's falling into a state of dotage, and so becoming the tool of others; and he and his friends further urged, that, having sworn to maintain the Protestant succession, they were bound to take the step they now proposed; that the best way of securing that succession was to have the successor on the spot, ready to assert his rights; that, if the Archduke Charles had been resident in Spain at the demise of the late king, the present war of succession would, in all probability, never have existed. Anne, though probably unseen, was present at this debate — she was shocked at what she termed "malice and insolence," and her partial and temporary conversion to Whiggism was perhaps more forwarded by this debate than even by the earnest advocacy of her grace of Marlborough. But while the queen raved under the infliction, the Tories, whose party motto was a delicate regard to and a *quasi* adoration of royalty, fancied they had put the Whigs between the sharp horns of a dilemma; for, if they opposed the motion, they must run a risk of losing their popularity at home and incensing the House of Hanover abroad; and, if they acquiesced, they would be sure to lose their hold upon the queen, who would as soon have seen his satanic majesty in person at the court of St. James's, as the Electress Sophia or her blunt son George. But the Whigs extricated themselves with address and eloquence: they represented the jealousies and many inconveniences which must arise from a rivalry between two courts settled in the same kingdom; and they maintained the propriety of keeping the successor or heir presumptive in a state of dependence upon, and subordination to, the sovereign actually upon the throne. The Earl of Wharton added to the more serious arguments wit and sarcasm. He had lately heard with delight the queen recommend union and agreement to all her subjects—it was now apparent there was a divinity about her when she spoke—the cause must be supernatural, as a miracle had been wrought, for now *all* were zealous for the Protestant succession: the miracle he alluded to was the sudden conversion of the ultra-Tories, but, like most other new converts, their zeal far exceeded their judgment and discretion. Instead of their dangerous measure, he proposed that the Hanoverian succession should be strengthened by bringing in a bill establishing an eventual council of regency, which should be empowered to act on the demise of the queen till the successor should arrive and take actual possession. Haversham's motion was lost, and this bill was brought in and passed. By it the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper, the Lord President, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord High Admiral and the Lord Chief Justice of England, for the time being, were to form and constitute this brief regency whenever the sad event of her majesty's death should happen. And, as the Whigs knew that this unavoidable rub would cause unpleasant feelings in Hanover, they made haste to pass a bill of naturalization, extending to all the descendants of the Princess Sophia, wheresoever or whensoever born, and to send over the courteous and accomplished Earl of Halifax with the Order of the Garter for the electoral Prince George. Besides this bit of ribbon, Halifax carried with him letters from Lord Somers, Cowper, and others of the Whig leaders, who were all anxious to explain their conduct in regard to Lord Haversham's motion, and to secure the goodwill of that illustrious house. The Duke of Marlborough, who knew more of the court of Hanover than any of them, also sent his letters. The result was that the electress and her son were "charmed," and the Guelphs then commenced that close alliance with the Whig party which did not end, and was scarcely interrupted, until some years after the accession of George the Third.

Pursuing their great success, the Whigs resolved to take the cry of "the church in danger" out of the mouths of their opponents, by bringing the matter to a direct vote. Halifax moved that a day might be appointed to inquire into this alleged danger. The challenge was accepted; and on the 6th of December a vehement debate was begun. The Earl of Rochester, as loud-toned as ever, declared that the church of England was and must be in danger on account of the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland without a toleration;—

that it was further in danger because the Protestant successor was not yet resident in the kingdom, and because the Occasional Conformity Bill had not been passed. Halifax replied to this champion of the high church party, that, however inimical the kirk or the people of Scotland might be supposed, England was surely strong enough to defend herself—the strength of England having increased much more in proportion than that of Scotland; and, moreover, *now* an entire union of the two nations was soon likely to put an end to this source of danger. As to the absence of the Protestant heir, that, he said, was a danger but of eight days' standing, for a fortnight ago no one had dreamed that the absence of the Princess Sophia was a cause of danger to the church; and he insisted that the Occasional Conformity Bill, so far from being any security to the church, would, if passed, have put it really in danger. Halifax cuttingly reminded Rochester of his passiveness under the papist James II., and of his sitting in that prince's tyrannical High Commission Court, which was intended to annihilate the privileges of the established church; and he told the Tories in general that they had only begun their cry of 'the church in danger' when that essentially Protestant prince the late King William had acceded to the throne and taken to himself a Whig cabinet. The Bishop of London, the same fiery Compton who had been a cornet of dragoons in his youth, who had been sent to the Tower for resistance to the rescripts of James, and who had taken the Princess Anne into his protection when she deserted her father's palace of St. James's, now stood up in his place an advocate for passive obedience: he complained of recent sermons inculcating the doctrine of resistance, and of his own want of power to punish a disobedient parson of his diocese. Here he alluded to a sermon preached by Benjamin Hoadly, lecturer of St. Mildred's, in the Poultry, London. who subsequently became a bishop himself. Burnet vindicated Hoadly, whom he esteemed as a pious and judicious divine; and he very aptly reminded Compton of his appearance in arms at the Revolution. Sharp, Archbishop of York, held that the church was in danger from seminaries maintained by the dissenters, and he assumed the broad principle that the education of the nation ought to be left entirely in the hands of the established church. The Duke of Leeds (the Danby of former times) tried to recover a little consideration by siding with the high churchmen:—with a great show of zeal he averred that the intolerant 'Occasional Conformity Bill' was essential to the preservation of the church; and that the queen herself, in private discourse with him, had expressed precisely the same opinion. [We know from the Duchess of Marlborough that Anne really did entertain that notion, and that it had cost the Marlboroughs and the Whigs infinite trouble to remove it out of her head.] On the other side, Hough, the bold president of Magdalen College in King James's time, and now Bishop of Lichfield, with Patrick, Bishop of Ely, charged the two universities with instilling wrong and uncharitable notions into the clergy, and rendering their pupils slavish to the crown, and yet insolent and contumacious to the authority of their bishops. Lord Wharton again enlivened the subject with his wit:—"In all," said he, "that I have read and heard, I can find but one fact, and that is that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and the Earl of Nottingham are *out of place*." In the end it was resolved "that the Church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III., of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition: and that whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom." This resolution was carried by a majority of 61 to 30: the queen was present at the debate. The Commons adopted their lordships' resolution by a majority of 212 to 160; and then the two Houses addressed her majesty, expressing their indignation against such wicked people as should again raise the alarm-cry, and begging her to cause their joint resolution to be universally known, in order to deter men from spreading such reports. Anne ordered a proclamation to be issued accordingly, and promised a reward for discovering the author and printer of "The Memorial of the Church of England." The Marlboroughs were now set down as renegades and deserters to the Whigs and the dissenters, and no opportunity was lost by the party he had abandoned of attacking the fortunate general. During one debate Mr. Cæsar, member for Hereford, said, "There is a noble lord without whose advice the queen does nothing, and who, in the late reign, was known to keep a constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain." The fact was undeniable, but this did not prevent the Commons from voting that the words were highly dishonourable to her majesty's person and government, and that Mr. Cæsar should be sent to the Tower. Edwards, the printer of "The Memorial of the Church of England," surrendered upon promise of pardon if he would discover the author: he named Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and some other members of the House of Commons; but, as the original copy or manuscript had been delivered to him by a third hand, he could not make good the charge, and so that mighty matter slept.

A.D. 1706. Still further to curb the high-church party the Whigs induced Anne to put an end to the vehement disputes which agitated the convocation of the clergy, by commanding the archbishop to prorogue the meeting forthwith. A few days after this, or on the 19th of March, Anne, with a very gracious speech prorogued parliament also. In April Marlborough left England for the wars. The presumptuous and incompetent *Vil-*

leroy, at the head of 80,000 men, resolving to risk a battle and to efface the disgrace which France had sustained at Blenheim, broke up from his strong positions behind the Dyle, crossed that river, and advanced to the Mehaigne, on the bank of which he encamped on the morning of Whit-Sunday, May 23rd (N.S.). He posted himself like a blockhead, and yet felt assured of victory. "You are lost," cried M. de Gassion, one of his lieutenant-generals, "if you do not change your order of battle. If you lose a moment there is no longer any resource." Other experienced officers gave the same opinion; but Villeroy remained as he was, with his left wing separated from his right, and so placed as to be unable to act; and Marlborough did not allow much time for deliberation. At about half-past one he began his attack with a tremendous fire of artillery, while the horse of his left wing, commanded by Auverquerque, moved gradually upon the right of the enemy. Soon the Dutch Guards carried the village of Tavieres, the key of Villeroy's position, intercepted reinforcements, and, by the help of the Danish horse, cut the French there in pieces, or drove them into the Mehaigne. Some fierce encounters ensued between masses of cavalry, in which the Bavarians, still steady to Louis, seem to have acted with far more bravery and steadiness than the French. But horse and foot, officers and men, on the side of the French had lost much of their former confidence, and during the three last campaigns had seemed to contend rather for safety than for victory. This was not extraordinary: they were discouraged by repeated defeat; their loss *in* men had been prodigious; and, to furnish recruits, Louis had seized the unwilling peasantry and sent them chained, like malefactors and galley-slaves, to his armies. The military *morale* was thus lost, and, when this is added to the incompetency of Villeroy, the disgraceful rout at Ramilies will be easily understood. That village, which gave its name to the battle, was occupied in force by Villeroy, and fronted by some heavy batteries. Marlborough sent General Schultz to attack it with twelve battalions. Schultz found hard work; and then Marlborough, throwing forward column after column and squadron after squadron, rode up in person to cheer the soldiers under a murderous fire. He was recognised by some of the French dragoons while talking with a few of his men that had recoiled from the guns, and in a moment he was surrounded; but he put spurs to his horse and went off at a gallop. In leaping a ditch, he was thrown and in great danger of being taken; but Captain Molesworth, one of his aides-de-camp, dismounted and supplied him with his own horse. As Marlborough was mounting, a cannon-ball struck off the head of Colonel Binfield, who was holding the stirrup for him; yet the fortunate general rejoined his lines in safety, with no other hurt than a bruise from his fall. His troops returned to the charge with new spirit, and the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Prince of Hesse Cassel got in Villeroy's rear. General Schultz then drove the enemy from Ramilies; and, when the battle had lasted above three hours and a half, Villeroy was beaten at all points. His troops retreated with some order till they were charged near the farm-house of Chaintrain by the regiments of General Wyndham and General Wood, when the Bavarians suffered greatly and nearly lost their Elector, and when a body of Spaniards,


DEFALE QUESTIS NON GAUDET TERTIUS HERES DEN XXIII MAIUS
GALL B W ET HISPAN APUD RAMELIUS
UNO PRAELIO VEL CAPTIS VEL
DELETIS VEL EVGAT
1706
HOC DUCE FIRMO MUNITAMINATIS FULGENT HONORIBUS HOC PRINCIPE FRATRUM SERVO
MAR
OUW
CONCORDIA ANG ET BAT BRA
BANT ET FLAND LEGITIMO
DOMINO BES.

Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of Ramilies.

On one side the Battle is represented at the moment of victory; on the other is an emblematic representation of the Union of England and Holland. Behind the Figure of England, on a pillar inscribed with the three first letters of his name, stands a Bust of Marlborough, and opposite to it another of D'Ouwerkerke.

no longer the best infantry in Europe, but perhaps the worst, were almost annihilated. From that moment all order disappeared, the troops fled without heeding their officers, and entire regiments threw down their arms and surrendered. They were followed by the English cavalry, which captured vast numbers. Almost all the cannon and the whole of the baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Lord Orkney, with some squadrons of light horse, continued the pursuit to the vicinity of Louvain, nearly seven leagues from the field of battle; nor did Villeroy consider himself safe until he reached the walls of Brussels. He had lost, in killed and wounded, upwards of 13,000 men, with 80 colours and standards; while Marlborough only acknowledged 1000 killed and 2000 wounded. By the battle of Blenheim, Marlborough had gained Bavaria and Cologne; by the battle of Ramilies, the French lost the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. In a very short time Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns submitted without resistance, and acknowledged the Austrian Charles; Ostend, Dendermond, Ath, and Menin made a show of resistance, but in sieges of from four days' to three months' duration they were all reduced. The victorious Marlborough entered Brussels in triumph, in the month of October, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, whose magistrates presented him with the keys of the town, and received him with all the honours usually paid to their ancient sovereigns, the Dukes of Burgundy. The emperor and King Charles made an offer of the government of the country to him who had won it, and Marlborough accepted the grant, which would have been as lucrative as honourable, subject to the approbation of the Queen of England; but there were various interests and views which jarred with his; and, by the obstinate opposition of the Dutch, he found himself eventually obliged to decline it. He put his army into winter-quarters at the beginning of November, leaving the English at Ghent, the Danes at Bruges, and the Germans along the river Demer. He then went to the Hague to concert the plan of operations for next year's campaign, and to take a share in some negotiations which the Dutch government had opened with the French court, but which came to nothing.*

Louis XIV. recalled the Duke de Vendome from Italy to take that command which Villeroy had managed so fatally; and the old monarch, who began to think that fortune loved not to favour old men, tried to derive some consolation from the hope that his reverses and losses in Flanders might be balanced by the capture of Turin, the Duke of Savoy's capital. The Duke de la Feuillade was before that city with 100 battalions, 46 squadrons, 140 pieces of cannon, and 21,000 bombs, while the Prince Eugene, the sole buckler and defence of the falling state, was beyond the Adige, and to all appearance kept in check by a long chain of intrenchments. But in spite of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards the regent infamous by that name), who had succeeded Vendome in the supreme command of the army of Italy, Eugene, by an admirable intermixture of military science, courage, and perseverance, came up to Turin, attacked the French in their lines of circumvallation, defeated them with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and 9000 slain or prisoners, and drove Orleans and de la Feuillade out of Italy to the borders of Dauphiné. This battle, chiefly fought between the Doria and the Stura, was the more brilliant, as, besides their intrenchments, the French had the superiority in numbers, in artillery, in the fresh and unfatigued condition of their troops—in everything except in the genius of the commander. Marlborough felt the triumph of Eugene as he ought. "It is impossible," says he, "to express the joy it has given me; for I do not only esteem, but I really love that prince! This glorious action must bring France so low, that, if our friends can be persuaded to carry on the war one year longer with vigour, we cannot fail, with the blessing of God, to have such a peace as will give us quiet in our days: —*but the Dutch are at this time unaccountable.*"*

In Spain the affairs of France had been much less unsuccessful, because on the opposite side there was no unity of command or of purpose, and because the genius of Peterborough was checked and night-mared by all kinds of mediocrity and imbecility. Under other circumstances that extraordinary man might possibly have placed his name with those of Marlborough and Eugene; but, as it was, he could only perform romantic exploits which had no lasting result. Peterborough and Galway both proposed marching upon Madrid, the one to advance from the shores of the Mediterranean, the other from the frontiers of Portugal; but early in the spring King Philip put himself at the head of a united Spanish and French army, in the hope of recovering Barcelona. He invested that city by land, while the Count de Toulouse bombarded it by sea. King Charles was cooped up in the town, and implored Peterborough to come to his relief. The eccentric English general flew from Valencia with a small force, which must have failed if the timely appearance of an English fleet, under Vice-Admiral Leak, had not put to flight the Count de Toulouse. Upon the hasty retreat of the French admiral, who did not stay to exchange a single shot with the English, Philip, who had taken the castle, raised the siege of the town and retreated. At this crisis the French claimant again called to his assistance the Duke of Berwick, who had been dismissed only because the young queen did not like his dark countenance and his dry manners, and who now gathered what forces he could to cover the capital. But when Philip arrived there from Barcelona, discomfited and dispirited, all idea was given up of defending Madrid, and Ber-

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

* Letter to the Duchess, in Coxe.

wick and Philip retreated together. Lord Galway, who in the mean time had been moving from the Portuguese frontier, took possession of Madrid, without resistance, on the 24th of June. But Philip and Berwick rallied upon the frontier, and, receiving reinforcements from France, they turned back upon the capital, which Galway abandoned without a blow, marching away upon Aragon, where he hoped to form a junction with Lord Peterborough and King Charles. If that junction had been effected in time, Philip must have been again driven from Madrid, and a permanent occupation effected there by the allies. But the French prince was saved by the caution and cowardliness of his Austrian rival, who hesitated to venture so far into the interior of the country, who did not join Galway at Guadalaxara till the 6th of August, and who then seemed determined to remain there till Doomsday. Peterborough, who seems to have had the disadvantage of a bad, or at least a very fiery and impatient temper, prayed, remonstrated, stormed, and swore; and, finding all was in vain, he threw up the cards he was not allowed to play,* and, with some very uncourteous expressions about Charles, he went back to the coast of the Mediterranean, embarked in a new English squadron, and sailed away to relieve the Duke of Savoy (not yet made victorious by Eugene), and to conquer the island of Minorca. Upon his departure Lord Galway, the Portuguese general, and the leaders of the Spanish party in the interest of Austria, quarrelled among themselves, and united together in one general quarrel with the Austrian ministers, and in a unanimous complaint of the tardiness of King Charles. They were without money, without magazines, and almost without any kind of provisions. Berwick was near them with a superior force. Nothing was left to them but to retreat, by the only roads which remained open to them; and about the middle of August they struck off, by hasty marches, towards Valencia and the mountains of New Castile. They suffered great hardships;† but by the 29th of September they reached Requena, the last town in New Castile, where they considered themselves safe and went into quarters. King Charles went on to the city of Valencia, where he was well received by most of the Spaniards, and whence he dispatched a letter to the Duke of Marlborough representing the great misfortunes he had experienced since joining Lord Galway and the army of his ally from Portugal The letter, which was conveyed by Count Zinzerling, ended with solicitations for Marlborough's advice and support, and for fresh subsidies and other assistance from England and Holland. Peterborough, in the mean while, had been brought back to the Spanish coast, as the squadron in which he had embarked received orders from England to hasten to the West Indies, and as intelligence was received from Turin of Prince Eugene's great victory. His lordship remained a short time to press the siege of Alicant, which was taken by the allies; and then he embarked in a single ship for Genoa to endeavour to borrow money from that republic, and to act as a sort of loan-maker-general for the confederacy. It appears that there were great faults committed besides those which are attributable to King Charles and his generals in the field. The movements of the English fleet in the Mediterranean were badly concerted; and 6000 or 8000 men, or, according to other accounts, 10,000 well-disciplined land-troops were kept on board our ships, sailing from place to place, on pretence of making a descent somewhere in France, till half of the men perished of disease. "Had these," says a Tory writer, "been sent immediately to Portugal or Spain with five or six thousand more that might have been spared from other places, there had been almost as sudden a revolution in Spain in the year 1706 as there was in England in 1688, and a happy period had been put to this bloody and expensive war; but then that brave nobleman, the Earl of Peterborough, who had done such wonders in Spain with a handful of men, would have had too great a share in the honour of accomplishing it, and might have rivalled another illustrious hero in glory and merit. . . . . The French king immediately saw the consequence of supporting his grandson's adherents while things were in suspense, and poured in troops into Spain from all parts, while the allies involuntarily looked on, and suffered their friends, who had declared for King Charles, to be abandoned to the rage of their incensed prince, the kingdom lost, and their own forces destroyed, for want of being supported in time. The Earl of Rivers was not suffered to sail to Portugal with the land-forces till the winter following; and, on his arrival at Lisbon in November, finding the communication between Portugal and the allies was cut off, he sailed round to Alicant, in order to join the Earl of Galway on that side; but his men had endured such hardships on board, that scarce half of them arrived there alive, though they had been in no action. The troops being landed in this miserable condition, the earl returned to England, together with the Earl of Essex and Brigadier Gorges, who embarked with those troops in the first design."* There can be no doubt whatever that there were a thousand conflicting jealousies and interests, and that the whole of the campaign was miserably managed; but, with our knowledge of what passed in this war of succession, and of the struggles which have repeatedly happened in that country since then, we may very reasonably doubt whether the greatest efforts of which England and her allies were capable, and the most perfect military and political skill united, could have so speedily terminated a war in a country where wars ever have been obstinate and protracted, or could have succeeded in the end in

* In the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, the hasty departure of Peterborough is attributed to his jealousy of Galway, who insisted upon retaining the superior command.

† According to Berwick the other army suffered just as much, and were equally ill supplied with provisions. So poor and bare was that great kingdom!

* Life and Reign of Her late Excellent Majesty Queen Anne.

imposing upon the Spanish people a king they did not choose, or in dethroning the king to whom the vast majority of the nation had indisputably pledged their honour and affection.

But we return to our own island, where a much more important object for us, and one which had long seemed an impossibility, was carried and all but perfected in the course of this eventful year. The English commissioners appointed by the queen to treat about the Union with Scotland had been engaged very laboriously, having for their secretary that great writer Daniel Defoe, who has left us the completest account of that greatest of all our political transactions.* On the 3rd of October, when the aversion between the two kingdoms seemed at its greatest height, the Duke of Queensberry, who had acted throughout with wonderful prudence and circumspection, and who, with Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, had contrived to remove many of the difficulties on the part of the Scots, opened, as lord commissioner for Queen Anne, the last parliament that ever sat at Edinburgh. He read the queen's letter, which served instead of her opening speech: it informed the estates of Scotland that the articles of the Treaty of Union had been agreed upon in London by the joint commissioners appointed for that purpose, and it recommended the immediate adoption of that treaty "as the only effectual way to secure their present and future happiness, and to disappoint the design of her majesty's and their enemies, who would doubtless on this occasion use their utmost endeavours to prevent or delay this Union, which must so much contribute to her glory, and the happiness of her people." The queen assured them that Scotland should have its full share of all the advantages to be derived from this union of the two kingdoms—that there was no reason to doubt but that the parliament of England would do whatever was necessary on their part to remove all obstructions, jealousies, &c.; and after reading her letter, Queensberry informed them that the treaty which had been happily agreed on was in the Lord Register's hands, ready to be laid before them. His grace proceeded to declare that the Scottish commissioners had been diligent and zealous in watching over the interests and honour of their country, and in concerting just and reasonable terms; and that her majesty had most graciously received and approved of the treaty. He then spoke of that most delicate and difficult of all matters—*the kirk*. "The lords commissioners for both kingdoms," said he, "were limited in the matter of church government: for the security of Presbyterian government in this church you have the laws already made for its establishment, the queen's repeated assurances to preserve it, and I am empowered to consent to what may be further necessary after the Union." Queensberry was seconded by the Earl of Seafield, Chancellor of Scotland, who, as well as the duke, had been one of the commissioners. After a brief panegyric on the character and government of Queen Anne, the chancellor begged leave to say in general, "that it must be of great advantage to have this whole island united under one government, and conjoined entirely in interest and affection, having equality of all rights and privileges, with a free communication and intercourse of trade, which must certainly establish our security, augment our strength, and increase our trade and riches." He continued—"We can never expect a more favourable juncture for completing this union than at present, when her majesty has not only recommended it, but declared that she will esteem it the greatest glory of her reign to have it perfected; and when the parliament of England have shown their inclinations for it, by removing all those obstacles that lay in the way of the treaty: and it must also be acknowledged, that the lords commissioners for England did testify their good disposition all along in this affair: and the great and glorious successes where-

* The History of the Union between England and Scotland; with an Appendix of Original Papers. By Daniel Defoe.

The chief scene of the labours of the commissioners was the council chambers in the Cock Pit, St. James's. The commissioners were:—

For Scotland: Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor; Duke of Queensberry, Lord Privy Seal; Earl of Mar, and Earl of Loudon, Secretaries of State; Earl of Sutherland; Earl of Morton; Earl of Wemyss; Earl of Leven; Earl of Stair; Earl of Roseberry; Earl of Glasgow, Treas. Deput.; Lord Archibald Campbell, brother to the Duke of Argyll; Viscount Duplin; Lord Ross; Sir Hugh Dalrymple; Adam Cockburn, of Ormestoun; Sir Robert Dundas, of Arnistoun; Mr. Robert Stenart, of Tillicultrie; Mr. Francis Montgomery; Sir David Dalrymple; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, of Forglen; Sir Patrick Johnstone, Lord Provost of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill; George Lockhart, of Carnwath; William Morison, of Prestongrange; Alexander Grant, younger, of that Ilk; William Seton, younger, of Pitmedden; John Clark, younger, of Pennicook; Hugh Montgomery, late Provost of Glasgow; Daniel Stewart, brother to the Laird of Castlemilk; and Daniel Campbell, of Ardintennie.

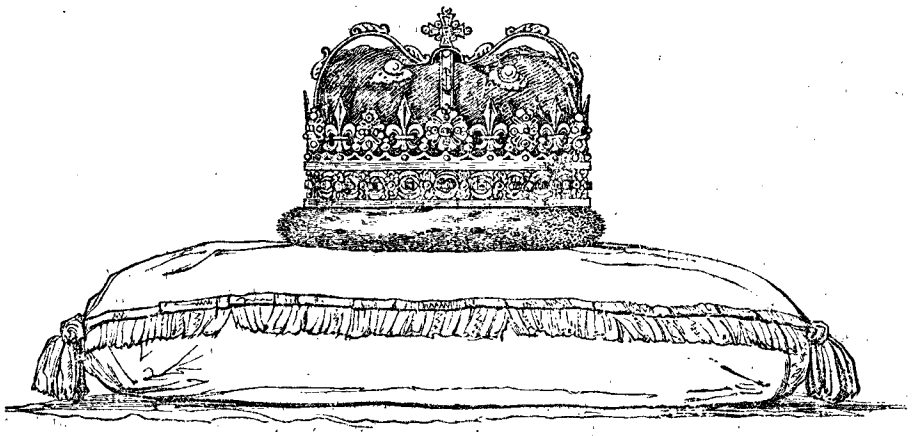
For England: Archbishop of Canterbury; William Cowper, Esq., Lord Keeper; Archbishop of York; Lord Godolphin, High Treas.; Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord President of Council; Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal; Duke of Devonshire, Steward of the Household; Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse; Duke of Bolton; Earl of Sunderland; Earl of Kingstone; Earl of Carlisle; Earl of Orford; Viscount Townshend; Lord Wharton; Lord Grey; Lord Powlet; Lord Somers; Lord Halifax; John Smith, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons; Marquess of Hartington; Marquess of Granby; Sir Charles Hedges, and Robert Harley, Esq., Secretaries of State; Henry Boyle, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir John Holt, Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; Sir Edward Northey, Attorney General; Sir Symon Harcourt, Solicitor General; Sir John Cook, Advocate General; and Stephen Waller, Doctor of Laws.

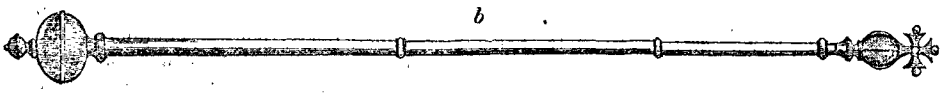
"I shall not," says Defoe, in his frank, earnest manner, "descend to encomiums on the persons of these treaters, for I am not about to write panegyrics here, but an impartial and unbiassed history of fact. But since the gentlemen have been ill-treated, especially in Scotland, charged with strange things, and exposed in print by some who had nothing but their aversion to the treaty to move them to maltreat them; I must be allowed on all occasions to do them justice in the process of this story. And, as I must own that, generally speaking, they were persons of the greatest probity, the best characters, and the steadiest adherents to the true interest of their country, so their abilities will appear in every step taken in so great a work; the bringing it to so good a conclusion, and that in so little time; the reducing it to so concise a form, and so fixing it that, when all the obstruction imaginable was made to it afterward in the parliament of Scotland, the mountains of objections, which, at first, amused the world, proved such mole-hills, were so easily removed, raised so much noise, and amounted to so little in substance, that, after all was granted that in reason could be demanded, the amendments were so few, and of so little weight, that there was not one thing material enough to obtain a negative in the English parliament."—*Hist. Union.* The treaty was indeed a model of human ingenuity and statesmanlike ability. The great Lord Somers had a very important share in its composition. The deliberations upon it began on the 16th of April; and, as early as the 23rd of July, it was presented, complete in all its articles, to the queen. All its merits, and the entire merit of the Union itself, were due to the Whigs; for of the Tory chiefs none but Nottingham espoused that great measure. Seymour, and others of that party, denounced the Union altogether as disgraceful to England, and made ribald and indecent jests upon it. Their chief motive was an apprehension of the great strength the Whigs would acquire by carrying the arrangement which King William had several times recommended, but which his ministers of all parties and shades had shrunk from as a perilous experiment.

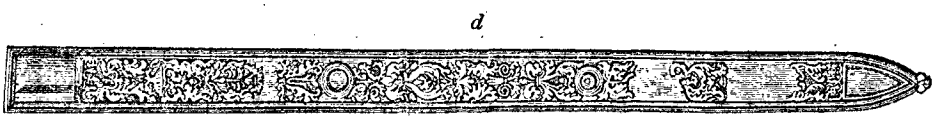
with God has blessed her majesty's arms, give us the hope of a near and advantageous peace, whereby we will be put in possession, and attain to the full enjoyment of all the liberties and privileges of trade now offered by the treaty." In conclusion, his lordship, like Queensberry, assured them that the Presbyterian church government was neither touched by the treaty nor in any danger. The treaty, as it was drawn up and signed, was then read, and after a loose and short debate, it was ordered to be printed, and copies to be delivered to all the members of parliament. Till this was done everything had gone on well; but no sooner were the articles printed and put into the hands of the people, than a tremendous storm arose. The elements of this tempest were many, but the popular arguments which most excited the Scots were these; —that the treaty was dishonourable to Scotland, as it surrendered her separate sovereignty and constitution, and subjected her to her ancient and implacable enemy—that it destroyed the dignity of a kingdom which had defended her liberty against England with such gallantry for so many hundred years—that it would make slaves of her brave sons, who must now be represented at Westminster by a handful of members, who would never be able to carry a question, or make any weight there, but just for form's sake sit in the English House, and be laughed at—that Scotland would not be like an ancient kingdom, but like a province of England—that one county in England (Cornwall) sent up as many members, one excepted, as the number allotted for the whole of Scotland—and that the kirk would inevitably be subjected to the votes, the power, and the oppression of the episcopal hierarchy in England, who would never rest satisfied till they had again set up the bishops and those other priests of Baal that had occasioned Scotland such measureless misery and bloodshed. In a frenzy of indignation the people began to cry out that they were Scotsmen, and would be Scotsmen still—that their commissioners and ministers were traitors—and that there should be "no Union." They insulted to their faces and threatened all the men in office, and all that expressed opinions favourable to the treaty. "Parties and people," says Defoe, "whose interests and principles differed as much as light and darkness, who were contrary in opinion, and as far asunder in everything as the poles, seemed to draw together here. It was the most monstrous sight in the world to see the Jacobite and the Presbyterian, the persecuting prelatic Non-juror and the Cameronian, the Papist and the reformed Protestant, parley together, join interest and concert measures together—to see the Jacobites at Glasgow huzzaing the mob, and encouraging them to have a care of the church!—the high-flying Episcopal dissenter crying out, the overture was not a sufficient security for the kirk." According to the same great writer, who was on the spot,* and a most careful observer of all that was passing, the religious feeling was even stronger than the merely national one. To keep it alive, it was artfully represented by those inimical to the Union that the establishment of the kirk would be subjected to the votes of the British or united parliament, where the Scottish members would be few and powerless, and where the English prelates would have a voice against them—that, if these bishops should please to vote Episcopacy into Scotland, they might get a majority, and the thing would be done, the curse would be complete! The most that the kirk could expect would be a precarious and uncertain toleration, for which she must go a-begging to the lawn-sleeved legislators of England. And then there came a universal cry that such a union would be a plain breach of the national covenant and solemn league, by which the nation had bound themselves by oath to Almighty God to endeavour the pulling down the episcopal hierarchy, *and to reform, to the utmost of their power, the church of England also.* "All these things," says Defoe, "were not only brought as arguments, but pushed with so much heat, so much want of charity and courtesy, that really it began to break all good neighbourhood; it soured all societies, and the national quarrel broke into families, who were ever jangling, divided, and opposite one among another." The heat was still further kept up by Mr. Hodges, a *political* writer, who had formerly been in the pay of the Scottish parliament, and who now produced a big book against an incorporate union with England, which he described as a faithless, wicked, treacherous, and abominable nation, that would entail God's judgments upon Scotland by her national sins. Hodges insisted that the interests of the two countries were opposite and irreconcilable—that, in commerce, the English trade to the West Indies was carried on by exclusive companies, and that the pretending to let the Scots into that trade was an English cheat—that the whole ecclesiastical state of Scotland would be left at the mercy of the British parliament—that the Scottish members of the united parliament would be obliged to take the sacrament of the church of England, &c. From the 3rd of October to the 1st of November the ferment continued on

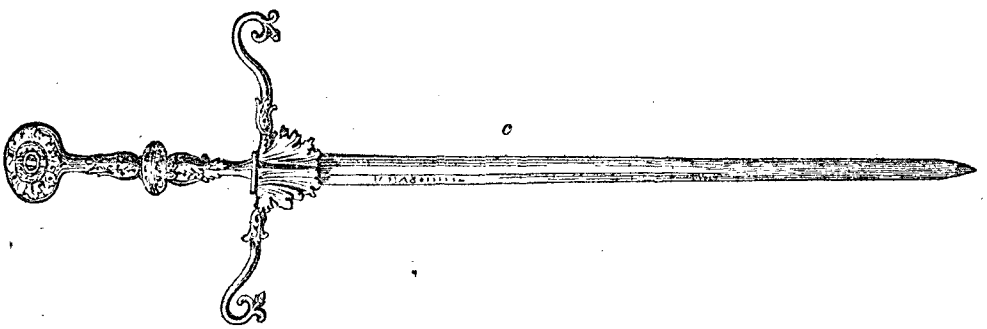
* "I cannot forbear," says Defoe, "hinting here, that my curiosity pressed me to make a journey into Scotland, and, being by all my friends encouraged to think I might be useful there to promote a work that I was fully convinced was for the general good of the whole island, I was moved purely on these accounts to undertake a long winter, a chargeable, and, as it proved, a hazardous journey. I contemn, as not worth mentioning, the suggestions of some people of my being employed thither to carry on the interest of a party.—*I have never loved any parties, but with my utmost zeal have sincerely espoused the great and original interest of this nation, and of all nations, I mean truth and liberty—and whoever are of that party, I desire to be with them.* However, by this journey, I had the opportunity of seeing and hearing all the particulars of the transactions, and of using my best endeavours to answer the many, many, and I must say of some of them, the most frivolous and ridiculous objections, formed and improved there with great industry, against every article of the Union; and this is my reason for mentioning it here, that I may acquaint posterity how I came to the knowledge of what I write, and for no ostentation at all: and as I had the honour to be frequently sent for into the several committees of parliament, which were appointed, to state some difficult points relating to taxes, trade, prohibitions, &c., 'tis for those gentlemen to say whether I was useful or not; that is none of my business here; but by this means I have the greater assurance to relate the circumstances and facts as they stood, and cannot be afraid of being detected in any material mistake."

THE REGALIA OF SCOTLAND.







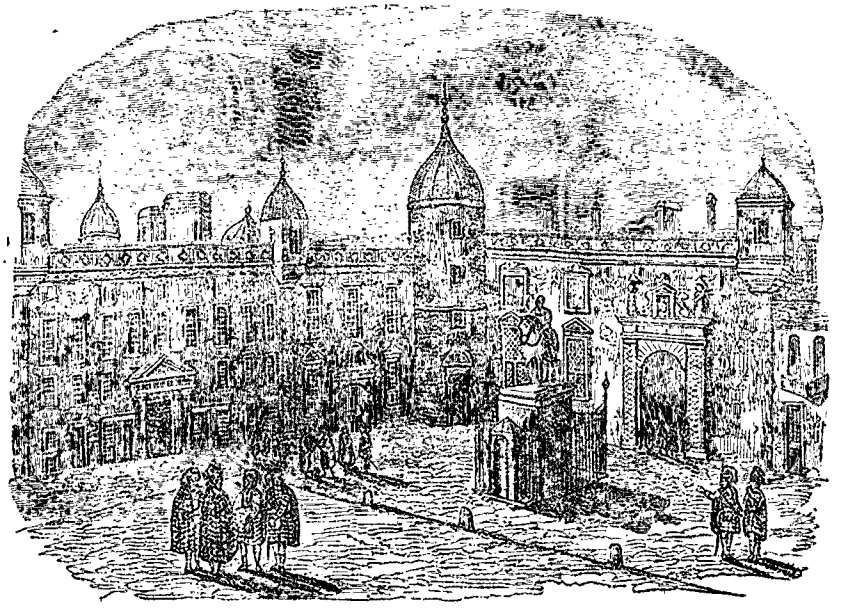


a, *b*, Sceptres. *c*, Sword of State. *d*, Scabbard of ditto.

the increase, and the whole kingdom seemed resolute to risk a war rather than submit to the proposed incorporation with England. A rumour was raised that the crown of Scotland, the sword, the sceptre, and all the insignia of royalty and nationality, which the English had not been able to acquire by force of arms, would be carried away into England by the act of the Union; and the boys and the mob of Edinburgh were invited by a great personage, in a melancholy tone, to come up to the parliament house and see the ancient crown of Scotland, for it would soon be ravished from them, and they might never see it more. "And such," adds Defoe, "was the clamour against the treaters, that I verily believe, and I assure you I do not give my private opinion in it, had the articles of the treaty been published before the treaters came home, and the feuds been the same against them as they were afterwards, there were not many of them would have dared to have gone home without a guard to protect them." The whole of the party, or combination of heterogeneous parties, that opposed the treaty exerted themselves to the utmost in parliament, several then taking the oaths to Anne for the first time, in order to be able to vote against the Union. But as these gentlemen were visibly in the minority, a cry was raised out of doors that the members of parliament had no right to alter the constitution without the particular and direct consent of their constituents; and that therefore the session ought to be adjourned for some time, in order that the members might go down to the country, and know the minds of their respective constituencies. But finding that this was not much regarded by the members, and that precedents were against them, they resorted to public addresses, and harangues at market crosses; and they easily produced mobs, tumults, insulting of magistrates, flight of gentlemen from their houses, and all kinds of popular disorders. Still, however, when the opposing party or parties looked deeper into the matter, they saw it would be impolitic, and cause the falling off of many of their adherents, if they objected to the Union altogether, or to any sort of treaty of Union—"it would," says Defoe, "have been a too directly flying in the face of the queen's recommendation, and it would have not only appeared rude, but have lost them a considerable party, whose assistance they found very great occasion for." Their arguments were therefore pointed not against the Union in general, but against the terms of it—"against an incorporating union:" They began to exclaim that a federal union would be the proper thing for Scotland, and to cry—"No incorporating union—let us have a union with England, with all our hearts, but no incorporation—let us keep our parliament, our ancient sovereignty, our independence, our own constitution, and, for all the rest, we are ready to unite with you as firm as you can devise." *

* "This brought them back to the several schemes of foreign unions of nations, such as Switzerland, the United Provinces, and the like; and some proposed one thing, some another, not foreseeing that, had even any of their proposals come to have been the real treaty, yet this party, who were against the Union as such, would have been as much against that as they were against this; and so at last they must have divided, broke their interest, and lost the whole, which was the main thing aimed at. . . . . This was thought, by most, to be just reviving the former notions of a federal union, with so many inconsistent noun-substantives in their government, that had upon all occasions been found impracticable; and which would so entirely have left both nations exposed to the possibility of relapsing into a divided condition, that it could not be expected England, whose considerations for uniting were peace, strength, and shutting a back-door of continual war and confusion from the north, should communicate trade, freedom of customs in all her ports and plantations, with egress and regress of manufactures, &c., and leave the main things yet precarious and uncertain."—*Defoe.*

With this talk of a federal union they hoped to prevent the reading of the articles of the treaty, but upon this point they were defeated at the very opening of the parliament. Then they set to work to procure a multitude of addresses from the burghs and counties, all claiming on the part of the constituents a right to limit and instruct their commissioners or representatives, and containing a direction to avoid at all hazards an incorporating union. The language was sometimes courteous, and sometimes rough and menacing. On the 12th of October a motion was made in parliament for a public fast and day of prayer to Providence to guide them aright in their present difficulties; but this was opposed by the commission of the assembly, which was then met, "not for any dislike of fasting and praying, but to prevent the alarming and amusing the people, which was the principal work on foot at that time: however, not to neglect the work, or to be found opposing such a thing as praying to God, on whatsoever account, it was moved in the commission that they should set apart a time for themselves to fast and pray, as ministers assembled on so great an occasion; and that a circular letter should be sent to the several presbyteries to do the same in their several districts." On the 17th of October it was further agreed that the members of the commission, with such as pleased to join with them, should convene in the high church of Edinburgh for prayer the day following, when the moderator should begin with a short discourse from the pulpit, touching the occasion of that meeting, &c. On the 18th there was a very great congregation, including many members of the parliament, and the work of preaching and praying continued some hours, "very public and solemn, but without any of the excesses which some people flattered themselves to find there." On the 22nd the commission, without applying for the civil sanction of parliament, appointed a general fast. The opposers of the union again expected popular excesses to terrify ministers and defeat their plan. "But," says Defoe, "the prudence of ministers prevented all this designed mischief; and, though the day was observed with great solemnity and affection, yet it was to their great disappointment that the preachers generally, as well those who were against the Union, as those who were for it, applied themselves only summarily to the substance, nay, to the very words, of the assembly's act, namely, that all the determinations of the estates of parliament with respect to a union with England might be influenced and directed by Divine wisdom, the glory of



PARLIAMENT HOUSE AND SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

God, the good of religion, and particularly of the Church of Scotland." But, though no great combustion accompanied or followed the fast in the country, the people of Edinburgh continued to be exceedingly riotous and loud-tongued: all those nobles who were against the Union, like the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Atholl, and the Lords Annandale and Belhaven, were cheered and blessed whenever they appeared abroad; and all those that were for it, like Queensberry, Stair, Argyll, and Seafield, were hooted and cursed. "The Duke of Hamilton, being indisposed by some lameness, (I cannot describe the occasion), was generally carried to and from the House in his chair. The common people, now screwed up to a pitch, and ripe for the mischief designed, and prompted by the particular agents of a wicked party, began to be very insolent. It had been whispered about several days that the rabble would rise, and come up to the parliament house, and cry out, No Union; that they would take away the honours, as they call them, viz., the crown, &c., and carry them to the castle, and a long variety of foolish reports of this kind. But the first appearance of anything mobbish was, that every day, when the duke first went up, but principally as he came down in his chair from the House, the mob followed him, shouting and crying out, God bless his grace for standing up against the Union, and appearing for his country, and the like."* A few days after this his first appearance, they followed the Duke of Hamilton's chair quite through the city down to the gates of Holyrood. There the guards prevented their going farther; but as they went sullenly back they were heard to say that they would return on the morrow a thousand times stronger, pull the traitors out of their houses, and put an end to the Union in their own way. Nor was this an empty threat, for on the morrow (the 23rd of October) when parliament sat somewhat late, the people gathered so thickly in the streets, in the Parliament Close, and about the doors of the House, that the members could neither go in nor out without great difficulty; and when the Duke of Hamilton came forth they huzzaed as formerly, and followed his chair in immense numbers. The duke, instead of going to the Abbey of Holyrood, as usual, went up the High-street to the Lawn-market, and so to the lodgings of his colleague in opposition, the Duke of Atholl. Some said he went this way to avoid the mob; but others maliciously maintained that he took that road to point them to their work. Whatever was Hamilton's intention, he led them opposite to the residence of Sir Patrick Johnstone, late lord provost, and one of the commissioners for the treaty; and as Hamilton went into Atholl's house the populace assaulted Johnstone's residence "with stones and sticks, and curses not a few." The mob then procured sledge-hammers, and ascending the stone stairs to his door they tried to break it open, and had they succeeded Johnstone would have been torn to pieces without mercy; "and this only because he was a treater in the commission to England; for before that no man was so well beloved as he over the whole city." His lady, in an agony of fear, came to the window, with two candles in her hand that she might be known, and cried out for God's sake to call the town-guard. An honest apothe-

* Defoe.

cary, who knew her voice and saw the danger she was in, ran down for the town-guard, but they said they would not stir without the lord provost's order. This order, however, was soon obtained, and then Captain Richardson, taking only about thirty men with him, marched bravely up to the rioters, cleared the stairs and the besieged door, and seized six of the ringleaders. Sir Patrick Johnstone was thus delivered; but the rabble, still increasing, roved up and down the town, breaking the windows of the members of parliament, insulting them in their coaches, and putting out all the street lights. Defoe ran a risk of having his own light put out. "And the author of this account," he says, "had one great stone thrown at him for but looking out of a window, for they suffered nobody to look out, especially with any lights, lest they should know faces, and inform against them afterwards." At nine at night, when the mob seemed absolute masters of the city, the Duke of Queensberry sent a party of the foot guards and took possession of the Nether Bow, a gate in the middle of the High-street, something like Temple Bar in London. The rabble went raving about the streets till midnight, when Queensberry, being informed that there were a thousand seamen coming up from Leith to join in the riot, sent for the lord provost and demanded his permission to march the guards into the city. This it was alleged had never been known in Edinburgh before; but after some difficulty the provost yielded, and about one o'clock in the morning a battalion of the guards entered the city, marched up to the Parliament Close, and occupied all the avenues. The mob then gradually dispersed, and the tumult ended. "It is to be observed that this rabble was a mine sprung before its time, which blew backwards and destroyed the engineers rather than the enemies; the plot being otherwise laid originally, viz., that it should not have broken out till some days after; when, as was said, all would have been in readiness to have finished the work at one blow. . . . They had been tampering with the soldiery, in order to debauch them from their duty; and some people talked of retiring from the parliament, and of some great men heading the people; which, had their patience been more, and their conduct a little more secret, they had, without doubt, effectually brought it to pass: but they blew their own project up by their precipitation, and so saved their country by their very attempt to destroy it."* Queensberry wisely abstained from any severities upon the rioters; but from that stormy night the foot guards and two other regiments of infantry did constant duty in the city. A battalion of guards were stationed at the palace, while the garrison of the castle were kept on the alert, and troops of dragoons attended ministers wherever they went. The Union, the pledge and assurance of peace and tranquillity, was thus carried under cover of arms. The spectacle was too obvious to be lost sight of by those who opposed the treaty, and a new and a very exciting outcry was forthwith raised that the privileges of the old town of Edinburgh were invaded, and soldiers brought in to overawe and oppress the inhabitants—that the like had not been done in sixty years before, nor ever except in the time of war and tyrannic government—that this was a forerunner of the slavery of the nation—that the freedom of parliament was hereby annihilated. Queensberry and his party alleged, on the other side, that force and violence had commenced on the part of the populace—that the parliament was much more likely to be awed by the ungoverned rabble than by the regular forces brought in for the general security, and to keep that peace which the civil authority had not power to preserve—and finally, that it was incumbent on the government to take whatever steps might save the city from riot, plunder, and all kinds of disorders. Some of the lords in parliament protested against the bringing in of the troops, though there was nothing imposed upon them, nothing offered to be carried in parliament but by reasoning and fair voting. It was nevertheless pretended that traitors were cramming the Union down their throats with swords and bayonets, and that a few people in the House, because they had the majority within doors, and a band of soldiers to back them without, were imposing and forcing an odious incorporation with England. And, as the riot at Edinburgh had proved a failure, arrangements were made for more successful riots in other places. "Anybody may judge what a time this was, when every day the town was alarmed; to-day the North was up in arms, to-morrow the West; to-day such a shire, to-morrow another, the next day a third; Glasgow, Dumfries, Hamilton, Perth, all the places which the imagination of the people dictated, and the fears of others apprehended. It is impossible to express the consternation of this people. Those that wished well to the public peace, and who saw that a commotion at this time must immediately involve the nation in war and blood, not with England only, but also with one another—these trembled for fear of the desolation of their country, the blood and ruin that always attend a civil war, and the danger of the lives of themselves and their relations. Those who looked seriously into the drift of some of their party who most eagerly pushed on these divisions, who saw how the interest of a popish, jacobite, and a persecuting bloody generation, lately extinguished, and now full of hopes, was twisted and joined in anti-union principles, could not but be heartily concerned for the established religion and Protestant church. . . . To see others, whose designs could not be suspected of anything to the detriment of either religion or their native country, yet joining blindly with a wicked and degenerate race, and seeming to approve the steps which were taken—these were melancholy things. . . . And people went up and down wondering and amazed, expecting every day strange events; afraid of peace, and afraid of war: many knew not which way to fix their resolutions; they could not be clear for the

* Defoe.

Union, yet they saw death at the door in its breaking off—death to their liberty, to their religion, and to their country."*

The kirk, as represented by the Commission of the General Assembly, continued in the ways of moderation. Had they acted otherwise the scheme must have fallen to the ground, or been effected only by bayonets and cannon-balls. They acknowledged the wisdom and good intention of the commissioners, both English and Scotch, in leaving the respective parliaments full liberty so to establish the two national churches, as that all the security they could demand, one against the other, should be granted them; and they relied upon the queen's promise that in Scotland Presbyterianism should not be disturbed, and that the kirk should, at all hazards, be fully established with its proper rights and privileges. Thus "all the doors were shut against the fears which either (the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians) had entertained of each other; and which wicked men daily took hold of, as handles of contention, to keep open an eternal breach, and keep us always divided, Ephraim against Judah, and Judah against Ephraim, ever vexing and envying one another." Yet the Scots, while recognizing the hierarchy of England, had little intention of tolerating Episcopalians in Scotland, and no inclination to resign any of their Calvinistic dogmas, or to treat those who differed from them with Christian charity. Their advance in toleration was tardy and uncertain. The general assembly, for example, petitioned the parliament not to consent to any allowance whatever of the Anglican hierarchy and ceremonies in Scotland; and on another occasion they said—"We are persuaded, that to enact a toleration for those of the episcopal way—which God in his infinite mercy avert!—would be to establish iniquity by a law; and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and their families, the dreadful guilt of all those sins, and pernicious effects that might ensue thereupon." The more liberal minds that advocated the Union blushed at this intolerant spirit, which fell little short of the fiery heat of the old Covenanters; but they durst do or say little against it, lest a love of toleration should have been construed into Church-of-Englandism or Atheism. To explain away the clauses of the old Covenant, by which the zealots pretended to consider themselves bound to reform the church of Christ in the whole island and to set up Presbytery in England, it was urged that these very clauses implied that they were to use lawful and gentle means only, and on no account to resort to violence or force, or to any measures that might plunge the country into a double war—a civil war and a war with the English. Doctor Rule, a Presbyterian divine esteemed for his candour and learning, and then Principal of the College of Edinburgh, stated the obligation in these distinct words:—"What we are bound to by the Covenant is not to reform them (the Anglicans) but to concur with them, when lawfully called, to advance reformation; and it is far from our thoughts to go beyond that boundary, in being concerned in their affairs: we wish their reformation, but leave the managing of it to themselves."*

While these things were debating at Edinburgh, the West-country Cameronians discussed them with much fiercer feelings, being incited by some who had always hated the Covenant and despised the martyr Cameron as a vulgar fanatic. That cloud in the West grew blacker and blacker, and a tremendous storm was expected from it: but all that happened was a tumultuous meeting in the town of Dumfries, where some two or three hundred Cameronians burnt the articles of the Union and a paper with the names of all the noblemen and gentlemen who had been commissioners for the treaty; and then fixed a paper of their own upon the market-cross, and marched off and dispersed very peaceably.† These performances were in themselves sufficiently alarming; but "the busy party," who were running throughout the country to agitate and disturb the minds of the people, centupled their importance, and added numerous little fictions to facts. It was reported, for example, that there were *6000* men in arms at Dumfries, and that, though only 2000 horse had entered the town to burn the articles of the Union, 4000 or even 5000 foot stood ready on the neighbouring hills to march with the horse—that the Cameronians were up to a man, and that all the West was in arms, there being at least 12,000 determined Scots ready to move to Edinburgh, to disperse the parliament and sacrifice the treaters as betrayers of their country and sellers of her liberty and sovereignty. But in reality, though every effort had been employed to exasperate these people in the West, and though they were heartily against the Union, "when they came to see a little into the hands that were at work against it," and with whom they must join if they would try the fortunes of a campaign against the treaty, even the hottest among them came to themselves and behaved with great calmness and discretion. Fortunately for the government Mr. John Hepburn, their chief preacher and leader, loved peace, and hated the Jacobites more than he hated the English; and he declared that, though he had apprehensions that the Union would be prejudicial to Scotland, though he did not like the articles, and thought the treaters had not done their duty as patriots, still he would never attempt to disturb the government by an appeal to arms, and, much less, would he adhere to or encourage the designs

* Defoe.

* Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland.

† "When the report came to Edinburgh of this tumult, the concern of those who wished well to that country was very great, and wise men began to give the design of the treaty for lost; they knew the unhappy temper of those honest people, for such, however, I must call them, because I believe their intention is religious and honest, though they may be mistaken, and, no doubt, are mistaken, in their principles about government and obedience; but, as they knew, I say, the temper of these people, how tenacious of their own sentiments, and how precipitant in their prosecution, it bred no small concern in the minds of all people who were inclined to peace; concluding, that the party who opposed the Union from worse principles had gained their point, viz. to employ the hands of Protestants, one against another, in this dispute, and make the honest-meaning but warm people the tools to ruin both themselves and their country."—*Defoe.*

of the Jacobite French party whom he utterly abhorred. The government continued in the ways of moderation, carefully abstaining from any *vigorous measures*,—as they are called, though they generally spring from weakness and fear. A warrant was issued against the printer of the paper stuck up at Dumfries, but the man absconded; no pains were taken to pursue him, and all the other rioters were overlooked. Meanwhile the last of the Scottish parliaments continued its deliberations on the treaty. The first article, namely, whether there should be a union with England in the sense of the present treaty or not—that is, whether there should be an incorporate union of the two nations into one kingdom, to have but one name, head, signature, constitution and parliament, yea or no, was carried in the affirmative* on the 4th of November, the birthday of the late King William and the anniversary of his arrival at Torbay. "It was on this happy day that the first article of the Union was passed, after infinite struggles, clamour, railing, and tumult of a party, who, however they endeavoured to engage the honest, scrupulous part of the people with them, yet gave this evident discovery of the principles of their own actings, in that there was an entire conjunction of the Jacobite, the prelatic, and the popish interest; and the very discovery of this opened the eyes of a great many people, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, had joined in the general opposition to the Union: but when they saw the tendency of things, and whither it all led; when they saw the society they were going to embark with; when they saw the enemies of the Protestant settlement all engaged, and those very people who had filled the land with the groans of oppression and the cries of blood, coming to join hands with them against a union with England—then the best, the most thinking and most judicious of the people began first to stop and consider, and afterwards wholly to withdraw from the party; and the clamour of the people, as if come to a crisis, began not to be so universal, but to abate; and the more it did so, the more the secret party, who lay at the bottom of all the rest, began to appear and distinguish themselves.†" The design of these opponents now was to load the treaty with a multitude of amendments, which would be sure to create delay, while it was *probable*, at least, that some of them might provoke the parliament of England to break off the treaty altogether. Every article, every clause was disputed word by word, and every possible objection was started. The matters of taxes, excises, customs, &c., seemed to give the party a hold on the popular feeling; and they represented that Scotland was too poor to pay taxes like England—her trade too unprofitable to support English excises and customs. Yet some of the amendments proposed, and which were not all carried, were proper and judicious; nor can *all* the Scottish orators that suggested them and cavilled at the treaty be set down as Jacobites or selfish intriguers, or unwise enthusiasts about nationality—though assuredly this last-named noble passion was prominent in the declamations of the best of them. Fletcher of Saltoun, who detested the name of the Stuarts, and who entertained such high notions of liberty that he would have probably preferred a republic to any other form of government, made a bitter speech "after the manner of the ancients," and affirmed that Scotland had been *betrayed* by her commissioners. They called upon him for an explanation. "I can find no other word," said Fletcher, "to express my ideas of their conduct. It is a harsh one, indeed, but it is true; and if the House think me guilty of any offence in using it, I am willing to submit to their censure. No one rose to propose a vote of censure." But the oration that was most admired and the longest remembered in Scotland was delivered by Lord Belhaven, whose political honesty was much more questionable than that of Fletcher of Saltoun. After a classical peroration and a pedantic allusion to the ancient independence of the Scots, his Lordship continued: "We are the successors of those who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and who, during the space of 2000 years, have handed them down to us with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealously plead for those rights which our renowned progenitors so dearly purchased? Shall we hold our peace when our country is in danger? God forbid!—England is a great and glorious nation. Her armies are numerous, powerful, and victorious; her trophies splendid and memorable; she disposes of the fate of kingdoms; her navy is the terror of Europe; her trade and commerce encircle the globe; and her capital is the emporium of the universe. But we are a poor and obscure people, in a remote corner of the world, without name, without alliances, without treasures. What hinders us then to lay aside our divisions, to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty, which is alone our boast, when our all, our very existence as a nation, is at stake? The enemy is at our gates. Soon will he subvert this ancient and royal throne, and seize these regalia, the sacred symbols of our liberty and independence. Where are our peers and our chieftains? Where are the Hamiltons, the Douglases, the Homes, the Murrays, the Gordons, and the Kers? Will posterity believe that such names yet existed when the nation was reduced to this last extremity of degradation, and that they were not eager in such a cause to devote themselves for their country, and die in the bed of honour? For the love of God let us, Scotsmen, unite among ourselves! God blesses the peace-makers. We want not the things necessary to make a nation happy. All depends upon management: *concordia res parvæ crescunt.* I fear not these articles, though

* The Duke of Atholl, however, gave in a protest that an incorporating union with England and the representation of both nations by one and the same parliament were contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws and constitution of Scotland, the birthright of the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and burghs, &c., and this protest was signed by the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquess of Annandale, the Earl of Errol, the Earl of Strathmore, Lord Kilsyth, Lord Blantyre, Lord Balmerino, and others.

† Defoe.

they were ten times worse than they are, if we could once cordially forgive one another, and, according to our proverb, 'let bygones be bygones and fair play to come.' For my part, I heartily forgive every man, and I do most humbly propose that his grace my lord commissioner may appoint an Agape,—may order a love-feast for this honourable House, that we may lay aside all self designs, and, after our fast and humiliation, have a day of rejoicing and thankfulness—eat our meat with gladness, and our bread with a merry heart: then shall we sit each man under his own fig-tree, and the voice of the turtle shall be heard in our land." The Earl of Marchmont rose up and said, he had heard a long speech, and a very terrible one, but he was of opinion it required a short answer, which he would give in these words:—"Behold I dreamed, but lo! when I awoke, I found it was a dream." Mr. Seton of Pitmedden, one of the commissioners, had already explained the advantages of the treaty, and the anomalous position in which Scotland would stand without it. He maintained, without any oratory but in the plain language of common sense, that the union of the two crowns, without the international union, must be fatal to the weaker and poorer country—that every monarch having two or more kingdoms must prefer the counsel and interest of the stronger, and that the greater the disparity of power and riches, the greater would be the influence of England—that the parliament of Scotland could not be vested with the power of making peace and war, of rewarding and punishing, of exercising the veto; and that even if she were vested with these faculties they could be of no use to her in opposition to England, and to the will of a very large portion of the Scots themselves. "My humble opinion," said he, "is, that we cannot reap any benefit from these conditions of government, without the assistance of England; and the people of England will never be convinced to promote the interest of Scotland till both kingdoms are incorporated into one." Seton further showed that Scotland was behind all other nations of Europe, "with respect to the effects of an extended trade;" and that, being poor and without force to protect her commerce, she could reap no great advantages from it, till she partook of the trade and protection of some powerful neighbour nation, that could, and would, communicate both: and after showing that Scotland could only seek such alliance with Holland, England, or France, other countries being so remote and poor that their friendships could be of little use to them, he said—"With Holland we can have no advantageous alliance; with the English we can expect no profitable friendship if we continue separate from them, for they will be jealous of us; and from France few advantages can be reaped till the old offensive and defensive league be revived betwixt France and Scotland, which would give umbrage to the English, and occasion a war between them and us. . . . . From all these considerations I can see that this nation, by an entire separation from England, cannot extend its trade, so as to raise its power in proportion to other trafficking nations in Europe; but that hereby we may be in danger of returning to that Gothic constitution of government wherein our forefathers were, which was frequently attended with feuds, murders, depredations and rebellions. I am sorry that, in place of things, we amuse ourselves with words. For my part, I comprehend no durable union betwixt Scotland and England, but that expressed in this article, by one kingdom, that is to say, one people, one civil government, one interest." And then he exposed the impracticability of a federal union between two nations accustomed to a monarchical government—between a very poor nation and a very rich one; insisting that if such a federal compact could be made Scotland could have no security for its observance; and that the English would not, and in prudence ought not to, communicate their trade and protection unless upon the condition of an actual incorporation of the two states. He quoted examples from history of the weak and unbinding nature of the federal compact and of the firmer bonds of an incorporating union. "Two or more distinct kingdoms or states," said he, "by incorporating into one kingdom, have continued under the same sovereign, enjoying equally the protection of his government, and every part of the body politic, though never so far removed from the seat of government, has flourished in wealth, in proportion to the value of its natural productions or the industry of its inhabitants . . . . France was formerly divided into twelve states, which are now incorporated into the one kingdom of France: England was formerly divided into seven kingdoms, which are now incorporated into the one kingdom of England: Scotland itself was formerly divided into two kingdoms, which at present are incorporated into the one kingdom of Scotland."

The Duke of Hamilton, who had protested against the primary article, against the vote that sufficient security was given to the kirk, and against the determination to go on with the treaty without adjournments or delays, was at the very moment actively engaged in a correspondence with the court of St. Germain and the Jacobite agents. Of a sudden, however, the heat of his opposition seemed to cool; and few or none at that day knew or suspected the reason of his change of conduct. "At that critical juncture," says his grandson, "the Duke of Hamilton received a letter from Lord Middleton, Secretary of State to the court of St. Germain, wherein, after acquainting him with the recent engagements which his master had just taken with the queen's (Anne's) ministers, in order to procure a peace with the French king, to whom he stood so much indebted, he proceeds with telling him that 'he beseeched his Grace, in the behalf of his master, to forbear giving any further opposition to the Union, as he (the Pretender) had extremely at heart to give to his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; not doubting but he would one day have it in his power to restore to

Scotland its ancient weight and independence.'" Middleton recommended Hamilton to keep the business "a profound secret," as he must be sensible that a discovery might materially prejudice their interests both in Scotland and in England. According to his somewhat partial descendant, Hamilton was thunderstruck at this unexpected request, wounded to the quick at not having had some previous notice of the secret negotiations, and reduced by anxiety of mind to the brink of the grave, and to a condition in which he was unable to exert himself.* It is said that the commissioners for the treaty were further assisted at this time by the remittance from England of 20,000*l.*, which was distributed so judiciously among the *patriots* that the voice of opposition became as soft as that of the turtle-dove which Belhaven had dreamed about. It appears also that most liberal promises were made of places and honours and court distinctions, and of remuneration to those who had lost the most in the wild Darien scheme. Whatever were the influences exercised directly or indirectly —we do not pretend to have indicated or alluded to one-half of them—the Treaty of Union was approved of by a majority of 110; and on the 25th of March in the following year (1707) the last of the parliaments of Scotland rose never to meet again. The chief provisions of the Union thus finally effected were:—1. That the two kingdoms should upon the 1st day of May next ensuing, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain. 2. That the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, after her most sacred majesty, in default of issue of her body should be and continue in the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. 3. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain should be represented by one and the same parliament, to be styled the Parliament of Great Britain. 4. That all the subjects of the United Kingdom should, from and after the Union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place within the United Kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which did or might belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it was otherwise expressly agreed in the articles. 5. That all ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of Scotland, though foreign built, should be deemed and passed as ships of Great Britain, &c. 6. That all parts of the United Kingdom should have the same commercial allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export, as were settled in England at the time of the Union; and that no Scots cattle carried into England should be liable to any other duties than those to which the cattle of England were liable; and that, as by the laws of England there were rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein *oats* grinded or ungrinded were not mentioned, and as Scotland produced oats, whenever oats should be sold at 15*s.* per quarter, or under, there should be paid 2*s.* 6*d.* for every quarter of oatmeal exported, &c. And, as the importation of provision and victual into Scotland would prove a discouragement to tillage, the prohibition in force by the law of Scotland against all importation of victual from Ireland or any other place should remain as it was, until the parliament of Great Britain should provide more effectual ways for discouraging such importation. 7. That all parts of the United Kingdom should be liable to the same excise upon all exciseable liquors, with the exception of beer or ale, where favour was shown to the Scots. 8. This very long article settled the duty upon salt, salted meats, salted fish, &c., and provided a premium for the encouragement of the herring-fishery, &c. 9. Whenever the sum of 1,997,763*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* should be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain in England as a land-tax, that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland should be charged by the same act with the sum of 48,000*l.*, and no more, free of all charges, as its quota to such land-tax; and so proportionally for any greater or lesser sum raised in England by a tax on land. Articles 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 prescribed very nicely the rules as to other taxes to be paid by Scotland. The 15th provided that, as the subjects of Scotland would be liable to several customs and excises payable in England and applicable towards payment of the national debt of England contracted before the Union, Scotland should have an equivalent for what she should be charged with towards payment of the said national debt of England, and that the sum of 398,085*l.* 10*s.*, voted by the parliament of England for the use of Scotland should be employed in making good whatever losses private persons might sustain by the reducing the coin of Scotland to the same standard and value as the coin of England, and in covering the losses sustained by the African and Indian Company of Scotland, which, upon such reimbursement, should cease to trade and to exist as a company. [It was from this money that poor Paterson expected, but in vain, to have his own losses made good.] All the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland were also to be paid; and 2000*l.* per annum for the space of seven years applied towards encouraging the manufacture of coarse wool in Scotland, and after the lapse of the seven years in promoting the fisheries and other improvements in Scotland. The 16th article enacted that the coin should be of the same value throughout the United Kingdom, and that a mint should be continued in Scotland under the same regulations as that in England, but with its own officers. The 17th was, that the same weights and measures should be used throughout the United Kingdom as were then established in England.

* Transactions during the reign of Queen Anne, from the Union to the Death of that Princess. By Charles Hamilton, Esq. 8vo. Edinb. 1790. pp. 41, &c.

The 18th provided that the laws concerning trade, customs, and excise should be the same in both kingdoms; but that *all other* laws in use within the kingdom of Scotland should remain in the same force as before, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain; with this difference betwixt the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, and those which concerned private right, that the former might be made the same throughout the whole United Kingdom, but that the latter should be subject to no alteration except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland. By the 19th it was enacted that the Court of Session should remain in all time coming within Scotland, as now constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the Union, subjected nevertheless to such regulations, for the better administration of justice, as should be made by the parliament of Great Britain; that the Court of Justiciary should also remain the same, with the same authority and privileges as before the Union; that, though all admiralty jurisdiction should be under the Lord High Admiral, or commissioners for the admiralty, of Great Britain, yet the Court of Admiralty established in Scotland should be continued, subject however to future regulations and alterations by the parliament of Great Britain; and that the heritable rights of admiralty and vice-admiralties in Scotland should be reserved to the respective families as rights of property, subject, nevertheless, to such future regulations as should be thought proper to be made by the parliament of Great Britain; and that all inferior courts in Scotland should remain subordinate, as they then were, to the supreme courts of justice in the country, and that no Scotch causes should be cognizable by the Court of Chancery, Queen's Bench, or any other Court in Westminster Hall; that such courts should have no power whatever to review or alter the acts or sentences of the judicatures within Scotland, or to stop the execution of the same; that there should be a Court of Exchequer in Scotland wholly independent of the English court; and, finally, that her majesty and her successors *might* continue a privy council in Scotland, for preserving the public peace and order, until the parliament of Great Britain should *think fit to alter it*, or establish some other effectual method for that end. 20. That all hereditary offices, superiorities, jurisdictions, offices for life, &c., should be reserved as rights of property, and enjoyed as they then were by the laws of Scotland. 21. That the rights and privileges of the royal burghs of Scotland should remain entire. 22. That, by virtue of this treaty, of the peers of Scotland at the time of the Union *sixteen* should be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and *forty-five* the number of the representatives for Scotland to sit in the House of Commons. That the sixteen peers should be elected out of and by their own body, and that, of the forty-five representatives of the Commons, two-thirds should be chosen by the counties, and one-third by the burghs of Scotland. 23. That the sixteen peers of Scotland elected to sit in the House of Lords should have all the privileges of parliament in common with the English peers; and that all peers of Scotland whatsoever, whether elected to sit in parliament or not, should have rank and precedency next and immediately after the peers of the like orders and degrees in England at the time of the Union, and before all peers of Great Britain, of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the Union; and should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and should enjoy all privileges of peers, except the right and privilege of voting in the House of Lords, &c. 24. That there should be one great seal for the United Kingdom for sealing of writs to elect and summon the parliament, for sealing all treaties with foreign princes and states, and all public acts, instruments, and orders of state, which concerned the whole United Kingdom, but that Scotland should have a seal of its own, to be made use of in all things relating to private rights or grants within that kingdom; that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should continue to be kept as they were in Scotland, there to remain in all time coming, notwithstanding the union of the kingdoms. And then follow, with more brevity than might be expected, the provisions made for the rival churches of the two countries. It was declared that her majesty, with the advice and consent of her parliament, ratified, approved, and for ever confirmed the fifth act of the first Scottish parliament of William and Mary, entitled "An Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian Church Government," with all other acts of the Scottish parliament relating thereto, and the claim of right which the Scots set forth at the Revolution. The kirk was to enjoy its "form and *purity of worship* presently in use," its Presbyterian government and discipline, that is to say, by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies; and for the greater security the Universities and Colleges of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh were to remain as they were, no professors, principals, regents, masters, or others being to bear office in any of them without owning and acknowledging the civil government, subscribing the confession of faith, and conforming to the presbyterian worship. And her majesty further declared that no oaths that were not already provided by Scottish parliaments, or that were against their conscience, should be exacted from any of the ministers, professors, &c. The Kirk was thus to remain exactly as it was in Scotland, but so also was the Church of England in England, and it was declared that the parliament of England might provide for the better security of their church in their own country as they should think expedient.

A. D. 1707. The English parliament, which had assembled on the 3rd of December, was informed by the queen on the 28th of January, that the Articles of Union had been adopted by act of

parliament in Scotland, "with some alterations and additions;" and that the treaty as agreed upon by the commissioners of both kingdoms should be laid before them. "It being agreed by this treaty," continued her majesty, "that Scotland is to have an equivalent for what she is obliged to contribute towards paying the debts of England, I must recommend to you that, in case you agree to the treaty, you will take care to provide for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland accordingly."* This mention of money to be paid back to Scotland clouded the countenances of many of the English Commons; and when the treaty came under discussion other financial reasons were laid hold of, and joined with religious intolerance and with old but insane jealousies to obstruct or defeat the great political measure of that age. Some of the Commons said that they were absolutely against an incorporating union, because it was like marrying a woman against her consent—that this treaty had been carried in Scotland by corruption and bribery, fraud and open violence; and that the Scottish parliament, by giving up their separate and independent constitution, had basely betrayed their native country. The zealots of the high church faction pointed out what they called the irreconcileable contradictions in the Union, by which, among other things, the queen was obliged by oath to maintain the Church of England, and bound likewise by oath to maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland, in one and the same united kingdom. They represented that the Church of England looked upon its establishment as *jure divino*, and the Scots pretended their kirk was *jure divino* too; that two nations that clashed in so essential a point could scarcely unite; and that, at the least, on such a critical point, involving the religion by law established, the convocation of the English clergy ought to be consulted. The Whigs and the low church party replied to this that they could not consider either church to be *jure divino*, any farther than that they had been established by God's permission; and that they thought it derogatory to the rights of the Commons of England to consult an inferior assembly, like the convocation, which had no share whatever in the legislature. Beaten, not by these arguments, but by the visible and vast majority against them, the Tories and high church men left the House, and scarcely re-appeared till all the articles were passed there. But, in the mean time, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for the security of the Church of England. Lord Haversham made a flaming speech on the occasion, her majesty, it is said, being present.† He was for a federal union, and nothing more;—he held that it would be impossible, and, if possible, improper, to unite two nations which had different forms of worship and different church governments. "A union," he said, "made up of such jarring and incongruous materials, would require a standing army to keep it from falling asunder. He observed that above a hundred Scottish peers, and as many commoners, that had sat in the Scottish parliament, would be excluded from the British parliament, and so have no seats at all, although these gentlemen had as little thought of being excluded as the English lords did of being deprived of their hereditary rights. He insisted that the English bishops could never agree to that part of the treaty which guaranteed the Presbyterian Church of Scotland—that this would be giving up all they had been contending for so many years, and exposing the Anglican church to shame and ruin. But the Commons made amendments, and laughed some of the clauses of the bill out of doors; and all that could be carried there was a very short and simple provision for maintaining "*for ever*" the Church of England, its doctrine and government, within the kingdoms of England *and Ireland;* and in the same bill it was declared that the act and the articles for establishing Presbytery in Scotland were ratified, approved, and confirmed. In the Lords, several protests were entered against the bill for ratifying the Union. The lords Haversham, Granville, Stowell, North, Rochester, Howard, Leigh, and Guilford, all protested against the low rate of the land-tax charged in Scotland, complaining, with some reason, that the 48,000*l.* was fixed and not to be increased in time to come, without any reference to the improvement of the trade and resources of that kingdom, and consequently of the land, that were likely to result from the Union. Rochester, North, Guilford, and Leigh, protested against the 15th article, which provided the equivalent to the kingdom of Scotland, &c.; and those four lords, with the Duke of Buckingham, protested also against the 22nd article; reasoning here in a very different way from Lord Haversham: "We humbly conceive," said they, "that the number of sixteen peers for Scotland is too great a proportion to be added to the peers of England, who very rarely consist of more than a hundred *attending* lords in any one session; and for that reason we humbly apprehend such a number as sixteen may have a very great sway in the resolutions of this House, of which the consequence cannot be foreseen. In the second place, we conceive the lords of Scotland who are to sit in this House, being not qualified as the peers of England are, must suffer a diminution of their dignity to sit here on so different a foundation, their right of sitting here depending entirely on an election; and

* Anne said further, "You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; which, I hope, will be a lasting blessing to the whole island; a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the Protestant religion. The advantages which will accrue to us all from a union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

† If this was the case, no doubt the *she-favourite* was with her, and both her majesty and the Duchess of Marlborough must have been incensed at some parts of Haversham's speech. His lordship said, "that the articles of this treaty came to their lordships with the greatest countenance of authority; but, notwithstanding authority might be the strongest motive to incline the will, it was certainly the weakest in the world to convince the understanding. This was an argument, indeed, made use of by the church of Rome for their superstitious worship, where there were ten Ave Marias to one Paternoster; which he thought just as reasonable as if ten times the application and address should be made to a she-favourite as to the person of the sovereign; which was a kind of state idolatry."

GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN ANNE, AFTER THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

that from time to time, during the continuance of one parliament only: and at the same time we are of opinion, that the peers of England, who sit here by creation from the crown, and have a right of so doing in themselves or their heirs for ever, may find it an alteration in their constitution to have lords added to their number, to sit and vote without the same right to their seats as the peers of England have." Lord North proposed a rider, declaring that nothing in the ratification of the Union should be construed to extend to an approbation or acknowledgment of the truth of the Presbyterian way of worship, or allowing the religion of the Church of Scotland to be, what they styled it, the true Protestant religion. This was supported by Nottingham, Buckingham, and seventeen other lords; but against these there was a majority of 55. When the bill ratifying the Union was passed in the Upper House, Nottingham and seven other peers entered another protest, without assigning any reason; and the Duke of Buckingham and five lords protested because, as they stated, they considered that the excellent constitution of England would be endangered by the alterations made by this Union, some of which were of such a nature as to show their inconvenience and danger so obviously, that they thought it proper and decent to avoid entering farther into the particulars. On the 4th of March, when Anne gave the royal assent to the bill, she expressed her satisfaction in the warmest terms. She said,—"I consider this Union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island, and, at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all subjects of both nations that from henceforth they act with all respect and kindness to one another; that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this Union." After congratulating them on "the security of religion by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain," she reminded the Commons that they ought to make effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed; and she then finished the speech with praising their past zeal and activity. On the 11th of March both Houses waited on her majesty with an address, congratulating her upon the conclusion of "a work that, after so many fruitless endeavours, seemed designed by Providence to add new lustre to the glories of her majesty's reign."

Before the great subject of the Union came under discussion this parliament had been engaged upon the foreign wars and other matter. In the opening speech from the throne, the most was made of the battle of Ramillies, and of the glorious successes with which our arms had been blessed; and an assurance was held out that it would no longer be in the power of one prince at his pleasure to disturb the repose and endanger the liberties of Europe. But not a word was said of the negotiations which had been carried on, or of the great sacrifices Louis had offered to make to obtain a peace. On the contrary, the queen spoke

of prolonging the war with an increase of vigour, which implied an increase of expense, and of other sacrifices on the part of England. In fact, both the queen, or those who directed her, and the parliament now fancied that France herself might be conquered, if not parcelled out among the allies; while Louis still insisted on the preservation of the Spanish monarchy, though mutilated, to his grandson Philip.* The House of Lords, in their address, congratulated her majesty on the events of this "wonderful year," especially "that ever-memorable victory gained at Ramillies, under her wise and valiant general the Duke of Marlborough," —expressed their satisfaction on the declaration the ministers of her majesty and the States-General had made to the ministers of the rest of the allies, that no negotiations for peace should be entered upon but in conjunction with all the members of the grand alliance; trusting that this example would inspire the rest of the allies with a noble emulation of acting with the like vigour;—and they spoke again of securing the whole monarchy of Spain to King Charles, as the only condition and ground of a peace with France. Nor were the Commons, who presented their address the day after, a whit less warlike than their lordships. Both Houses passed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, who had returned from the continent a few weeks before, and who, on the 5th of December, received the compliments of the Lords, delivered by the Lord Keeper. This was only a prelude to more important things. On the 16th their lordships voted an address, begging that her majesty would permit them to bring in a bill to settle and continue the titles and honours of the Duke of Marlborough in his posterity, whether male or female. [Marlborough had lost his only son the Marquess of Blandford.] Her majesty graciously replied that she would have the duke's titles and honours secured to his eldest daughter, and the heirs male of her body; and then to all his other daughters successively, according to the priority of their birth, and the heirs male of their respective bodies; and that she thought it proper that the honour and manor of Woodstock and the house of Blenheim should always go along with the titles. A bill was brought in accordingly; and so much dispatch was used, that in four days it was passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent.† Nor did the bounty of the queen and parliament to the posterity of Marlborough end here; for a pension of 5000*l.* a-year which Anne had granted the duke during her life out of the Post Office, was settled upon him, his widow, and descendants, by act of parliament.

We have now related the principal proceedings of this session, which lasted from the 3rd of December, 1706, to the 24th of April, 1707, and which was the last sitting of a separate English parliament, the next being the parliament of Great Britain, and including the Scottish members. But during this session, and before its commencement, the cabinet had been partially remodelled, and rendered still more a Whig cabinet. Somewhat against the inclination of Marlborough himself, who disliked or feared his own son-in-law, and sorely against the inclination of the queen, the Earl of Sunderland, the husband of lady Anne Churchill, was admitted into the government as one of the Secretaries of State, in lieu of Sir Charles Hedges; and this, in spite of the daring intrigues and skilful manœuvres of Mr. Secretary Harley, who was now the only Tory of any note suffered to retain office. It was with extreme difficulty that the Duchess of Marlborough induced Anne to consent to employ her plain-speaking and almost republican son-in-law; and it appears that her grace would have failed, but for a fear entertained by the queen that the Whigs might not only fall upon Harley, but turn their majority against measures which she had much at heart. After Hedges was dismissed a few other changes were made. Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax, was appointed solicitor-general; and the three Tory Commissions of the Board of Trade—among whom was Matthew Pryor the poet—were removed to make room for three Whigs; Sir George Rooke and the two or three Tories that still held seats in the Privy Council, though they seldom appeared, had their names erased; and now Harley was left absolutely alone, apparently without support and without hope.* The way in which this adroit courtier rent the compact web of this Whig government will be alluded to hereafter; but to describe the manœuvres at full length would occupy hundreds of pages, and present a pitiable and disgusting picture of courts and of human nature—or of

* Louis offered for himself and his grandson to transfer to the archduke (King Charles) part of the dominions which composed the Spanish monarchy; to relinquish Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, the Presidii of Tuscany, and the small island in that sea belonging to Spain, to the archduke, to be for ever united to the house of Austria; and to give the United Provinces a strong barrier, a line of fortification which should cover them from future attacks. The rejection of these terms has generally been imputed to the ambition and avarice of the Duke of Marlborough, to whom war was in both senses so much more profitable than peace. Yet in spite of the position assumed by Lord Bolingbroke that this was the proper time to treat, and that the terms offered were a sufficient ground for a peace, we may doubt whether Louis was sincere in his overtures, or whether his main object in making them was not to divide the confederacy and destroy its strength. The offer to the house of Austria was rather tempting; but before Louis offered these terms to the allies in general, he had attempted to seduce the Dutch into a separate treaty; and he continued this attempt even while he was negotiating with the confederacy.

† It was presented to her majesty, together with the land-tax and malt-tax bills. In presenting these bills, the Speaker of the Commons said to her Majesty, "that, as his grace had obtained the victory of Ramillies before the armies were supposed to be in the field, so the Commons had granted these supplies to her majesty before her enemies could know the parliament was sitting."

* The character of Robert Harley is thus hit off by Macky. "He is a gentleman of a good family in Herefordshire, who hath taken a great deal of pains to understand the constitution of this country thoroughly. He was active for the Revolution, but being misunderstood at court, and in the House of Commons, *he openly voted against the principles he had always professed, when he said the court did not gratify him so well as he thought he deserved*; and though some steps were made towards gaining him to King William, yet he made no advance till that parliament was called which impeached the Partition, to which he was chosen speaker, as he was to that which succeeded. No man understands more the management of that chair to the advantage of his party, nor knows better *all the tricks of the House*. He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent; was bred a Presbyterian, *yet joins with the Church-party in everything*; and they do nothing without him. He would make a good Chancellor or Master of the Rolls: he is a very useful man, and for that reason is well with the ministry. He never fails to have a clergyman of *each sort* at his table on Sunday; his family go generally to the meeting. He is of low stature, and slender, turned of forty."

that fraction of human nature which is modified or made up by a courtly life.

Confident in the support of this Whig cabinet, which in all probability would never have had an existence but for the wonderful influence which his wife had over the queen, yet still fearing the independent and not very amiable temper of his son-in-law Sunderland, Marlborough went over to Flanders, and having looked to the army hastened to pay his respects to the "Protestant succession" in Hanover, whose advent to the throne of Great Britain was made surer than ever by the Union. At this moment the conquering Charles XII. of Sweden, who in his boyhood had been saved from ruin by our late King William, was encamped at Alt Ranstadt, only a few marches from the Hanoverian court. The extraordinary achievements of the Swedish hero, who, with a small army, had defeated the Czar Peter, dethroned Augustus, King of Poland, and set up King Stanislaus in his place, had for some time fixed the attention of Europe. He was now laying Saxony, the hereditary dominion of the elective King of Poland he had dethroned, under contribution; and the emperor himself was standing in awe of his arms, and in an utter incapacity of understanding how to treat with so eccentric a sovereign. Louis XIV. saw more clearly the use that might be made of the Swede, and he sent to solicit an alliance with him. This design was penetrated by the allies; and Marlborough now went from Hanover to the camp in Saxony to defeat it. It is said that Charles had a great anxiety to see the renowned English general, and that he had refused to treat with any other personage. They met on the 28th of April. As Charles could not or would not speak French, and as Marlborough knew no Swedish, the conversation was carried on by means of interpreters. On the part of Marlborough it was sufficiently complimentary and high-flown. "I present to your majesty," said he, "a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen, my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented it, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I am in this particular more happy than the queen, and I wish I could serve some campaigns under so great a general as your majesty, that I might learn what I yet want to know in the art of war." Charles told him that the queen's letter and his person were both very acceptable to him; that he had a great regard for her Britannic Majesty and for the interest of the grand alliance; that he had just cause to come into Saxony with his troops, and that it was his design to depart thence as soon as he obtained the satisfaction he demanded, but not sooner. "However," said he, in conclusion, "I shall do nothing that can tend to the prejudice of the common cause or the Protestant religion, of which I shall always glory to be a zealous protector." The king and the duke dined together, and were afterwards closeted together for some hours, having each his interpreter with him. According to Marlborough Charles approved of the conduct of the allies, censured the domineering spirit of the French, and said (this was the principle maintained by Marlborough and his Whig friends, who had rejected the overtures for peace) that France, although humbled, was not yet brought low enough to listen to reasonable terms; and that there could be no lasting security to Europe till she was reduced to the condition she was in at the peace of Westphalia. On the whole the assurances of Charles were satisfactory; and, what was more, his visitor saw or ascertained, by less direct means, that the Swede was thinking more of Russia and of his rival Peter, than of anything else, and that he had no design upon that part of Europe where the allies were engaged. The Swedish courtiers, who followed their king, who spent all his money on his army, and who had a great contempt for all luxury and finery, were miserably poor. To secure an influence among them, good round English pensions were offered to Count Piper, Charles's chief favourite, to Hermelion and Ciederholm. It is said that Marlborough, in this, followed the advice of the Elector of Hanover; but this was precisely the kind of case where the hero of Blenheim would require the advice of no one—his own natural disposition and large experience would be sure to suggest the course he took. It is said that Piper had some scruples, and that these were only overcome by his wife, after she had listened to the persuasive voice of Marlborough. It appears pretty certain, however, that the three Swedes accepted the pension and took a-year's advance in ready money. It was probably owing to these little circumstances that Charles, who would permit no foreign minister to attend him in the the field, permitted Mr. Jefferys, an English diplomatist, to accompany his army in the character of a volunteer. This Jefferys, of course, kept up a communication with Marlborough, informing him of everything that passed in the Swedish camp.

On leaving Charles XII. the English general proceeded to visit the King of Prussia, who, at parting, *forced* on him a diamond ring valued at 100*l*. He then came back through Hanover to the Hague, where his diplomacy was much applauded by the States-General, who had not been without their fears of a visitation from this new Lion of the North, as the ally of King Louis. Marlborough's diplomacy indeed was this year much more remarkable than his military operations. The Duke of Vendome, acting on the defensive, marched and countermarched in the Netherlands: through a variety of causes the allies were never able to attack him; and the campaign closed without a single battle. But blood enough was shed in other quarters. By a strange and selfish treaty the emperor had consented to the undisturbed retreat of a considerable French army shut up in the Milanese; and these veteran troops the French king had sent to reinforce his grandson in Spain. On our side little was done to strengthen Charles, whose chance was

now becoming every day less and less of nodding upon the Spanish throne.* According to an organ of the Tories it was no wonder how it came to pass that our forces in Spain were not properly reinforced :—"It was not the intention of some ministers that they should; for this would infallibly have brought a revolution in Spain, and put an end to the war; whereas they had then projected the conquest of France, and, had Spain been reduced, the parliament could never have been prevailed on to continue the war afterwards upon these romantic views. The Spanish war therefore was neglected, 'tis presumed, as incompatible with the designs of the leading men in the administration."† At the same time Charles and his Austrian generals and ministers continued to disagree with the English commanders, and the English to differ and quarrel with the Portuguese. Lord Peterborough, after visiting Italy and flying over more than half of Europe, with great profit to his own geographical knowledge, but without any great success as a loan-negotiator, had returned to Spain, the scene of his short but most brilliant glory, to serve as a volunteer. But, as he could no longer command, he took a pleasure in thwarting those who did; in uttering witticisms at the expense of the Austrian claimant, and in saying that men were great fools to fight for two such blockheads as Charles and Philip. It had been resolved in the preceding winter that the allies should unite all their forces and march again to Madrid by the way of Aragon; but Charles was deterred by the intelligence of the great reinforcements that had joined or were to join Philip; and he marched away with some detachments into Catalonia, in order to defend that province, which seemed really and steadily attached to his cause, against an attack which the French threatened from the side of Roussillon. He proposed that Lord Galway with the English and Dutch troops and the Marquis Das Minas with the Portuguese should dispose their forces so as to cover the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia, remaining on the defensive till supplies should arrive from England, or from Italy, where the war was at an end. But Galway and Das Minas would not follow this plan—perhaps they could not with safety to themselves adopt it: they were badly supplied in all respects; and they were tempted, by the easy prey of some of the enemy's magazines, to march to the frontiers of Castile. Then they turned and laid siege to the town of Villena, in Valencia. Before they made a breach they were warned of the approach, by forced marches, of the Duke of Berwick, who still commanded for Philip, who, like his competitor Charles, had no taste for pitched battles. Galway and Das Minas raised the siege of Villena, and boldly advanced to meet Berwick. They met on the plain of Almanza, on Easter Monday, the 24th of April (N.S.), and one of the hardest fought battles of this war was the consequence. The English, Dutch, and Portuguese, commanded by Galway and Das Minas, were far inferior in number to the French and Spaniards; they were deficient in cavalry, and what they had was not good; but the English and Dutch infantry kept the battle undecided for six sanguinary hours. According to Berwick's own account, his horse were repeatedly repulsed by those steady columns of foot—charge after charge was ineffectual, and, even when the French and Spaniards seemed victorious on both wings, their centre was cut through and broken, and the main body of their infantry completely beaten. But in the end victory remained with Berwick; Galway and Das Minas were both wounded, 5000 of their men were killed; and, in the course of that and the following day, nearly all the rest of their little army, to escape starvation, surrendered. The victory of Almanza was indeed complete. Without any force to oppose him, and with fresh reinforcements brought up by the Duke of Orleans, Berwick entered Valencia and took a number of towns, while the Duke of Orleans went to lay siege to Saragossa, which city, after a strange exhibition of superstition, surrendered to his royal highness without firing a shot.* From Valencia Berwick advanced towards the Ebro, suffering greatly, like the enemy he had recently defeated, from want of provisions. Indeed such was the wretched state of Spain that there were few districts of the kingdom where an army of either party could subsist for any length of time; and owing to the badness of the roads it was difficult and most tedious to collect provisions and bring them from other provinces. It was the 4th of June before Berwick crossed the Ebro at Caspe. Clouds of Spanish partisans and the wrecks of some English and Portuguese regiments had kept flying before him; and some of them now threw themselves into Lerida, a strong fortress before which the great Condé himself had been foiled. Berwick resolved to besiege Lerida, but he was badly supplied with artillery and ammunition, and had scarcely bread for his men to eat. From the middle of June to the middle of August he was unable to undertake anything; and on the 18th of August

* "Garth, the best natured ingenious wild man I ever knew, might be in the right, when he said, in some of his poems at that time,

'——— An Austrian prince alone,
Is fit to nod upon a Spanish throne-'"—*Bolingbroke.*

† "I verily believe, one great reason King Charles neglected so long to go to Madrid was in expectation of receiving succours from England, that might have enabled him to maintain himself in that capital, and without which he could not but apprehend he should be driven from thence again with disgrace, by the great efforts the French king was making to support his rival King Philip."

* "I must not omit a singular circumstance. Count de la Puebla (who commanded in Saragossa for Charles), to endeavour to keep the people in order as long as he could, and by that means to retard the Duke of Orleans' march, made the inhabitants of Saragossa believe that the reports which were raised concerning a new army coming from Navarre were false; and even that the camp which appeared was not a real one; that it was nothing more than a phantom formed by magic art; upon which the clergy went in procession upon the ramparts, and from thence, after a number of prayers, exorcised the pretended spectres that were in sight. It is surprising that the people were credulous enough to give in to such an imagination; but they were not undeceived till the next day, when the hussars of the Duke of Orleans' army, after having briskly pursued a guard of cavalry of Count de la Puebla's as far as the gates of the city, cut off several of their heads. They were then seized with fear, and the magistrates sent out as quick as possible to submit to his royal highness. I could never have believed this story, if I had not been assured of the truth of it at Saragossa, by all the principal persons of the city."—*Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.*

a cabinet courier from Paris brought him orders to repair in person with all possible speed into Provence, to assist, with his good generalship, the Duke of Burgundy, who was marching to the relief of Toulon, besieged by the Duke of Savoy, who had again carried the war into the *grand monarque's* own country. Berwick, travelling post, got to Toulouse, and, on approaching Beziers, learned that the siege of Toulon was raised without his assistance. Then, losing no time, he posted back to Spain, and joined the Duke of Orleans in the month of September, near Lerida. The French prince, notwithstanding all the exertions he had made to collect artillery and materials proper for a siege, was in want of almost everything—so bare and unfurnished was this great kingdom. He, however, would have opened the trenches immediately, if Berwick had not advised him to await the arrival of six battalions of infantry that were marching and starving through Castile. On the night between the 2nd and 3rd of October the trenches before the town of Lerida were opened, and not before; and if the inhabitants and the troops within that place and the castle had been only tolerably provided, the French must assuredly have sustained great loss and a final repulse, which would have ruined their affairs in all that part of Spain. But those within were still worse supplied than those without; and there was no concert between the English officers in the castle and the Spanish officers in the town. The town was taken by storm, and subjected to all the horrors of war, on the 12th of October; and the castle was forced to capitulate on the 11th of November. While the siege was in progress, such were the sufferings of the French, almost the slightest effort would have sufficed to raise it; but, though a kind of an army assembled in the neighbourhood, under the banners of Charles, to succour Lerida, they never came in sight till the town was lost, and the castle reduced to extremities; and then they wheeled about and fled after losing some forty or fifty men. The campaign ended on the side of the French with the capture of Morella on the 17th of December. The Duke of Orleans, who had shown both activity and ability, returned to Paris: Berwick remained in Spain, as Philip could not consider himself safe without him. But early in the spring Berwick received secret orders from the French court to hasten immediately to Versailles, without taking leave of the King of Spain, or even giving him any previous notice, lest Philip should be desirous of detaining him. Louis, in fact, seems to have set as high a value on this quasi-royal nephew of Marlborough as his grandson Philip did, and to have felt that Berwick was necessary in France. The siege of Toulon has been mentioned, but it was of such importance as to call for further notice. The project had been concerted between the courts of St. James's and Turin, between Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and when the latter general, with the Duke of Savoy and an army of 30,000 men, crossed the Alps by the Col di Tende, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a combined fleet of English and Dutch, was off the coast of Provence to co-operate. On the 10th of July Eugene reached the Var. Sir John Norris, a gallant seaman, ascended that river with boats and gunboats, and landed his sailors, who carried some French entrenchments sword in hand, and cleared the passage for the army of Savoy, which crossed on the 11th. Then the Duke of Savoy made a halt, which, with the slow marching afterwards, allowed time for the arrival of strong detachments from the army of Villars in Flanders. The French, in fact, were drawing in troops from all parts; and they not only repaired the fortifications of Toulon, but covered that important place by a fortified camp, in which they had forty battalions. Prince Eugene, it is said, upon observing the disposition of the enemy, and finding he must fight an army entrenched on the outworks, and on the rough and steep heights that surrounded Toulon, and that were furnished with a vast number of guns, proposed retreating forthwith; but the Duke of Savoy was positive in his opinion that an attempt ought to be made. Accordingly a gallant and a very successful attack was made upon an outwork on the hill of St. Catherine, and upon two small forts near the beautiful harbour. But the loss, including the brave Prince of Saxe Gotha, was considerable, and Toulon not only remained as strong as ever, but was even made stronger, by the arrival of more and more detachments; and on the 15th of August the French recovered the position of St. Catherine, and attacked the Savoyards in their camp. It was now universally agreed among the allies to give up the siege; but, in retaliation for the ruin of his capital city of Turin, the Duke of Savoy gave directions for bombarding Toulon both by sea and land; and he and Prince Eugene viewed from one of the heights "the dreadful blaze, which was some consolation to them under this disappointment." The bombardment from the side of the sea was indeed terrible; a great part of the city was ruined by it, the arsenal greatly injured, and the English and Dutch sailors destroyed two batteries, and eight ships of the line which were lying in the harbour. This being done, the confederates, on the 25th of August, retired in the night, in much greater haste than they had advanced. On the 31st the army of Savoy repassed the Var, whence they continued their retreat to the maritime Alps. As the detachments from the army of Villars, from the Rhine, and other quarters, were wanted in their old positions, there was no pursuit; and when Eugene got beyond the Alps he was in a condition to attack Suza, an ancient town at the foot of the Alps, and one of the best defences to Turin on the side of France. The French garrison resisted for a fortnight, and then capitulated. If the Duke of Savoy had acted with more promptness and vigour, and if the emperor had sent to this invasion in the south of France all the disposable troops he had in the north of Italy, Toulon might have been taken, and the great commercial city of Marseilles as well, and indeed the whole of France, as far as

the Rhone, might have been occupied in one short campaign. But again there were all kinds of jarring interests and jealousies, and the emperor had his eye upon the rich and fertile and undefended Spanish dominions at the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula. To him the enterprise in the south of France was nothing more than an opportune diversion; and, instead of sending the mass of his army of Italy across the Alps to Toulon, he threw it across the Apennines, to rush to the easy conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The Count Daun, the imperial general, with 5000 foot and 3000 horse, crossed the Neapolitan frontier without resistance, and advanced to the strongly fortified city of Capua, which commands the passage of the rapid Volturno. But instead of opposing his progress, that important fortress threw open its gates and welcomed the Austrian. The city of Aversa did the same, and the imperialists, in another pleasant morning's march, entered the capital, amidst the joyful shouts of the Neapolitans, a people naturally fond of change, but who, on this occasion, were exasperated against the Spanish viceroy of King Philip, on account of the enormous taxes he had laid upon them to support the war in Spain, and also on account of his arbitrary levies of men, and seizure of all the Neapolitan ships that were sent into Spain. The people cast down the statue of King Philip, which had been erected a few weeks before, broke it in pieces, and threw it into the sea; the magistrates presented to Daun the keys of the city; and the three castles which command Naples surrendered to him without firing a shot. Indeed, on the morrow, a garrison of Castel-nuovo, officers and men, Spaniards as well as Neapolitans, enlisted with Daun, and took the pay of King Charles. The Prince of Castiglione, with a thousand horse, took the road to Apulia, with the intention of preserving those provinces for King Philip; but the passes of the Apennines by Monteforte and Avellino were occupied by the imperialists, and the partisans of the house of Austria; and the prince was obliged to retreat in the direction of Salerno. He was soon followed by a superior force of German horse—his men deserted him, and he was taken prisoner, with a few of his officers. In the mountainous provinces of the Abruzzi, the Duke of Atri, one of the most ancient and powerful of the Neapolitan nobles, attempted to maintain the cause of Philip; but the people were indifferent or averse, and the Abruzzi, together with the strong fortress of Pescara, were soon occupied by General Vetzel. The flag of the Bourbon now floated only over the walls of Gaeta, in which the viceroy Ascalona had thrown himself. The Spaniard was soon besieged there by the Austrians, who carried the city by storm in the month of September, committing the atrocities usual on such occasions. Ascalona retired to the tower of Orlando, but he was obliged to surrender at discretion on the day following. He had committed great cruelties five years before in putting down a conspiracy and an insurrection in favour of King Charles, and now the Neapolitans took their revenge by loading him with insults. But for the exertions of the Austrian soldiery they would have torn him to pieces. At this easy rate was the fairest kingdom in Europe secured to the house of Austria, under whose dominion it remained for 27 years, or till 1734, when Charles of Bourbon conquered it with equal ease.* By very remarkable exertions the French were enabled to renew the war on the Rhine, and even to cross that river once more. They still retained possession of Strasburg; and Marshal Villars, crossing the river at that city, drove the imperialists before him, took Rastadt, penetrated to the Danube, and had some hope of recovering Bavaria for the unlucky elector. At this moment the commanding chief of the imperialists fell into the hands of the Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I., a brave and steady soldier, but no great general; a prince with some solid but with no brilliant qualities. George, however, was not put to the test in this campaign; for the fiery and daring old Villars, being obliged to detach a considerable part of his army to protect the south of France against the Duke of Savoy, fell back upon Strasburg, and recrossed the Rhine.†

* Storia del Reame di Napoli del Generale Pietro Colletta. After settling himself in Naples, Count Daun, by a series of small expeditions, got possession of the Presidii, on the coast of Tuscany, and of Porto Longone, in the isle of Elba. His successes would have been still greater if he had not been opposed by the pope, Clement XI., who resolutely refused to recognise Charles as King of Spain.

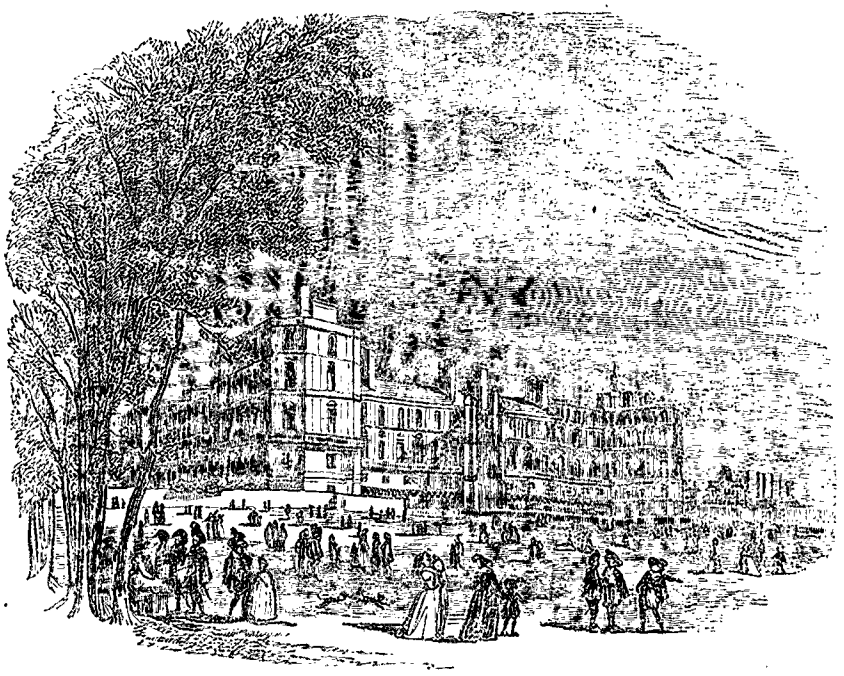
† The naval incidents of this year are thus condensed by Smollett, a very competent judge of such matters:—"Sir Cloudesley Shovel having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the 22nd day of October. About eight o'clock at night, his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the Eagle and the Romney; the Firebrand was dashed to pieces on the rocks, but the captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat; the Phœnix was driven ashore; the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers; the St. George, commanded by Lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again. The admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered, and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster Abbey. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage, in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity. . . . In the month of May, three ships of the line—namely, the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, commanded by Commodore Baron Wylde; the Grafton, of seventy guns, Captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton Court, of seventy guns, Captain George Clements,—sailed as convoy to the West India and Portugal fleet of merchant ships, amounting to five-and-fifty sail. They fell in with the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin. A furious action immediately ensued, and, notwithstanding the vast disproportion in point of number, was maintained by the English commodore with great gallantry, until Captain Acton was killed, Captain Clements mortally wounded, and the Grafton and Hampton Court were taken, after having sunk the Salisbury, at that time in the hands of the French. Then the commodore, having eleven feet of water in his hold, disengaged himself from the enemy, by whom he had been surrounded, and run his ship aground near Dungeness; but she afterwards floated, and he brought her safe into the Downs. In the mean time, the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one English merchant ships of great value, which, with the Grafton and Hampton Court, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July, the same active officer took fifteen ships belonging to the Russian company, off the coast of Lapland. In September, he joined another squadron fitted out at Brest, under the command of the celebrated M. du Guai Trouin; and these attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal fleet, consisting of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French squadron did not fall short of twelve sail of the line, the English captains maintained the action for many hours, with surprising valour. At length the Devonshire was obliged to yield to superior numbers; the Cumberland blew up; the Chester and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midst of her enemies, and arrived safe in the harbour of Kinsale; and the Lisbon

During the whole of this year Scotland was the scene of intrigues, plots and conspiracies. The more remote consequences of the Union are blessings which we all, whether Scots or Englishmen, know and feel; but in its immediate effects the measure was far indeed from being productive of that peace and goodwill, and identification of interests, which the wisest of the statesmen of both kingdoms had looked for. The national pride—the most susceptible of passions—was hurt; and the Scots began to maintain that a separate existence, with honesty and danger, was preferable to an amalgamation with England, which, if it led to prosperity and wealth, was accompanied by a surrender of nationality. They looked back with fond affection to their ancient constitution, which, in sober seriousness, had little to recommend it. They complained (and this complaint was not unfounded) that by the gross prostitution of a majority, their legislative existence had been surrendered and sold, and everything that distinguished Scotland as a nation cast under foot to the English people. The Union was a matter of much less interest, and it was far from producing such exhibitions of popular passion, one way or the other, on this side of the Tweed: but English members of parliament had insulted the Scots in their debates, and English ministers had not only been slow in paying the equivalent, but permitted that money, when sent, to be applied to the most corrupt of purposes, or divided with shameful partiality. At the same time, while the wheels were preparing for a new machine, while the difficult questions of trade were settling, the whole commerce of the Scots was brought to a dead lock; and for some months their merchants and traders knew not what to do. When detected in any irregularity they were harshly punished by seizures and confiscations. Religious differences and other causes increased this disaffection, and, in a very short time, converted the majority of the Scots into anti-unionists. Nay, they even made downright Jacobites of the flaming Presbyterians, Covenanters, and Cameronians, who had suffered so cruelly from the persecuting spirit of the old dynasty, and who, up to the Union, considered the word Stuart as synonymous with devil. In all directions communications were opened with the Chevalier St. George (the Pretender), whose birthday was publicly celebrated in many parts of the kingdom. The boy-pensioner of France could do nothing without the assistance of Louis; but that king, beset on all sides and sinking, grasped eagerly at the hope of making a grand diversion by exciting a civil war in Great Britain; and he and his minister M. de Chamillart employed secret agents in Scotland, and eagerly received the reports and memorials of Colonel Hooke, an agent of the Jacobite party, who went and came between Versailles, St. Germain, and Scotland. This dark correspondence has since been brought fully to light. Towards the end of the preceding year, when the Union was as yet unfinished, Colonel Hooke informed the French minister that, upon his arrival in Scotland, he found that all that nation were extremely exasperated against the English; that the different interests of parties were in a manner laid asleep, and that every one was thinking of nothing but of shaking off the yoke of England. "The greatest part of Scotland," says the colonel, "has always been well affected to the rightful king; the Presbyterians, his ancient enemies, even wish for him at present; and, as they look upon him as their only resource, they offer to arm 13,000 men, and to begin the war upon the first orders that they receive. They require only a ship loaded with gunpowder, and a promise that the King of England (the Pretender) will go and put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland. I have seen a great number of principal lords who are all of the same opinion. Being assured that there will be an universal rising in Scotland, they have drawn up a memorial addressed to the king (of France), in which they give an account of the state of their nation. They have taken the instructions which you, sir, had the goodness to give me, for their rule, and they have answered them article by article. They oblige themselves to march into England at the head of 30,000 men, whom they will supply with provisions, clothes, carriages, and even in part with arms."* He inclosed a memorial to Louis from some of the chiefs, in the name of the whole nation, but more particularly in the name of thirty others who had appointed them their proxies. He describes these as being the richest and most powerful chiefs of Scotland; but he hints that they must be well assured of the probability of the

fleet saved themselves by making the best of their way during the engagement. Since the battle off Malaga, the French king had never dared to keep the sea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this sort, in order to distress the trade of England. He was the more encouraged to pursue these measures by the correspondence which his ministers carried on with some wretches belonging to the admiralty and the other offices, who basely betrayed their country in transmitting to France such intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce as enabled the enemy to attack them with advantage. In the course of this year, the French fishery stages, ships, and vessels in Newfoundland, were taken, burned, and destroyed by Captain John Underwood, of the Falkland."—*Hist.*

It was not without reason the Tories said, that, if the preceding year had been a year of wonders, this was a year of blunders.

* Memorials and Letters presented to the Court of France by Colonel Hooke in 1707. Published at Edinburgh, 1760.—This Colonel Hooke is said to have been a brother of Nathaniel Hooke, the author of the well-known Roman History, and also the person employed by the Duchess of Marlborough in assisting her to draw up the account of her life, for which service she gave him 5000*l.* Before Hooke's expedition one Mr. Scott had been busily employed in examining the state of Scotland, and making reports to the Earl of Middleton, who, it appears, laid them before the Marquis de Torcy. This Scott in the month of July, 1706, had transmitted very minute accounts about the army, the different shires, &c., with nicely drawn distinctions between the well affected and the ill affected; and he had assured Middleton that in the northern shires nobility, gentry, and commonalty, were all devoted to the Pretender, and that the far greater part of the nation was well affected, and none ill, "except that pernicious rebellious crew the Presbyterian ministers, and such as were entirely under their direction and influence, which were, for the most part, the common people." There was also another active correspondent, whom Macpherson supposes to have been a Captain Stratton, who had been appointed, by the unanimous choice of the Jacobites, to go to France. This secret agent, in September, 1706, informed Middleton, who, in his turn, informed the French ministry, that the Scots were longing for a French army under the command of their own young king—that they were making all their efforts to reject the Union, "and did not doubt to succeed, providing the prevailing party in England did not send money to gain voices in parliament."—*Macpherson, Stuart Papers.*



Palace of St. Germain.

success of the enterprise before they would thus hazard their lives and families. "They were all," says he, "unanimous, excepting the Duke of Hamilton, and a lord, a friend of his." The sanguine plotter, who, as usual, saw more than the reality, goes on to say—"I am fully persuaded that they are in a condition to do more than they have promised. Several of them have done themselves the honour to write with their own hand to the king (of France); they have signed their letters, and have sealed them with their arms; and their subscriptions at the bottom of their memorial testify their zeal, for they thereby hazard their all. By the letters which I have received from that country, it appears that everything is ready. I have had the happiness to engage that whole nation in the service of the king; and at the same time I have not in the least brought any engagement upon his majesty. If he thinks proper to prosecute this enterprise, I will answer that in a short time the English will be in no condition to furnish either troops or money to the enemy, and that they will accept of peace on the terms that his majesty shall be pleased to prescribe to them." Hooke, in conclusion, flatters himself that his zeal will be approved of, and the great hazards he was running be rewarded by "a settlement"—that is, a good pension or place for himself. It appears that he was in Scotland again by the month of February of the present year (1707), and that his coming was favoured by the Duke of Hamilton. "I wrote to the Duke of Hamilton," says he, "begging of him to give notice to the well-affected of my journey, *and that I was to bring them arms and ammunition:* but, this resolution being changed, and new orders being given to me to go over to that country, only to treat with the principal men of the nation, I likewise acquainted the Duke of Hamilton with this, and entreated him to concert everything before hand with the other chiefs, who were then assembled to attend the parliament, and to send some one well instructed and fully authorised from them, to wait upon me at the Earl of Errol's, the lord high constable, where I was to land, and to whom also I gave notice of my journey." Hooke had orders to bring with him two Scotch Jacobites of good family, then in France, who were both "judged proper to facilitate the affair, especially one of the brothers, who, having come to France with the permission of the Scottish government, was at liberty to go openly everywhere upon his return." Hooke, of course, was obliged to play at hide-and-seek, as he had no pass, and was known as a Jacobite plotter. He and his companions, the brothers Moray, embarked in a French frigate, which landed them at Slaines, a castle of the lord high constable, in the northern part of Aberdeenshire. Upon his arrival, he found that the Union had been ratified by the Scottish parliament, "to the great discontent and hearty dislike of the nation; and that all the peers and other lords, together with the members of parliament, had returned to the country, their ordinary residence, and that there remained at Edinburgh only

the high constable, the Duke of Hamilton, and the earl marshal, the two last being dangerously ill." But the Countess of Errol, mother to the high constable, met him at the castle on the sea-coast, and put into his hands several letters from her son, in which he expressed a great impatience to see Hooke, adding that all the well-affected would exert themselves to the utmost, being persuaded that they would obtain, sword in hand, better conditions than those of the Union. The countess also gave him a letter from Mr. Hall, a Catholic priest, who informed him that the Duke of Hamilton would treat with him, and with him only, at Edinburgh, and that all his friends were ready to risk everything for the Stuart, provided that prince would come in person. At the same time the countess told Hooke that he ought not to be in too great haste in trusting Hamilton; that that duke's affairs were greatly altered; that all the Scots had abandoned him, and that he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the court of London. While the French frigate cruised off and on, between Norway and the Scottish coast, Hooke lay snug in Slaines' castle, sending and receiving messengers. The Earl of Errol begged him to wait for him at the castle, whither he would come to arrange matters as soon as he could. The Lord Drummond, son of the Earl of Perth, (or, as he was generally styled in Scotland, the Duke of Perth, a title conferred upon him by James II., after the Revolution), went among the lords of the west and north-west to prepare them for a conference with the colonel, who had given his lordship a copy of the instructions he had received from M. de Chamillart, together with queries concerning the particular circumstances of the country, and of the things that would be most needed in the insurrection,* as likewise a copy of a letter from his majesty (the Pretender), who assured them of his resolution to come and put himself at their head, in order to recover their lost liberties and the crown of his ancestors. The Laird of Boyne, who had vigorously opposed the Union in parliament, was deputed by Hook to wait upon the Duke of Atholl, in whose confidence he stood high, and to bring in some other lords of his acquaintance. The colonel likewise dispatched messengers to the Duke of Gordon, who was at one of his castles in the north, to prepare everything in that quarter, so as to be able "to enter upon the business" as soon as he (Hooke) should arrive among them. Lord Saltoun, a chief of one of the branches of the house of Fraser, went to visit the Countess of Errol at the castle of Slaines, where he assured Hooke of his zeal for the Pretender, and desired him to be on his guard against the Duke of Hamilton. "He told me," says Hooke, "that he believed he was in the interest of the court of London; that he had for a long time past held a correspondence with the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Stair, who are at the head of the party for the Union; that he had carefully concealed that correspondence, and had broken all the measures of the well-affected; that, after the ratification of the Union in the parliament, he had used his utmost efforts to get himself elected one of the peers to sit in the first parliament of Great Britain; and, although he had condescended to the greatest meannesses, yet he had been unanimously rejected as a candidate." When Hooke had been concealed about a week in Aberdeenshire, the lord high constable (Errol) arrived at the castle from Edinburgh, very much dissatisfied with the Duke of Hamilton. "He told me," says the colonel, "that the duke for two months past had testified the utmost impatience to see me, but that he no sooner heard of my arrival than he changed his tone. He said that I had come too late, and that the animosity of the nation against the English was greatly abated. Mr. Hall had made a mistake in deciphering my letter; for, instead of explaining that I had letters from the French king and the King of England for the duke, he wrote that the letters were from the king and the queen, upon which the Duke of Hamilton cried out that his letters of two years' date were plainly not agreeable to the king, and that, as his majesty had not written to him, it was a proof that he wished him not to be concerned in the affair; that for the time to come, therefore, he would think only of the means of securing his own safety." The Earl of Errol added, "that all this was only a pretext which the duke used to cover his secret designs; that for some time past he had endeavoured to persuade his friends that there was nothing to be expected from the king (Louis); that his majesty was prevented, by the state of his affairs, from thinking upon them, and that, if he appeared disposed to do anything, it was only with a view to rid himself of the King of England (the Pretender) before the peace, or to excuse himself from doing any other thing for that prince, in case his subjects should refuse to receive him with a few troops; that the nation, therefore, should take some other measures for securing its liberties and independency." Errol confirmed what Lord Saltoun had said about Hamilton's being in correspondence and secret intrigues with Queensberry and Stair; stating that the Duke of Atholl was the first who discovered these intrigues, and made Hamilton confess to their existence. As he did so, however,

* The French minister had instructed Colonel Hooke "to be certain of making a diversion in Scotland, which would embarrass the English, and oblige them to bring back from the continent a considerable body of troops." And to this end "the Scottish nobility *must be* in a condition to assemble twenty-five or thirty thousand men, and to clothe, arm, equip, and maintain them, during the campaign; *id est*, at least six months, to commence at the beginning of May."

"The favourable *disposition* of the nobility," says the Frenchman, "leaves no room to doubt but they *will* make their utmost efforts to withdraw themselves from the yoke which the English nation intends to impose upon them. But before a revolution, which should end in the restoration of the lawful sovereign, is begun, it is necessary to enter into a particular detail of the forces and means which the Scots can employ to accomplish it, and of the succours which they may promise themselves from the protection of the king (of France), who is no less interested in the success of this enterprise than his Britannic majesty." And he proceeds to point out particular inquiries to be made by Hooke in Scotland respecting the quantity of artillery and the condition of it,—powder, ball, bullets, mortars, bombs, grenades, camp-equipage, &c. &c.; as well as concerning generals, and other officers in the country competent to command an army, &c. *See Instructions from M. de Chamillart to Colonel Hooke, dated February, 1707, in Macpherson's Original Papers.*

Hamilton intreated Atholl to believe that he had no other design but to intimidate or win over the two chiefs of the English faction—the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Stair. The high constable further asserted (or so at least says Hooke) "that when all the counties and all the cities of Scotland declared against the Union, by their addresses to the parliament, the Presbyterians of the west of Scotland, who were all armed, sent to inform the Duke of Hamilton, that they were preparing to march to Edinburgh to disperse the parliament; that if he thought the enterprise too bold, he need not concern himself with it, but only leave them to act, and that the duke had charged them not to make any disturbance, saying, it was not yet time." If Hooke was a liar, he was certainly a very circumstantial one. He says that the Earl of Strathmore, Lord Stormont, and the Lairds of Powrie and Finglas informed him that they had made the same offer of rising in arms from the shires of Angus and Perth, and that Hamilton had made them the same answer—that the Laird of Kersland, one of the chief men among the Presbyterians, also assured him that he and another west country laird had been equally ready, and that Hamilton had put a stop to their rising. Hooke says that, when he asked the high constable whether they could not act without Hamilton, who was considerable neither for his riches nor for the number of his vassals, Errol showed him a letter written by Father Innes, almoner to Maria d'Este, the Pretender's mother, in which were these words:—"The King of England desires that his friends will follow the directions of the Duke of Hamilton, and not declare themselves till the duke has declared himself, when they may, without danger, follow his example." At the same time Errol showed Hooke two letters written to Edinburgh by two Scottish gentlemen in France, who both declared that King Louis would do nothing for the Scots, and that Hooke's journey was a mere feint. One of the letters strongly advised all those who were engaged in the hopeless plot to look to their own security. If we attentively consider these things, there would scarcely appear any discrepancy between Hooke's account of Hamilton's conduct and the account of that conduct given by Hamilton's descendant, on the authority of family documents, and which we have admitted in a preceding page, while treating of his behaviour in parliament at the passing of the Union.

At one time the court of St. Germain may have thought of a rising, and the court of Versailles of sending arms, money, and men, into Scotland; but Louis had such numerous calls upon him as to be able to do little; and, if he hoped—as it is proved he did—that he might procure a peace with England, by removing the obstacles to the Union, he certainly had influence enough over the young Pretender and his mother, who were dependent upon him for their bread, to make them order the Duke of Hamilton "to forbear giving any further opposition to the Union." * Hamilton, however, boasted some consanguinity with the Stuarts, and it is hinted that he indulged in a sort of forlorn hope of being one day King of Scotland. "The Duke of Hamilton," says Hooke, "wanted them not to think of the King of England (the Pretender), by persuading them that the King of France neither had an inclination nor an ability to assist that prince; and, the despair of the people augmenting every day, the duke might flatter himself that they would at length address themselves to him." Hooke and his colleagues, the two Morays, dividing the country between them into districts, travelled over nearly the whole of Scotland; and, if we may credit the colonel, they everywhere found furious Jacobites. Hamilton pressed him to go to Edinburgh, but he thought that too rash a step, and he satisfied himself with learning the duke's intentions through Hall the priest. Hall asked him if the King of France would not grant 10,000 men? The colonel answered, No; and that he did not believe the Scots could be so unreasonable as to ask them. "However, that be," replied the priest, "the Duke of Hamilton believes that it is the least that can be asked." Hooke said that 5000 Frenchmen would be enough, and that, perhaps, after examining everything, it would be found that the Scots had no need of any foreign troops. According to the colonel, Hamilton behaved with great caution, avoiding everything that might commit him. The duke would not go out to meet him as he proposed. Hall, the priest, excused this by saying that his grace had had "twenty-nine fits of the fever;" but the colonel was incredulous as to the existence of any malady. Hamilton begged to be excused answering the letter of the King of France and the letter of the King of England, saying that he would do himself that honour by some other opportunity when he had recovered his strength. His grace assured the agent that he would concur in all *reasonable* measures, but was of opinion that the King of England ought not to risk himself without a considerable body of French troops. In concluding the last of his messages, which were all sent by word of mouth, he wished Hooke a good voyage back to France. Upon this, as the least and most that he could do, the colonel dropped all intercourse with the duke. The other Jacobite lords and the Presbyterian lairds continued

* Like all state intrigues, wherein several parties with different interests are concerned, this present one presents numerous difficulties and seeming contradictions, made still more puzzling by sudden changes of intention on the part of the courts of Versailles and St. Germain. In the month of February a declaration of war was delivered to Hooke in the name of "James the Eighth, by the grace of God King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland." In this paper the Pretender, after expressing his firm resolution to repair to Scotland as soon as the country should have declared for him, impowers, authorises, and requires all his loving subjects to assemble in arms, to seize the government and all forts and castles, to use all acts of hostility against those who should traitorously presume to oppose his authority, &c. And, together with this declaration, Hooke received instructions, apparently written by Lord Middleton, the Pretender's head man, which were entirely in a warlike tone, with this qualification, however, that he was not to publish the declaration, nor attempt to levy war, except the Scots were quite ready to take the field. But on the 11th of March Middleton wrote from St. Germain to tell Hooke, who was then in Scotland, that it was not Louis's intention that the Scots should stir, though ever so much inclined to it, *till the treaty was finished.*

to deliberate with him about arms, gunpowder, and money. As to troops, Hooke urged "that a body of foreigners would be of more detriment than service; that foreigners were not used to live upon so little as the Scots; that they did not understand their language, were not of their religion —that it would have the air of a conquest, especially among the English, which opinion would hinder their friends in England from joining them, and even influence them, perhaps, to join the other side." He represented to them that it would be easy for the Scots at this moment to make themselves masters, not only of Scotland, but also of England, as there was not a single fortified city in the two kingdoms except Portsmouth, a place of little importance; and as there were actually hardly any troops either in England or Ireland to oppose their progress. He alluded to the romantic exploits of Dundee; but fortunately for Scotland and for England there was no Dundee among his auditors. The lords and the lairds still insisted upon having a body of foreign troops; and in the end Hooke returned to France with a fair copy of a memorial to King Louis XIV.* Hooke also got letters from Lord Stormont, Lord Drummond, the Earl of Panmuir, the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Errol, and some others, who all expressed their anxiety for the arrival of the Pretender with French troops and French *money*.† Most of these letters are dated in the month of May of the present year 1707, or about two months after the treaty of the Union was fully ratified by the English parliament. Hooke also gives a letter which he says was sent at the same time to the Pretender by the Duke of Hamilton, who, if he had forwarded the Union, in obedience to the instructions of the courts of St. Germain and Versailles, and in order to promote a peace with France, must have been disconcerted, like all the rest engaged in that scheme, by seeing England and her allies persevering in the war. In this letter Hamilton says, or is made to say, that he had always flattered himself that Lord Godolphin meant well (that is, that he still favoured the exiled house of Stuart, with whom he certainly corresponded); yet he had seen that Godolphin had been for the Union more than could be thought; that he knew, however, though perhaps Godolphin did not, that the Whigs in England had resolved upon that minister's ruin; and that Lord Marlborough had been as zealous as Godolphin for this Union, which would cause the ruin of all the royal family. "It is no longer time," says the duke, "to speak of things past, but if I had only had twenty thousand pounds sterling the Union would have been rejected!" Hooke had promised great things, but was not able to do even little things: a circumstance sufficiently accounted for by the perilous state of France this year.

In the month of August, the Duke of Gordon wrote to M. de Chamillart, minister and secretary of state, expressing consternation at not hearing from France, and entreating to know what the Scots might hope for from that quarter. "Secresy," says his grace, "is necessary in great affairs; but too much mystery ruins all. May we know at least whether we shall be assisted or not? The Duke of Hamilton now begins to espouse our interests heartily." A few days after the Laird of Kersland, designated as chief of the Presbyterians in the five shires of the south-west, wrote to Chamillart that all was ready there. "But," says the laird, "if the succours do not come soon, or at least if we are not sure of being assisted within a limited time, all will go to confusion. The people complain that they have been often made to hope, without any effect. I will still answer for keeping everything ready some time longer, provided I am sure of the succours; but it would not be just that I should lose my fortune for my good will. . . . We are all convinced, that the only way to save Scotland is to restore our king. . . . . The Union is so universally detested, that it has changed the hearts of the greatest enemies of the king. I should not wonder if this change should not be easily believed in France; for I am surprised at it myself, and yet it is true. . . . Once more, do not lose time, for if you do you lose everything." And on the 23rd of August, the Duchess of Gordon wrote in an agony of impatience to Chamillart for the Pretender. "For God's sake," says this feverish partisan, whose family and estates were in jeopardy, "what are you thinking of? Is it possible that, after having ventured all to show our zeal, we have neither assistance nor answer? All is lost for want of knowing what measures ought to be taken. Several of the greatest partisans of the Union acknowledge their error and come over to us. If we are left in the uncertainty we are now in, the people will grow cool. The chieftains will

* Hooke says that the first to sign the memorial was Lord Stormont. The other signatures were those of Lords Errol, Panmuir, Kinnaird, and Drummond, of James Ogilvie, N. Moray, N. Keith, Thomas Fotheringham, and Alexander Innes. Not one of these names, except that of Errol, the hereditary lord high constable, is a first rate; but Hooke says that N. Keith, or the Laird of Keith, signed for the great Marshal of Scotland, his cousin, who was unable to travel to sign himself, on account of sickness, but who promised to be one of the first to join the Pretender upon his arrival, and to place at his disposal eight field-pieces and two battering cannon, which were in his castle of Dunnottar. The agent further says that Errol signed not only for himself but also for the Earls of Caithness, Eglintoun, Aberdeen, and Buchan, for the Lord Saltoun, and for the shires of Aberdeen and Mearns. This could not have been *very* satisfactory to the French court, who had instructed Hooke "to get the writing signed by all the principal men of the country." "They (the memorialists) directed me," says Hooke, "to represent that the French are as much loved in Scotland as they are hated in England; that the Scots retain a pleasing remembrance of their ancient alliances; that they still preserve several French idioms and turns of expression, which are not used in England; that France is therefore always dear to them; and that they promised themselves the deliverance of their country, and the restoration of their king, under his majesty King Louis's protection."

† If Colonel Hooke had promised them any great sums he had exceeded his instructions. The French minister had expressly told him to be careful about money matters, as coin was scarce in France. "You may give them assurances," says Louis's minister, "of his majesty's sincere desire to send them the succours which may be necessary; but his majesty recommends, in a very particular manner, to Mr. Hooke, not to engage him in *expenses* which those he is obliged to lay out elsewhere will not allow him to support, nor to give them any room to hope for more than he can furnish."—*Instructions from M. de Chamillart to Colonel Hooke, in Macpherson.* If Hooke had had a large supply of cash it is very probable that the returning Stuart loyalty would have been greatly quickened, and that many more lords would have signed the memorial which he carried back to France with him. But it appears that he was almost pennyless, and had to look, with microscopic eyes, for money in a country which had never yet abounded with that commodity.

fear for themselves when they find they are despised, and will make their peace not to have a halter about their necks. Give me but a positive promise, and all will go well. The chieftains will then find no difficulty in keeping everything ready against the arrival of the succours; but our hearts are sunk by this continued uncertainty. Come when you please, and to what port you please, you will be well received; but if you do not come soon the party will be broken, and it will be too late."*

But the Pretender, a youth of nineteen, would have been of little use without the French succour, and this Louis or his ministers—who now frequently acted upon plans of their own in opposition to the wishes of the *grand monarque*†—hesitated to furnish. So early as the 27th of July, Middleton had written a most urgent letter to M. de Chamillart. "The king, my master," says the earl, "has commanded me to tell you that Mr. Hooke has been here now for seven days. . . . I do not pretend to trouble you with tales of antiquity, but to remark what we ourselves see. What embarrassments have not the Hungarians given to the emperor? Who would have believed that a few peasants in the Cevennes, without any succours, could have occupied so many regular troops commanded by mareschals of France, for three years? . . . Mr. Hooke has informed us of the good disposition of the Scots, whose fidelity and capacity are known to you. They demand *their king*, who wishes ardently to join them. If the affairs of the king (of France) are urgent here, that pleads strongly for the project in Scotland. If a small part of the money and of the troops which are employed here would finish the business there, it must be wrong to hesitate."‡ But Chamillart continued to hesitate nevertheless, and nothing was done for some months, which were months of agony to the few Scottish lords and gentlemen that had fairly committed themselves. The House of Hanover, jealous of everything that threatened its succession, obtained, by some unknown means, a glimpse of these intrigues, which, perhaps, were still better known to Godolphin, to Harley, and to Queen Anne herself.

The first parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October (1707). It had been proposed that the English parliament sitting when the Union was completed should be dissolved, so that the Scottish members that were to make up the parliament of Great Britain should be associated with a new House; but the Whig ministers, who had a staunch majority, were of course unwilling to run the chances of a new election, more particularly at a moment when the nation was in an ill humour at our failures this year both by land and sea, and they overruled the proposition. "It was generally thought," says Burnet, "that, though this was a parliament that had now sat two years, yet it was a new parliament, by reason it had been let fall, and was revived by a proclamation; and the consequence of this was, that those who had got places were to go to a new election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new parliament, since it was not summoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clause in an act of parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new parliament, though Harley was for maintaining it to be an old parliament. The House of Commons chose the same speaker (Mr. Smith) over again, and all the usual forms in the first beginning of a new parliament were observed." The queen's speech was not so confident as it had been the year before—"the year of wonders;" but still it was far from being desponding. If the attempt upon Toulon had not wholly its desired effect, it had nevertheless been attended with great and obvious advantages to the common cause of the allies; if the French had gained ground upon us in Spain, they had been wholly driven out of Italy, "by which it would be more easy for all the allies to join their assistance next year, for enabling the King of Spain to recover his affairs in that kingdom, and reduce the whole Spanish monarchy to his obedience." The "weakness and ill posture of affairs upon the Rhine" was frankly admitted; but her majesty hinted that all this would be fully remedied next campaign, "by the conduct and authority of the Elector of Hanover, whose seasonable acceptance of that command had strengthened and obliged the whole confederacy." It would be necessary, she said, to augment the supplies. But the subject of the recent Union occupied as much room as the war in this speech. In a work so great and so new in its kind, it was impossible but that some doubts and difficulties should have arisen; but it was hoped that these had been so far overcome as to have defeated "the designs of those who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances." The Commons, in their address, thankfully acknowledged the divine goodness in making her majesty the glorious instrument of uniting the two kingdoms,—adding that they would embrace all opportunities of improving this happy union so as to make this island of Great Britain a terror to her enemies; and they assured her that the ill success of her arms the last campaign should not discourage them from making their utmost efforts for recovering *the whole Spanish monarchy*. But the Lords were in a very different humour. When it

* Hooke's Negotiations.

† Louis was now old and much broken, both in health and spirit. His time was chiefly passed with Madame de Maintenon, his mistress, who had become a sort of saint, and with his confessor and other priests. It is as certain as it was natural that the French ministers only regarded the interests of the Pretender inasmuch as they were subservient to their own. Macpherson remarks justly—"Louis XIV. himself seems at times to have been sincere in his professions to the excluded family. His ministers, however, justly judging that they could have only the uncertain gratitude of the person whom they should serve for the expense and hazard of an expedition, were extremely backward in making any effectual efforts for invading Britain. Besides, it was natural for them, considering their own attachment to monarchy, to suppose, that they derived great advantage from having in their hands the person whom they supposed to have an hereditary right to the British crown. The attempts, therefore, which were from time to time made for invading this island, were rather intended to engage the nation in a civil war, than to contribute effectually to restore the family of Stuart. The languor and caution of its court increased with the misfortunes of France in the present war."

‡ Macpherson.

was proposed to vote the usual address of thanks, the opposition carried a vote for a previous inquiry by a committee of the whole House, into the state of the nation. In the course of the debate our failures at sea, and the mismanagement of the admiralty, at the head of which the queen's husband had been slumbering, were severely commented upon. Petitions were read from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of the great losses at sea, and of the ruin of our foreign trade for want of cruisers and proper convoys. "The French," said Lord Haversham, "have been allowed to take our ships, as the Dutch take herrings, by shoals, upon our coasts; nor has the royal navy itself escaped." The Dutch, he said, were carrying on an open and flourishing trade at our expense, trading even with the common enemy. It is said that Lord Somers and Lord Wharton encouraged these heats in order to remove the Prince of Denmark from the admiralty, and to drive Harley and St. John from office; while Rochester and Buckingham voted for the inquiry in order to ruin Marlborough, Godolphin, and their Whig allies or dependents in the cabinet. Yet Lord Haversham affected to believe that the navy was safer in the hands of the prince than in any man's. The Commons, meanwhile, voted liberal supplies, and adopted various resolutions for removing jealousies, religious and political, between the two kingdoms, and for supporting the Union by endearing it to both the contracting parties. Among these resolutions was one, apparently suggested by Somers, that there should be but one privy council, or, in other words, that the privy council in Scotland, which had been but too often little better than a Star Chamber, should be put down. As the Scots, or too many of them, were now clinging to curses as well as to blessings, provided only that they were old and Scottish, and had been a part of their separate political status, they complained of this, notwithstanding the notoriety of the fact that they had been tyrannised over, imprisoned, tortured by this privy council, as Jews and Moors and heretics were in Spain by the Inquisition. A bill, however, was brought in and passed, and that old tyranny, after a noble speech by Somers, was abolished.* The inquiries about the admiralty, the navy, and the nation came to nothing, as the Tories saw that in seconding them they must incense the queen by displacing her husband, and also lose the services of Harley and St. John, who were both intriguing in their favour. On the 18th of December the queen went down to the House to give the assent to the land-tax and to some other bills; and on the morrow the Lords, somewhat of the latest, presented their address of thanks, in which they applauded her majesty's great spirit and resolution in carrying on the war, and expressed their own great zeal for preventing everything likely to disturb the Union. This, however, did not prevent a loud debate in the Upper House; and on that same day (the 19th) their lordships took up the question of the war in Spain, and the shameful failure which had there followed the brilliant achievements of Peterborough. Many of the Tories did not hesitate to say that Peterborough was a greater general than Marlborough; both parties applauded his conduct; but a motion for giving that earl the thanks of the House was resolutely opposed by the Whigs and by all the present friends of the hero of Blenheim. It was represented by the old Tory, Nottingham, and others, that Spain was now abandoned to the enemy; but their opponents replied that measures were already concerted for sending powerful succours to King Charles. On the 23rd of December the Lords joined the Commons in an address, wherein it was stated again that the reducing the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the house of Austria was the only proper ground for a peace; and that no peace could be honourable or safe, if Spain the West Indies, or any part whatsoever of the Spanish monarchy were suffered to remain under the power of the House of Bourbon. The address, however, besought her majesty to make the most pressing instances to the emperor for succour to his brother the King of Spain, for 20,000 imperialists to be put under the command of the Duke of Savoy, and for strengthening the army upon the Rhine, now happily commanded "by that *wise and valiant* prince the Elector of Hanover."

A.D. 1708.—Though Harley had worked in the dark, and though Bolingbroke had practised a duplicity rarely excelled by any scoundrel of genius, they were by this time suspected and hated or dreaded by their Whig colleagues. With all their art, Harley and St. John would have failed in making any impression upon the queen but for a false step of the Duchess of Marlborough. Some few years before this the duchess, who was rich enough to have served her in another way, brought into court a poor cousin—Abigail Hill*—

* Minutes of Somers's speech in the House of Lords on the bill for abolishing the privy council of Scotland are preserved in the Hardwicke State Papers. His arguments were many and strong. The following are a few of them:—

"The Union cannot be at all perfect while two political administrations subsist, the one in England, the other in Scotland.

"The advantage of Scotland is to have the same easy access to the prince as the English; to be under the immediate personal care of the prince, and not to owe their protection and countenance to any subordinate institution.

"Worse state (for Scotland) after the Union if a distinct administration continue—now no parliament there to resort to.

"This privy council is not a constitution of state and policy, but, in effect, a sovereign court of justice, to see the laws effectually executed, and for preservation of the public peace. . . . I have heard much of the fitness of such a council for Scotland; but England would never agree with these courts that are mixed of state and justice. Policy soon gets the better of justice. We had a privy council in England with great and mixed powers. We suffered under it long and much. All the rolls of parliament are full of complaints and remedies; but none of them effectual till King Charles the First's time. The Star Chamber was but a spawn out of our council, and was called so only because it sat in the usual council chamber. It was set up as a formal court in the 3 Hen. VII., in very soft words; to punish great riots; to restrain offenders too big for ordinary justice; or, in the modern phrase, to preserve the public peace: but in a little time it made this nation tremble. The privy council came at last to make laws by proclamation; and the Star Chamber ruined those that would not obey. At last they fell together, but not without endangering the kingdom."

* "Abigail Hill, or Mrs. Masham, was the daughter of one Hill, a merchant in the city, by a sister of my father. Our grandfather, Sir John Jenyns, had *two-and-twenty children*, by which means the estate of the family came to be divided into very small parcels. Mrs. Hill had only 500*l.* to her portion. Her husband lived very well, as

whose father, Mr. Hill, once a merchant in the city, was nearly related to Mr. Secretary Harley. The duchess got this Abigail appointed bedchamber-woman to Anne, then only Princess of Denmark, and her younger sister settled as the Duke of Gloucester's laundress — "which," says the duchess, "was a good enough provision for her."* The two young ladies had two poor brothers;—the elder of these was put into a snug place in the Custom House, and the younger, after being clothed and put to school at St. Alban's by his great relative, was made page to the Prince of Denmark, groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester, aide-de-camp to Marlborough, and colonel of a regiment.† Everything went on smoothly till the summer of 1707, when the duchess, who always treated her with great *hauteur*, learned that her cousin Abigail was privately married to Mr. Masham, and was in the habit of being closeted with the queen without her grace's consent. Convinced that there was "some mystery," the duchess set herself "to inquire as particularly" as she could into it. "And," says her grace, "in less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become *an absolute favourite;* that the queen herself had been present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy purse; that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her: and I likewise then discovered, beyond all dispute, *Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman.*" The duchess says she was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude. No doubt she might have added that she was struck also with dismay, for she must have known better than any one else the character of her royal mistress, of whom a great writer said, with perfect justice, that she "had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time."* Besides, her grace was now put in mind of several suspicious circumstances. She says herself, "particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the queen (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage from my lodgings to the bed-chamber), on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible, but upon the sight of me stopped, and immediately changing her manner, and making a most solemn curtsey, said, 'Did your majesty ring?' and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter now to make it understood." The duchess hastened to communicate these great discoveries to her husband; and the lord-general left off looking after the French, in order to warn his wife to look well after Mrs. Masham and the dangerous Mr. Harley. "If you are sure," says Marlborough, "that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think you might, with some caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say." These words surprise us in such a man! Marlborough ought to have remembered how very slight the tie of gratitude had been upon himself, and how generally unknown such a homely virtue was at the court. He ought also to have been aware that it was his own wife's speaking of business to the queen that had moulded the government to his wishes, that had done everything for him, and that if any other lady once got the same influence over Anne the game of the Marlboroughs was up. Sarah Jennings, to do her justice, had less meanness and more spirit than any of her court contemporaries, male or female: she openly taxed her cousin Abigail with practising with the queen to undermine her; and Mrs. Abigail, after a few excuses and evasions, finding herself backed by the queen, who had at last summoned courage to meet the frowns of the haughty duchess, set her at defiance. From this moment her grace saw clearly the end of all this, and she was not long in getting notice of Mr. Harley's practices both within doors and without. "He was endeavouring," she says, "to create in the Whigs jealousies of Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, and at the same time assuring the Tories that they might depend upon the queen's inward affection to them; and that it was wholly owing to those two great lords that the Tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. His design was to ruin the

I have been told, till, turning projector, he brought ruin upon himself and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such people in the world, till after the Princess Anne was married, and when she lived at the Cock-pit; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and said, she believed I did not know that I had relations who were in want, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her story, I gave her out of my purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs. Hill more money, and saw her. She told me that her husband was the same relation to Mr. Harley as she was to me, but that he had never done anything for her. (*The proud duchess, we observe, never calls her father's reduced sister by the name of aunt.*) I think Mrs. Masham's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter, Abigail, afterwards Mrs. Masham, was a grown woman. I took her first to St Alban's, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness as if she had been my sister."—*An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, &c.*

* "And when the Duke of Gloucester died, I obtained for her a pension of 200*l.* a-year, which *I* paid her out of the privy purse. And in some time after, I asked the queen's leave to buy her an annuity out of some of the funds," &c.—*Ibid.*

† This poor cousin turned out a very poor soldier. "Jack Hill (whom the bottlemen afterwards called *honest* Jack) was a tall boy, whom I clothed (for he was all in rags), and put to school at St. Alban's, to one Mr. James, who had been an usher under Dr. Busby, of Westminster; and whenever I went to St. Alban's, I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. After he had learned what he *could* there, a vacancy happening of page of honour to the Prince of Denmark, his highness was pleased, at my request, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester: and though my lord always said that Jack Hill was good for nothing, yet, to oblige me, he made him his aide-de-camp, and afterwards gave him a regiment. But it was his sister's interest that raised Jack to be a general, and to command in that ever-memorable expedition to Quebec. I had no share in getting him those honours. To finish what I have to say upon this subject: when Mr. Harley thought it useful to attack the Duke of Marlborough in parliament, this Quebec general, this honest Jack Hill, this once ragged boy, whom I clothed, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his sister to get up, wrap himself in warmer clothes than those I had given him, and go to the House and vote against the duke! I may here add, that even the husband of Mrs. Masham had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was brought into court, first made a page, then an equerry, and afterwards groom of the bedchamber to the prince; for all which he himself had thanked me, as for favours procured by my means."

* Swift.

Whigs, by disuniting them from the ministry, and so pave the way for the Tories to rise again, whom he thought to unite in himself, as their head, after he had made it impossible for them to think of a reconciliation with the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin. But, that this able politician might in all things act suitably to his parts and genius, he, at the same time that he was employed in the manner that I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of those whose destruction he aimed at by the most elaborate compliments, and the most nauseous professions of affection and duty."* The lord-treasurer Godolphin was as much alarmed as the lord-general, and, being upon the spot, he had almost daily consultations with the duchess, who appears to have conceived a momentary hope of brow-beating the weak and timid, though obstinate, queen, and of throwing Mrs. Masham back into the dirt, which she boasted she had raised her from. At first Anne flinched, and, both in conversation and writing, solemnly denied the charges against Mrs. Masham; and she continued to style herself Mrs. Freeman's (*i.e.* the duchess's) "poor, unfortunate, but ever faithful, Mrs. Morley." But, by degrees, the queen's new infatuation for Abigail, and the assurances she received in secret from Mr. Harley, who told her that he would take her out of the chains and thraldom of the Marlboroughs, and make her a queen indeed, infused a little more firmness into this singularly weak and essentially vulgar royal mind;—her civilities became mockeries and masks; her expressions of friendship, and devotion, and submission, mere sarcasms or *double entendres*. The Tories, who well knew that the high-church feeling of Anne still continued an absolute passion, threw two high-church parsons in her way by means of Harley; and this widened the breach, and set Marlborough and Godolphin to coerce the queen on the point where even in their greatest favour they had found her difficult to manage. The bishopric of Chester became vacant by the death of Dr. Stratford, and the queen secretly engaged to give it to Sir William Dawes, an aspiring man, who aimed at becoming a head of the Tory party, though he always professed a strong attachment to the Protestant succession, calling himself (what the Whigs asserted was a contradiction in terms) a Hanoverian Tory. Godolphin and Marlborough scarcely knew of this secret promise until it was performed. Nearly at the same time Dr. Blackhall, who was as much a high Tory as Dawes, obtained the see of Exeter. The Whig divines, who had expected these promotions, and who had, indeed, made sure of them under a Whig cabinet, did not bear their disappointment either with philosophical calmness or Christian moderation; and the whole Whig party were astonished and incensed. Another appointment that fell vacant about the same time,—the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford,—the queen had also promised to a high Tory candidate, Dr. Smalridge, though Dr. Potter (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) was recommended to the place by Marlborough and the ministers. Though the bishoprics were gone, Marlborough hoped to secure the Regius Professorship for Potter, who was much esteemed for his learning as well as for his liberal principles in politics, and who appears to have received positive assurances from Godolphin, Sunderland, and Marlborough, that he should have the appointment. The lord-general wrote repeatedly to his wife and to the queen. He also wrote to Godolphin, expressing his alarm at seeing that "Mrs. Morley's (the queen's) prejudice to some people was unalterable —that she would be disposing of preferments to such as would tear to pieces her friends and servants." The clerical nature of the dispute seems to have affected the great general's style, for in this letter he talks unctuously about reconciling himself to God, and withdrawing from court as well as from camp as soon as may be. In the end Anne was prevailed upon to let Potter have the professorship. But, notwithstanding, the Tories now clearly saw that their turn was coming again, that the honours and emoluments of office were gradually getting within their grasp. Hopelessly weakened and crippled by the Duchess of Marlborough's loss of her ascendancy over the queen,*—disparaged in the eyes of the public,

* The Tory writers of the time do not pretend to deny that the secretary was cajoling the general, and undermining him all the time,—that Harley was constantly going up the back-stairs under the escort of his cousin Abigail; but they pretend that this clandestine conduct was absolutely necessary to get at the queen's ear at all, in order to warn her of her danger, and to rescue her from the thraldom in which they say she had been held for years. Nor do they attempt to rescue the character of Mrs. Masham, or disprove the story told of her by her cousin the duchess. On the contrary, they seem generally to admit that Abigail was a worthless, ungrateful woman; but then she was, and could be, so very useful. The author (understood to be Ralph, the Historian) of "The Other Side of the Question; or, An Attempt to Rescue the Characters of the Two Royal Sisters, Q. Mary and Q. Anne;" which was published in answer to the duchess's Account of her Conduct, says that it was quite natural a person selfishly employed for unworthy purposes should act in an unworthy manner to her employer,—that it was neither through charity nor the bond of relationship that the duchess had provided for her cousin at court,—that it was the regular plan of the faction "to enclose the queen from access by planting around her none but such as were the creatures of the Marlborough family." "Of this number," adds the writer, "was Mrs. Masham, and to answer this very purpose was she preferred, though the affair is set forth in so different a light by your grace: it was impossible for you to be always upon duty: it was necessary for the queen to be always observed; Mrs. Masham you had taken out of the dust; and you was not, it seems, enough acquainted with yourself to reflect or apprehend, that the creature would ever presume to rival its maker. It was not, therefore, the effects of your confidence in Mrs. Masham, but the presumption of your own strength and importance, lulled you in security so long." If all this be true (and it may be), it only adds a few more dark shades to a very disgusting picture. Ralph, or whosoever wrote 'The Other Side of the Question,' subjoins:—"The grand inference your grace draws is, *that you were betrayed*. But the inferences of the world are rather such as these,—*That the queen was a captive, and you her gaoler—that she was neither mistress of her power, nor free to express her own inclinations—that she was so far overawed, by a length of oppression, as to dread the very approach of her tormentress—that she was forced to unbosom herself by stealth—and that she durst not venture upon a contest with your grace, even to set herself free from your insupportable tyranny. A situation so terrible, that no private person would for any consideration submit to it; and, consequently, what a sovereign might justly endeavour, at almost any rate, to be delivered from.*"

* In 'The Other Side of the Question' the duchess is taunted with over-estimating her weight and importance. "One of the few French noblemen whose curiosity leads them to visit Great Britain thought himself obliged, among the remarkables of the island, to pay a visit to your grace; on which occasion, to be exceedingly polite, he kept up the spirit of the conversation with a florid detail of the wonders performed by the Duke of Marlborough; to which your grace seemed to listen at first with a very sensible pleasure; but

who saw that they could no longer appoint in the church the men of their choice,—the members of the cabinet were still further prostrated by divisions and jealousies among themselves. The Marquess of Halifax, the truest Whig of the lot after Somers and Cowper, had been left in the inferior post of auditor of the Exchequer, or gratified only with embassies to foreign courts—those convenient resources of ministers who wish to silence and keep at a distance any troublesome colleague or dangerous rival. Halifax considered that he was treated with great contempt or unkindness; and he very correctly attributed this treatment to the Duke of Marlborough, who always disliked him. Nor was this the only jarring chord: Marlborough's own brother, Admiral Churchill, who mismanaged the admiralty under the Prince of Denmark, remained an incurable and a furious Tory, and lost no opportunity of irritating the queen more and more against the Whigs. All these embarrassments had tended to hamper and to distract the attention of the duke during the whole of last year's campaign, and they grew rather than decreased after his return to England and the opening of this present session of parliament. It is made most evident by his own letters that Marlborough at one moment thought seriously of abandoning all his Whig colleagues together, and of making common cause with that hated Harley who was rising with his cousin Abigail. This course would have been no departure from the great system of his life—always to side with the strongest:—in politics he seems never to have known a high or generous feeling;—and it appears clearly that this course he would have taken if he could have brought himself to trust Harley, or to believe that the Whigs could be faced without danger to his own fame and interests. He advised his wife to be cautious and circumspect, mild and gentle, and to endeavour to recover the queen's good graces by respectful and submissive behaviour: but the proud and fiery Sarah was by nature incapable of following this advice, and, moreover, she deemed that it would be useless if put in practice. She entertained a most sovereign contempt of her sovereign: after a close and familiar acquaintance, which had lasted forty years, or from the childhood of both of them, she fancied that she knew Anne better than any one else, and that her's was a mind rather to be subdued and terrified by the boldness of a superior intellect, than to be won back by submission and tears. Anne, we believe, was really what the duchess took her for; but there was one little quality which her grace had underrated, and the mighty strength of which she did not discover till it was too late;—this was obstinacy—a dogged, sullen obstinacy—which the queen had inherited from her father (perhaps also from her mother; for the Hydes, or at least their great maker, Chancellor Clarendon, were not deficient in obstinacy), and which in her, as in him, sometimes took the aspect of firmness and decision. More fortunate than her sire, Anne's obstinacy did certainly at times keep her right, or, at least, out of danger. During the Christmas holidays things came to a crisis between her and the duchess. "I went," says her grace, "to pay my respects to the queen in the holidays, and, before I went in, I learnt from the page that Mrs. Masham was just then sent for. The moment I saw her majesty I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me as if her intention was that I should no longer doubt of my loss of her affection. Upon observing what reception I had, I said I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably. I was making my curtsey to go away, when the queen, with a great deal of disorder in her face, and without speaking one word, took me by the hand: and when, thereupon, I stooped to kiss hers, she took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So strange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful services, and after such repeated assurances from her majesty of an unalterable affection, made me think that I ought, in justice to myself, as well as in regard to my mistress's interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest manner possible, and expostulate with her upon her change to me, and upon the new counsels by which she seemed to be wholly governed." The letter she wrote was presented to the queen by the Duke of Marlborough or by Lord Godolphin,—at the distance of time when her grace wrote or dictated the account of her conduct she forgot which,—and it had the effect of startling the queen and of making her write an answer, "in which she very much softened what had passed."

While Anne was putting on fresh smiles for the duchess, and for Marlborough and his Whig colleagues, the plotting Harley almost got his neck into a noose. One William Greg, a clerk in his

apprehending, as he went on, that his eloquence was like to be confined to the duke only, the spirit which had ever possessed you could not help bursting out —— 'All this is true, sir: but you forget that all this, and much more, is owing to *me*,'" Yet, if the proud, and then old, duchess really said this, she said not a word more than what was true: we *may* be confirmed in our opinion of her arrogance, but we cannot doubt her veracity. It *was* owing to her that the queen was a queen at all (as, but for her agency, Anne, in all probability, would, in the critical moment of the Revolution, have adhered to her father); it *was* owing to her that Marlborough had been intrusted with the supreme command of the armies, and that the Whig cabinet which enabled him to do such great things had an existence;—it *was* owing to her that the lord-general in the field was better supplied than ever English general had been before, and that the resources and the diplomacy of the country were put almost exclusively into his hands. Besides, in all things except in plans of campaigns and battles, the intellect of the duchess was superior to that of the duke, who never did anything without consulting with her, and who evidently thought she could do everything, except, perhaps, charge at the head of a regiment. Nay, even Godolphin, the most adroit of politicians,—the most experienced statesman or man of business of the day,—hardly ever took a step without previously deliberating with Sarah. The duchess was, in fact, a wonderful woman. None of the admiration which has been recently lavished upon her great abilities is ungrounded, except her genius as a letter-writer. She has been compared in this respect to Lady Mary Wortley Montague and Horace Walpole; whereas, it appears to us she could never write, of herself, a grammatical sentence. We form our opinion upon what are really her *own* letters. The letters and the papers contained in her book were all remodelled and dressed up by the person (a professed literary man) by whom the narrative itself, derived from her notes, was put into a shape fit for the press, and who is said to have been Hooke, the author of the Roman History.

office, was detected in a traitorous correspondence with Chamillart, the French minister: a letter of his writing was intercepted and thrown in his face; he was committed, arraigned, pleaded guilty, and was hanged for high treason. While Whig writers, both at the time and afterwards, assert that Harley, the secretary, was as guilty as his poor clerk, the Tories boldly and broadly maintain that it was Harley himself who detected Greg in his machinations,—that it was he that hurried on the trial and conviction,—and that the Whigs and his enemies in the cabinet (the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Sunderlands) *practised* upon poor Greg in prison, and promised to bring him off unscathed if he would only accuse his principal, the obnoxious Harley. "Seven lords," says a Tory organ, "were deputed from that House to examine the clerk in prison, and 'tis remarkable that they were all of *one side*. . . . . But the secretary's innocence was amplicated, when the clerk (Greg), at his execution, delivered a paper to the ordinary of Newgate, declaring that his master was wholly ignorant of his treasonable correspondence till he made the discovery himself; and he thanked God that he gave him the grace not to do so vile an action for the saving of his own life, as some would have put him upon."* When we remember how Marlborough hounded Sir John Fenwick to death, we confess, that, for our parts, we can believe him capable even of these atrocious practices; and so low is our estimate of the political morality, whether Whig or Tory, of the time, that we have no difficulty in believing that other men, in their hatred of Harley, and in their dread of losing their places, might have joined in the nefarious transaction. But we are bound to observe that the only proof, that is, the paper which Greg is said to have delivered to the ordinary, is a very doubtful kind of document, which was not produced until some time after the execution, and, apparently, not till Harley was completely the lord of the ascendant, and the Whig cabinet broken, cast down, and made the object of nearly every species of calumny.† The immediate effect of the detection and execution of Greg was, however, very mischievous to Harley. It seemed to calm and candid minds, that, at the very least he must be indolent and incapable, and that great dangers must spring from having a secretary of state that could give employment and confidence to such clerks. According to Burnet, Greg told the lords appointed to examine him, that he had but newly begun the business of betraying secrets to the enemy for money,—"that all the papers of state lay so carelessly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them all"—and that "Harley's custom was to come to the office late on post nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away and left all to be copied out when he was gone." He also accused the secretary of employing, as spies of his own, a set of smugglers that took pay on both sides of the water, and betrayed all they knew about merchant ships, the ships of war that lay in the Downs, and the like, by which means the French privateers and cruisers were enabled to make so many prizes.

Harley attempted to save himself by coalescing with Somers and Cowper, who, notwithstanding their determined Whiggism, were much respected by the queen, and were still acceptable to her; but those two lords were too honourable to betray their colleagues, and much too honest and far-seeing to unite their political fortunes with so dissembling but so incompetent a statesman as Harley. Still, however, that secretary and Mrs. Masham had a firm hold on the queen, who could hardly be induced to give him his *congé*. Both Marlborough and Godolphin told her repeatedly, that it was impossible for them to serve her while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Anne said that they were much mistaken in the gentleman and in their opinion as to the influence he had over her; and so the secretary continued to go up the back-stairs and to sit at the council table. At length the lord-general and the lord-treasurer both declared that they could no longer act with him; and that, if he were not dismissed, they must absent themselves from the council altogether. Still the obstinacy of Anne held out. Marlborough and Godolphin then made good their threat, and absented themselves. When the council next met in the queen's presence, every member of it was reserved and confused, except Harley, who, with a show of confidence, proposed immediately proceeding to business. But the proud and stiff Duke of Somerset said he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor treasurer was present; and thereupon the council immediately broke up.* This had such an effect

* 'The Other Side of the Question; or an Attempt to Rescue the Characters of the Two Royal Sisters,' &c.

† Even according to the author of 'The other Side of the Question,' the document was not published at the time. He indeed accounts for the delay, by saying—"The ordinary was not permitted to publish this paper (as is usual), and so it was suppressed for a time, till care was taken to print it from a copy that had been given to another hand, and then Paul Lorrain got leave to publish it also." Burnet, who was quite as zealous on the other side, and who can never be relieved from the charge of being a thorough party man, very readily admits that nothing arose out of Greg's business on which to found a charge against Harley. He says that at his execution "Greg continued to clear all other persons of any accession to his crimes, of which he seemed very sensible, and died much better than he had lived." But the Whig bishop says not a syllable about the paper delivered to the ordinary of Newgate, or about the foul accusations of the Whig lords contained in it. If such a serious charge had been seriously entertained, it would have behoved him to have cleared his friends and his party; and most assuredly we should have heard something of the matter from him. Swift, indeed, brought the charge of subornation; but this was when he had forsaken the Whigs and was trying to rise to the top of the Church by a Tory ladder. Besides, this great wit and penman was a most virulent and unscrupulous libeller—one that could lie with a bold defiance of probabilities and possibilities. When the Duchess of Somerset (the wife of the nobleman who contributed to the dismissal, at this crisis, of his friend Harley, and also of the Godolphin administration in 1710), was, shortly after the latter interference, selected by the Tories for attack, this reverend scandal-monger, in his 'Windsor Prophecy,' not satisfied with reproaching her with having red hair, accused her of having connived at the murder of her former husband!

* 'Account of the Conduct,' &c. Burnet tells the story much in the same way; but he adds that the queen "would have put all to the hazard, if Harley himself had not apprehended danger, and resolv to lay down."

upon the queen, that Mr. Harley was dismissed, and a fresh assurance of entire friendship and confidence given to Marlborough and Godolphin. Anne, who with the family obstinacy, had a considerable portion of the duplicity of the Stuarts, seems, for a moment, to have persuaded the Whigs that she bore no animosity, no rancour, when in reality her resentments were condensed into an enduring and most implacable hatred.* Under Harley, but greater than he—far greater both in ability and in boldness—was the famous Mr. St. John, secretary at war, who was turned out and succeeded by *Mr. Robert Walpole*. This was the beginning of a fierce jealousy and hatred between these two politicians; and ever afterwards it was sufficient for Walpole to be for a measure for St. John to be against it. Harcourt, the attorney-general, another ally or dependent of Harley, went out also. The successor of Harley himself, as secretary of state, was Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, who was succeeded in that post by Mr. Smith, the speaker. And presently an event occurred which seemed likely to strengthen the Whig cabinet.

For some time past the Jacobites in Scotland had been assured that their king was really coming;† the English cabinet had been receiving warnings of great preparations for invasion making on the French coast; and, in the month of March, Anne announced in a speech to parliament that the Pretender was about to invade her dominions. Both Houses voted addresses to her majesty, desiring she would take care of her royal person, and promising to stand by her with their lives and fortunes—mixing these words with broad intimations that they apprehended treachery at home. A suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act at a moment of danger had been resorted to even in the time of the brave King William; and therefore it was no wonder to see that very questionable measure resorted to under the timid Queen Anne. With almost as little ceremony as attended the most common order of council, the Whigs brought in and carried through a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, by empowering her majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of conspiring against her person or government. As usual in all seasons of consternation, the Catholics were denounced; "and a proclamation was issued, declaring the Pretender, his accomplices and adherents, traitors and rebels; and for apprehending them; and requiring all popish recusants not to depart above five miles from their dwellings; and banishing papists ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and for tendering the oaths to disaffected persons, and taking away their horses and arms; which was put in execution accordingly."* The Duke of Hamilton, who was strongly and justly suspected, and twenty-one other Scottish lords and gentlemen, were arrested forthwith. Troops were marched off for Scotland, and Sir George Byng was sent with such ships as were ready to watch Dunkirk, the port in which the French expedition had been prepared. It consisted of five French ships of the line, and twenty frigates, commanded by Forbin, the best naval officer of Louis, and having on board 5000 land troops. The Pretender, styled by the English Jacobites James III.; and by the Scotch James VIII., embarked in royal state: Byng was driven off the port by bad weather; and the French fleet got to sea. But the storm which had sent Byng back to the English coast soon forced Forbin to put back to Dunkirk; and there he and the Pretender lay for several days. During this time Byng collected many more ships, and stretched along the coast from the mouth of the Thames to the head of the Frith of Forth. At the same time a strong squadron was detached, under the command of Admiral Baker, to convoy to Leith the English troops that were at Ostend—it being perfectly well known that the Pretender intended to make for Edinburgh. Forbin had positive instructions to take the greatest possible care of his ships; and, therefore, when he got to sea again, and had run northward to the coast of Fife, he was deterred from entering into the Frith by the sight of Byng's far superior force. On the night of the 13th of March, O. S., after having

* The duchess says—"Such a compliance with the ministers seemed to the eyes of the world a very great concession, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up Mr. Harley was with his own consent, and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. Masham continued in favour, could, under pretence of visiting her, (who was his cousin,) have all the opportunities he could wish for practising upon the passions and credulity of the queen; and the method of corresponding with him had been settled some time before. I was fully apprized of all this; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any influence with her majesty. She had given me some encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. Harley's dismission, lord Marlborough resolved to quit the service, and when on that occasion I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from her majesty made me shed) represented to her, that if the duke retired, it would be improper, and even impossible for me to stay at court after him, she declared that she could not bear the thought of my leaving her, and that it must never be. And at that time she made me a promise that if ever I should leave her, (which she again said must never be,) she would bestow my offices among my children."

† Macpherson publishes a set of instructions which was sent over by the Pretender, in the month of February, being brought by Charles Fleming, brother to the Earl of Wigton. The friends addressed were to assure the people that their king was coming with all possible diligence to assert his right and to protect his ancient subjects—that he would put them in possession of their liberties, religion, trade, &c., and that his brother, the most Christian king, would restore to the Scots their ancient privileges in France, and use his best endeavours to have them included in all treaties of peace. These friends were to select a number of the nobility and gentry to seize all *suspected* persons with their horses, arms, &c. They are also directed "to tell those who are trusted," that upon the first appearance of the French fleet they must proclaim him king wherever they have any interest, raise all the country in arms, seize as many as they can, and hasten to his standard. Moreover, such of his friends "as have had any correspondence in the north of England or in Ireland" were to renew it, by sending some trusty persons to persuade the friends in those parts to take up arms at the same time. They were also to keep a sharp look out for the public moneys, and for the stopping and seizing of all provisions. The eighth article of the instructions ran in these words:—"Those who are trusted, may take their own private methods to renew any correspondence they have had within the forts and garrisons; and to secure, upon the landing, any places of strength fit for magazines. All which is to be considered, with a special regard to the keeping of the secret, it being much safer that several things be omitted, which might be very useful, than that anything be recommended, which may be a means of discovery." This goes to confirm the statements of Hamilton's descendant and of other writers, that all the garrisons in Scotland had been tampered with, that all the regular troops, amounting to about 2500 men, were notoriously disaffected, that Stuart flags had been prepared to hoist over all the ports and castles, that a plan was laid for seizing the money voted by the last English parliament as the compensation for Scotland, and that now lay in Edinburgh Castle, &c

just given the Pretender a glimpse of the hills of old Scotland, the Frenchman tacked about, and stood away under a press of sail. Byng gave chase,* but succeeded in capturing only one of his ships, which happened to be the "Salisbury," a man-of-war the French had taken from us. On board were found the Lord Griffin, a very imbecile old Jacobite, two sons of Lord Middleton, a French lieutenant-general, with some other French and *Irish* officers, and five companies of French soldiers. The two sons of Middleton, the Pretender's secretary, and the man that knew all the secrets of the court of St. Germain, were, after some time, released by order of the queen—an order which is supposed to have been owing to their father's possessing the power of proving to the world the long and traitorous correspondence of Marlborough and Godolphin.† Old Griffin was kept close in the Tower, and, as he had been already outlawed for high treason, execution was awarded against him by the Court of Queen's Bench: but her majesty was pleased to reprieve him from time to time, and in the end he died of old age in his not hard nor cruel prison. On the 13th of March, when the affair was as yet undecided, the Commons waited upon the queen with an address, wherein they observed, that, as on the one side the small number of ships and troops the French were employing in their expedition might be regarded with contempt, so on the other side it gave just cause to believe that their chief dependence was upon some of her majesty's own subjects, whose restless passions and arbitrary principles of government had for many years engaged them in forming designs to undermine and destroy the present happy settlement of England. The address desired, in the name of the Commons of *Great Britain*, that the severest punishments might be inflicted upon all those who should assist in this unnatural design of betraying their country; and that suitable encouragements and rewards might be given to such as should oppose the invader; and further it entreated her majesty not to permit their enterprise *to divert her constant vigour in prosecuting the war abroad;* and to discountenance all such persons as by sowing divisions among her subjects, or by artful methods, would lessen the esteem her majesty had of those who had so eminently commanded her armies and managed her treasure (Marlborough and Godolphin), to the glory of her majesty and the entire satisfaction of her people. The Lords sung precisely the same song, but with more *bravura*. In their address, presented on the same day, after thanking the queen for the vigorous methods adopted against the Pretender, they suggested that the inconsiderable forces employed by the enemy *must* proceed from some invitation from hence,* and was an undeniable proof, that neither the mildness of her majesty's government, nor the successes of her reign, could reconcile some men to the establishment. They called the attempt a "hellish attempt;" they imprecated vengeance upon those who were misrepresenting the actions of her best subjects, and besought her majesty that no such persons (meaning Harley, St. John, and that clique) might have access to her for the future. Both to the Lords and Commons the queen replied that there were slight grounds for apprehensions while the cause of religion and liberty and the good affections of the people were on her side; that she would never countenance those who would lessen the just esteem she entertained for her eminent servants, and that she would always place her chief dependence upon those who had given proofs of their warm attachment to the principles of the Revolution, the Protestant succession, &c. All this was, indeed, a signal triumph for the Whigs, who are much applauded for not shedding one drop of blood upon the scaffold. There were great and good men among them in advance of the age, yet the bloodless suppression of this revolution must be mainly attributed to other causes than their humanity or the increasing mildness of the national character. Anne, though she had been one of the very first to question the pregnancy of Maria d'Este and the legitimacy of the child born at St. James's, and though she had joined in the recent opprobrium that designated him as "the pretended son of a pretended mother," seems still to have felt not only that James was her brother, but that he might be, after all, her successor; while at the same time—to say nothing of the Tories, whom Mrs. Masham still let up by the back-stairs—her prime directors, Godolphin and Marlborough, were haunted by the genius of the House of Stuart, and were, equally with her, in doubt whether fortune would not bring the exiled prince to the throne. This alone might account for the present gentleness of the government; but, as we have shown, there are good grounds for believing that Lord Middleton and other members of the court of St. Germain could, if driven to desperation, have retaliated upon Marlborough and Godolphin. Five years later,

* "It was strongly reported at this time, that Sir George Byng had orders from the queen to favour the Pretender's escape, nay, some went so far as to say that he did take him and let him go again. But this was an idle story, without any manner of foundation: I am satisfied Sir George did what he could to take him, and destroy the French fleet; and that, if the Pretender had fallen into his hands, he would never have escaped from him alive. The chevalier had not a bitterer enemy among the officers of the navy."—*Life and Reign of Queen Anne.*—It is said that the English had but few clean ships, and that the French fairly outsailed them. This was certainly not unusual, for, though the French did not fight them quite so well, they both at this time and long after built better ships than we did.

† Hamilton's Transactions.

* The reader will remember Colonel Hooke's negotiations, the hot invitation of the Duchess of Gordon, &c. Burnet says, "It appeared that the French relied chiefly on the assistance that they expected would have come in to them upon their landing: of this they seemed so well assured that the King of France sent instructions to his ministers in all the courts that admitted of them, to be published everywhere, that, the pretended prince being invited by his subjects, chiefly those of Scotland, to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, the king had sent him over at their desire, with a fleet and army to assist him; that he was resolved to pardon all those who should come in to him, and he would trouble none upon the account of religion. Upon his being re-established, the king would give peace to the rest of Europe. When these ministers received these directions, they had likewise advice sent them, which they published both at Rome, Venice, and in Switzerland, that the French had, before this expedition was undertaken, sent over some ships with arms and ammunition to Scotland; and that there was already an army on foot there that had proclaimed the pretended prince king."

and thirty years after that, when we might have expected some advancement in the civilisation and humanity of the country, blood was shed in torrents upon the scaffold after butcheries in the field! And neither the rebellion of 1715 nor that of 1745 was half so dangerous as this would have been if the Pretender had effected a landing. When the whole thing was blown upon, it was pretended at Versailles to have been but a mere feint. The French have been too much in the habit of covering all their failures of the kind in this way, to obtain any very ready belief on this occasion; but the Scottish Jacobites certainly held the opinion that Louis XIV. never designed that the Pretender should land in Scotland, and that Forbin had secret orders from his master which he did not communicate to that personage.* And yet, again, it appears, on the other hand, from documents carrying along with them internal proofs of genuineness, that Forbin and the French officers with him, both naval and military, did their best to effect a landing on the coast of the Frith of Forth; and that, when they found themselves anticipated there, they endeavoured to make a descent at Cromarty, Inverness, or still further north; and that they would have done this, but for the hot pursuit of the English fleet, that allowed them no time anywhere for the always difficult operations of disembarking troops, artillery, &c. General the Count de Gasse, better known afterwards as Marshal Matignon, in writing to King Louis himself, speaks of the project as an important one, which it was really and earnestly intended to execute, and expresses his deep affliction at the bad success of the expedition. M. d'Andrezel, in an official report, speaks in the same manner of the expedition, and of the intention to try their fortune at Cromarty or Inverness. "But," he says, "the enemy's fleet pursued ours very close, and, after a smart engagement (in which the Salisbury was taken), our squadron was dispersed, and we judged that our only course was to return to Dunkirk." This M. d'Andrezel mentions, that, during the fight at sea, the Pretender, or, as he calls him, the King of England, several times entreated Admiral Forbin to put him on shore any where, declaring that he was resolved to remain in Scotland, although none were to follow him but his own domestics—and that M. Forbin, after representing to him that it was very improper, refused to grant his request. This matter, however, is susceptible at least of two interpretations; and instead of being taken implicitly as a proof of courage and resolution in the Pretender, it may be conceived that that young man might have been anxious to get out of the sea fight, which was at the moment very hot and all unfavourable to the fleet, in which he was embarked. Andrezel concludes his report by making the best of a bad job, saying that, though the landing in Scotland had taken place, the success of the expedition would have been, nevertheless, very doubtful, by reason of the uncertainty of the succours they could expect to join them; and that therefore they were very fortunate to have brought safe back to Dunkirk the King of England, the ships, the troops, and the money, after running so great a risk. Shortly after his return to France the Pretender went with the French army into Flanders to serve against the English and their allies.*

The abstinence from blood had been so perfect that not even one Irish papist was executed, though plenty of them were taken prisoners, and many more known to have been in the expedition. These circumstances, however, did not prevent a new attempt at insurrection in Ireland. Immediately after the failure of the Scottish expedition, Father Ambrose O'Connor, provincial of the Irish Dominicans, was sent over by the court of St. Germain to inform himself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom. The French King sent this monk in one of his frigates from Brest to Ireland, where he arrived early in the month of May. The frigate was seen landing him; and the monk was hotly pursued up the country; but he got to a safe hiding place, and the frigate returned unmolested to France. As soon as his alarm abated, Father O'Connor commenced his inquiries. He learned that all the Catholic lords, clergy, and gentlemen, had been seized, and that all their horses and arms had been carried off immediately after the Pretender's unfortunate voyage to Scotland. The monk waited upon those to whom he brought letters from St. Germain, and he found them all exasperated by the harsh treatment of the Protestant government—all loyal to the Stuart and anxious to strike a blow for him—but *all* pennyless and helpless, without horses, without arms, without ammunition, and as usual, without any concert among themselves. Like the Scots, the first and

* Lockhart's Memoirs.—Macpherson, Stuart Papers.—There are also good reasons for believing that Chamillart, the incapable, timid, and wavering minister of Louis was all along against the expedition,—was of opinion that the Scots were not to be counted upon for much,—that a diversion in Scotland would be of small benefit to his master's affairs,—that the fate of France or of the war must be decided in the Low Countries, on the Rhine, or in Spain,—and that it would be madness to risk much with or for the Pretender.

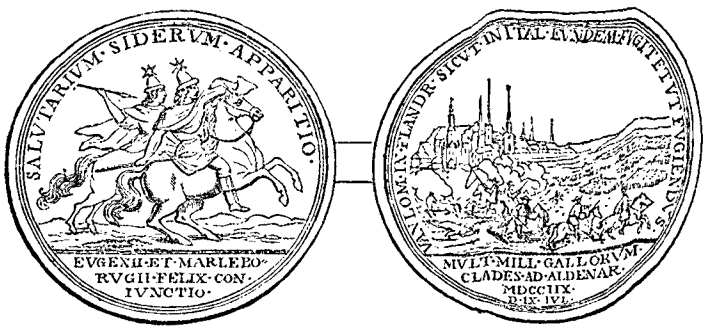
* Hooke's negotiations, where there are other letters from M. Berniers, the *Intendant* of the French army, to the same effect. In the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick the enterprise upon Scotland is treated as a serious, but ill-managed affair, on the part of France. Berwick, who, however, says he had no share in it, and did not even know of it till after it was public, declares that "this affair had been very ill concerted, on account of the misunderstanding and jealousy between M. de Chamillart, minister for the war department, and M. de Pontchartrain, minister for the navy." He adds—"It is also said, that, if the Chevalier de Forbin, who commanded the squadron, would have risked the loss of his ships, the young king might have landed; for he had nothing more to do but to enter the Frith of Forth, and run aground there, by which means the troops might have landed. The English indeed might possibly have burned the ships, before all the military stores and provisions on board could have been cleared. But this consideration ought not to have prevented him; for the material point was, that the troops should land with the young king;—all Scotland expected him with impatience, &c. . . It is even probable that his sister, Queen Anne, apprehending a civil war, would have endeavoured to come to some terms with him, by which means he would have been sure of ascending the throne of his ancestors. . . . . The only person that profited by this expedition was the Count de Gasse. M. de Chamillart, his intimate friend, had caused him to be appointed to command the French troops, and he received, while he was on board, the brevet of Marshal of France. The Scotch had asked with earnestness for *me*; but the king (Louis) refused, saying he wanted me elsewhere; this was the effect of Chamillart's intrigue for the Count de Gasse."

the last thing they asked for was money—money! They told Father O'Connor that a fine opportunity had been lost, owing to the court of St. Germain having too much neglected them. "If," said they, "King James had sent over to us some person he could trust to inform us beforehand of his design upon Scotland, we might have prevented all these imprisonments and secured our horses." Notwithstanding his profession, the monk ventured among the Presbyterian heretics in the north of Ireland; and, according to his own account, he found those descendants of Scottish colonists "generally well affected to the party of the king," and that when they heard of his majesty's going to Scotland they had assembled secretly in several places to wish him success. Travelling from place to place, Father O'Connor was delighted to see how naked the land was of soldiers, how weak and ill defended and unsuspecting were the garrisons. "There were not," he says, "six thousand regular troops in Ireland—as for Galway and other important places, they might be surprised by a handful of men."* The Catholics assured him that in five counties only they could presently raise 20,000 men—but then, as a *sine quâ non*, they told him that they must have "a considerable sum of money in hand," and a good supply of arms and ammunition from France, together with a certain number of French troops. The monk, however, inadvertently, lets out the important secret, that they were dispirited and timid in the extreme. He says, "I insinuated to the principal nobility, that they ought to send to the king a trusty person, to assure his majesty of their heartiness in his cause, and of all that is above mentioned; but it seemed to me that they durst not hazard a deputation in so dangerous a juncture, every place being full of spies to ensnare the faithful subjects, *so that even their own shadow affrights them.*" And these Irish nobles, instead of hazarding a deputation, thought it would be more proper for Father O'Connor to return to France and inform his majesty of everything. "And I," says the Father, "thought myself obliged in honour and conscience to undertake the journey, though it should even cost me my life." These monks were wonderfully adventurous, and must have been exceedingly adroit: O'Connor before going to France came over to London, and—more than this—he even ventured into the Tower, and there held conferences with the Scottish lords, who had been arrested at the time of the threatened invasion. "These lords," he says, "knowing I was going to France, instantly charged me to tell your majesty that they, and generally all the Scottish nation, are faithful, and attached to the interests of their lawful sovereign; that they expected his majesty would make a second attempt, *and the sooner the better;* but that his majesty ought to bring with him, if possible, ten thousand men, and to send before a *considerable sum of money*, to be put into the hands of some Scottish lord of known loyalty and great reputation, to be distributed among the lords and gentlemen of that nation, who could best employ it for the interest and service of the king." The monk says that they further told him that before the king came again 5000 men at least ought to be landed in Ireland, while other 10,000 should be kept ready to throw ashore on the northern coast of England.* After these deliberations in the Tower of London, Father O'Connor got safely back to St. Germain, but nothing came of his secret mission and new plans—probably owing to the circumstances of Louis XIV. being again threatened on his own frontier, and being himself so miserably poor as not to be able to find money to pay his half-starving troops.

In the mean while parliament had been prorogued—on the 1st of April—and the Duke of Marlborough had gone to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene, the Grand Pensionary, and the deputies of the States-General. Having concerted together the plan for this year's campaign, Eugene went to Vienna to bring up reinforcements, and Marlborough took the field. On the other side were the Duke of Burgundy (the grandson of Louis), the Duke of Vendome, Marshal Boufflers, and the Duke of Berwick, whom the French cabinet, by something very like a trick, had removed from Spain to serve in Flanders. Eugene did not keep Marlborough waiting long; but when they had joined they had scarcely more than 80,000 men, while the French counted 100,000. Emboldened by their numerical superiority, the French began on the offensive; and favoured by the Flemings, who disliked the English heretics and hated the Dutch, they took Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and invested Oudenarde. But here their momentary success ended: they were presently obliged to raise that siege, and to retire across the Scheldt. Marlborough and Eugene, with one will, one

* Memorial to the Court of St. Germain, in Hooke's Negotiations.

* The whole subject of the invasion had been for some time taking a financial character. The French government knew well that if the credit of England could be destroyed an end would be put to the war, if not to the present establishment. Father O'Connor says, "On the first rumour in England of the king's embarking for Scotland, there was a general run upon the Bank; and I have been informed by persons of rank, that, if his majesty had landed in Scotland, the government would instantly have found itself without credit and without money." And there really was a great run upon the Bank, and a fall of stocks, but the latter rose again as soon as the alarm was over. Burnet says, that, if the Pretender had landed in Scotland, "it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper credit." At the moment the government had little but paper credit to trust to. The bishop adds, "If by this time the remittances to Piedmont, Catalonia, and Portugal had been stopped, in so critical a season, that might have had fatal consequences abroad: for if we had been put into such a disorder at home, that foreign princes could no more reckon on our assistance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the propositions that the King of France would then have probably made to them. So that the total defeating of this design, without its having the least ill effect on our affairs, or our losing one single man in the little engagement we had with the enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of those happy providences for which we have much to answer." Another circumstance that gave encouragement to Father O'Connor, was the division between the party of the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterians, which he represents as being greater than ever in England. "The Presbyterians," he says, "are for the prince of Hanover; but the greater part of the Episcopalians are for the king, out of opposition to their antagonists, who are at present the ruling party by their junction with Godolphin and Marlborough; and persons of rank have told me, that they believed, if the king had set foot on Scotland, his majesty would have drawn great advantages from this division.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY OF OUDENARDE.

The Obverse represents Marlborough and Eugene as Castor and Pollux: the Reverse presents a View of the Battle and Town of Oudenarde.

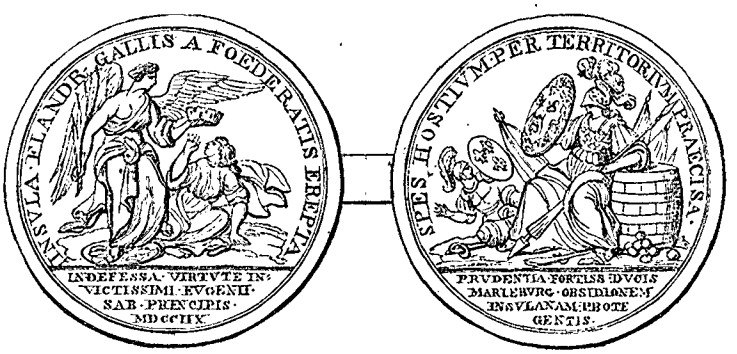
notion, followed them; and on the 11th of July they fell upon the French army between the Lys and the Scheldt, opposite Oudenarde—while the dukes of Burgundy, Vendome, and Berwick were quarrelling about what ought to be done—and gave them the bitterest and most complete defeat they had as yet sustained in this long war. Fifteen thousand men, and above a hundred standards and colours, were lost; and the confusion of the French army was such, that the troops were neither sensible whither they fled nor by whom they were commanded. But for the coming on of night, Vendome, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Berwick, Pretender, and all might have been taken prisoners,—for the Pretender was there. Two very different accounts are given of his conduct. The party least friendly to him say that he acted like a coward, and, in company with his highness the Duke of Burgundy, *saw* the engagement from the church steeple of a neighbouring village, and was among the very first to fly: according to the Duke of Berwick, his half-brother, he showed "much courage and coolness in the battle." George, the electoral prince of Hanover, was there, as well as the Pretender; and about his conduct there is no dispute,—it was that of a brave and sturdy cavalry officer; and he led a charge of German horse which routed the French guard. Vendome and Berwick managed the retreat with some skill, but they could never again face Marlborough and Eugene, who, after recovering several important fortresses, laid siege to Lille, which was considered as the key to Paris and one-half of France. The town capitulated on the 22nd of October, but the citadel held out till the 10th of December. The garrison, under Marshal Boufflers, was numerous and brave; the works had been recently improved by the great Vauban; and such were the difficulties encountered, that the allies are said to have lost from 12,000 to 15,000 men before they made themselves masters of Lille. But, even at that price, the important place, the loss of which struck a panic in France, seemed cheaply purchased. Ghent surrendered after a few shots. Bruges and other places were abandoned; and the French, with a drooping flag, retired into their own country, having, according to Berwick, committed absurdity upon absurdity in the course of this campaign. The unnationalised Englishman tells us that the Duke of Marlborough (his maternal uncle), during the siege of Lille, sent him a private letter, signifying that the present occasion was a very favourable one to set on foot a negotiation for peace; and that, if the proposals were properly made by France to the field deputies of Holland, to Prince Eugene, and to himself, he would do all in his power to get them accepted. "Nothing," says Berwick, "could be more advantageous than this advice of the Duke of Marlborough: it opened to us an honourable way of putting an end to a burdensome war. I mentioned it to the Duke of Burgundy and to M. de Chamillart, who immediately dispatched a courier to the king to receive his orders with respect to the answer which was to be given. The king sent them to M. de Chamillart, who, through excess of policy, had taken it into his head that this proposal of Marlborough's proceeded only from the bad situation the allied army was in. This reasoning, I own, was beyond my penetration; and by the manner in which Marlborough had written to me, I was persuaded that apprehension had no share in the matter, and that he had done it only from a desire of putting an end to a war which all Europe began to be tired of. There was not the least appearance of duplicity in what he wrote; and he addressed himself to me with no other view than that the negotiation might pass through my hands, thinking it might be of use to me. M. de Chamillart dictated to me the answer I was to make; and I thought it such an extraordinary one that I sent it in French, to show the Duke of Marlborough that it did not come from me: he was, indeed, so much offended at it, that

no use could be made of this opening to bring about a peace. I am even convinced that this was the principal cause of the aversion which the Duke of Marlborough showed ever after for pacific measures." As these circumstances rest upon the single authority of Berwick's Memoirs they have been doubted. It appears, however, that there really was some talk of negotiating; but Lord Hardwicke asserts that the overture came from the Duke of Berwick, through whose hands the French court offered the Duke of Marlborough a large sum if he would procure a peace for them.* During the protracted siege of Lille, both Marlborough and Eugene were involved in considerable difficulties, as Vendome cut off their communication with Brussels, and for some time kept them short of provisions and ammunition. It is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that, under these circumstances, Marlborough may have proposed or listened to overtures. This was a *ruse de guerre* not uncommon. Besides, as he was constantly informed by the duchess of the growing boldness of Harley's intrigues, he may for a moment have felt his presence indispensable at St. James's; or he may even have conceived a disgust at the whole war, and a desire to end it. It is evident, from his correspondence, that he had rather frequently such visitations, and that he would sigh for peace and repose in the groves of Blenheim, though these visions were soon again dissipated by his ambition and by his avarice. The Tories exercised great ingenuity in misrepresenting the whole of this brilliant campaign; in trying to show that Marlborough had several times got into situations of extreme peril, and that he had been liberated from them rather by good luck than by his own genius. At the beginning of the campaign they revelled in the successes obtained by the French, and predicted that the English general would lose in one summer what it had cost so many years to gain. Marlborough disconcerted these prophets by his brilliant and decisive victory at Oudenarde; but when he sat down before Lille they recommenced their sinister predictions, and exaggerated the losses inevitable in such a siege. Lille fell, and Ghent after it; but at the latter place they got up a new panic, and the surrender of Ghent was held up as another piece of sheer luck. Matthew Prior, who had sold his wit and his pen to a party, thus dismisses the campaign, not without betraying his poetical vocation:—"It has been observed that his grace was never more fortunate than in the sudden reduction of this place (Ghent); for the articles were scarce signed when the severest frost began that had been known in the memory of man: *the very horses' hoofs froze to the ground;* and his army must infallibly have perished if the town had held out a very few days longer; which had been no difficult matter, since there was no breach made in the walls, and the Count de la Motte had a good army within the town supplied with all necessaries (and, indeed, less than an army could not have defended Ghent, which is twelve miles round upon the walls). The allies, it is true, were in the end very successful in Flanders this campaign; but they had two very narrow escapes—one at Wyvendale, and the other at Ghent. Had they miscarried at either place, that fine army of the confederates, consisting of veteran troops, would infallibly have been ruined—a loss that the allies could scarce ever have retrieved. It may be considered farther, that the siege of Lille was the unhappy occasion of the ill success of the war in other places in this campaign. Our affairs were again miserably neglected in Spain and Portugal, to humour the duke and Prince Eugene in this enterprise: we even broke our treaty with Portugal on their account, and sent Major-General Earl to Ostend, with 8000 men, to assist in protecting the supplies of ammunition and provision that were continually sending to Lille, when those forces were raised and embarked for the service in Portugal; which was the reason the Portuguese could make no diversion on that side, while the Duke of Orleans pressed the allies in Catalonia, and besieged Tortosa, which surrendered the 11th of July, as did afterwards the towns of Denia and Alicant in Valencia."*

These successes of the French in Spain had really happened; yet, on the whole, the English arms had not been unsuccessful in the Mediterranean. At the end of the preceding and very disastrous campaign, Lord Galway and Das Minas had been carried by an English fleet back to Portugal, whose frontiers were not considered safe. Galway was succeeded by General Stanhope, who was equally accomplished in oratory, diplomacy, and war; and who had the advantage, derived from a long residence in the country in former times as ambassador, of being perfectly well acquainted with the character and habits of the Spanish people: at the same time the emperor sent Count Staremberg, a general of high reputation, to serve in Catalonia; and, between Stanhope and the Count, the remainder of that province was saved. But the English general did more than act on the defensive; he joined Admiral Sir John Leake, who had just made the conquest of the island of Sardinia, and with him laid siege to St. Philip, the chief fortress at Port Mahon. In a very few days a breach was made and a redoubt carried by storm; and then, on the 30th of September, St. Philip capitulated, and the glorious harbour of Port Mahon, together with the whole island of Minorca, fell quietly into the hands of the English. Leaving a good garrison behind him, Stanhope returned to Catalonia. Besides contributing to this conquest, and taking by himself the island of Sardinia, Leake, in the course of this pleasant Mediterranean cruise, performed other exploits, which certainly had the effect of increasing the respect due to the arms of his country. Remembering probably the threat of Oliver Cromwell—that he

* Note on Burnet.

* History of Prior's Negotiations, compiled from the Orig. MSS, 8vo. Lon. 1740.



Medal struck to commemorate the Surrender of Lille.

On the Obverse,—Victory is shown taking the Civic Crown from the head of a prostrate female, intended to represent the City of Lille. The Reverse represents Britannia, with the Ægis, striking France with terror.

could make the cannon of his ships be heard in the eternal city and within the walls of the Vatican—he appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, and threatened to bombard the pope's town and port of Civita Vecchia, in revenge for the assistance or countenance which the pontiff had publicly afforded the Pretender on his late expedition to Scotland. But, fortunately for his holiness, he had at last consented to recognise the Archduke Charles as king of Spain; and the intermediation of Austrian diplomatists saved the court of Rome from this humiliation and loss. Leake, however, took and destroyed many French and Italian vessels on that coast, and gave some timely assistance to Charles's general and viceroy of Naples, the Count Daun. On a wider and a rougher sea the English seamen had achieved a far more brilliant victory. In the month of May Commodore Wager, with only four English men-of-war, attacked seventeen Spanish galleons as they were creeping along shore from Carthagena to Portobello, in South America. For a long time his men had hoped for such an opportunity of capturing a plate fleet; and now they fought, according to the Spaniards, more like devils than men. The battle began at sunset, and soon after it was dark the Spanish admiral blew up with a tremendous explosion, and with a cargo and precious metals valued at three millions of pieces of eight. The rear-admiral struck about two in the morning; the vice-admiral escaped in a shattered condition, and some others of the galleons saved themselves by running behind a dangerous shoal off Carthagena. It appears that more property was destroyed than taken; yet Prior says that Commodore Wager's share of the prize-money amounted to 100,000*l.*

In the month of October died Anne's husband, the Prince of Denmark, and nominal head of the British navy, to none of whose exploits he can be said to have contributed even indirectly. His royal highness was altogether a neutral kind of personage, and the very best that can be said of him is, that, of himself, he never did either good or harm. Happy with his 50,000*l.* a-year and his bottle, he interfered as little as possible in politics with his wife or her ministers, except perhaps latterly with the queen, through his strong bias to the Duke of Marlborough and his party.* He had grown enormously fat, and had been long ailing, when a complication of asthma, dropsy, and the gout put an end to him on the 28th of October. If his post and its emoluments were dear to him he died just in time, for the decided Whigs, who could urge his incompetence with good reason, had fully determined to drive him from it. Immediately on his demise the Earl of Pembroke, resigning the presidency of the council and the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, was made lord high-admiral. Lord Somers became president of the council, and Lord Wharton lord-lieutenant.†

* Macky has hit off the character of his royal highness. "Prince George, husband to Queen Anne, and lord high-admiral of England, brother to the late King of Denmark, and uncle to the present, was chosen by King Charles II. to be husband to his niece, the Princess Anne, because, having no dominions of his own to gratify, he would have nothing else in view, but the interest of England. In the reign of King Charles II., having but little English, and being naturally modest, he made no considerable figure, nor in the reign of King James, till the increase of popery alarming the whole nation, he concurred with the rest of the Protestant nobility for the bringing over the Prince of Orange, and with his princess left the court to join that party. During all King William's reign he never entered into the administration, yet came always to parliament regularly, and often to court; diverted himself with hunting, and never openly declared himself of any party. On the queen's accession to the crown, he was made lord high-admiral of England and warden of the Cinque Ports. He is a prince of a familiar easy disposition, with a good sound understanding, but modest in showing it: a great lover of the high church of England the nearer it comes to Lutheranism: this he often shows, by his vote in the House of Peers; otherwise he doth not much meddle with affairs out of his office. He is very fat, loves news, his bottle, and the queen, by whom he hath had many children, but none alive. He has neither many friends nor enemies in England. On the queen's accession to the throne he was towards fifty years old."—*Characters of the Court of Great Britain in Memoirs of Secret Services.*

According to the sarcastic and vindictive Duchess of Marlborough, Anne was not very much affected by her husband's death. Her grace says ungraciously:—"The queen's friendships were flames of extravagant passion, ending in indifference or aversion. Her love to the prince seemed in the eyes of the world to be prodigiously great. But if the passion of grief were great, her stomach was much greater; for that very day he died she eat three very large and hearty meals: so that one would think, that, as other persons' grief takes away their appetite, her appetite took away her grief."—*Coxe's Copies of Marlborough Papers in British Museum.*

† Hamilton, the author of the 'Transactions,' thus accounts for the admission into the cabinet and the high promotion of the witty

Pembroke, finding, as was said, the business of the admiralty too laborious for him, soon consented that it should be put into commission, with the mercenary Russell, Earl of Orford, for first commissioner. But, from the rapidity of these changes, it is believed that there had been all along a bargain of the kind among the Whig leaders. The post of warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle was, however, separated from that of lord high-admiral, and conferred upon Lord Dorset.

The administration, therefore, was once more constituted entirely of Whigs; but the appearances of success were deceptive, and the court-ground on which the party stood was completely undermined by intrigues and by the growing antipathies of the queen. In former times, before she took Mrs. Masham to her heart, and cast off the duchess, Anne's vanity had been gratified by seeing herself associated with the victorious Marlborough, and hearing poets celebrating her praise as another Bellona, or describing her like Jove lending his thunderbolts to the god of war;* but now all these things grated on her senses, and she wished every little candle put out that was lit by way of illumination and public rejoicing. The "bedchamber broils," as the answerer to the Duchess of Marlborough calls them, had kept growing louder and louder, and the queen was so provoked as to insult her grace in church, where they had met to return thanks to Almighty God for the great victory at Oudenarde. There is a bathos in the business, of which the greatest master in the art of sinking might have been proud. The duchess wanted the queen to wear her jewels at this thanksgiving, and, as part of her duty, had put the jewels out "in a way that she thought her majesty would like;" but her majesty went to church without any jewels, and her grace, immediately suspecting the cause, told the queen that none but Mrs. Masham could have made her refuse to wear them, in so unkind a manner. "I must needs observe," said this imperious, irritated woman in a letter, "that your majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by my Lord Marlborough." Anne told her in return, that, after the *commands* her grace had given her on the thanksgiving-day not to answer her, she should not think of replying to this letter. The duchess wrote again to explain that her majesty had mistaken what she had said to her in church. "I desired you," continues her grace, "not to answer me there, for fear of being overheard: and this you interpret as if I had desired you not to answer me at all; which was far from my intention. For the whole end of my writing to you so often, was to get your answer to several things in which we differed; so that, if I was in the wrong, you might convince me of it, and I should very readily have owned my mistakes. But since you have not been pleased to show them to me, I flatter myself that I have said several things to you that are unanswerable." Anne left this letter unanswered. The duchess assures us that through the whole summer Harley continued in close and familiar communication with the queen. "And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the prince was panting for breath, in that small house she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park such persons as Mrs. Masham had a mind to bring to, her majesty could be let in privately by the garden. And when upon the death of the prince, one would have thought that her majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who, on a sudden, becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done, had she duly considered. But the true reason of her majesty's choosing that closet to sit in was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. Masham's lodgings, who by that means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased." In consequence of these closetings Anne raised difficulties and objections to almost everything proposed to her by ministers; and, according to the duchess, when Harley and his associates had compassed their designs and got into power, they would often boast, "both in their cups and out of them," how they were frequently at court, in secret, and giving their advice, when Godolphin and the Whigs were fast asleep. The lord-treasurer found himself obliged to represent to her majesty that nothing could go well if she continued to discourage and perplex the cabinet; the lord-general wrote to the same effect from the camp; and his wife once more wrote a long letter "with her usual plainness and zeal." This only incensed the queen without producing any answer. Equally irritated, the duchess waited upon her, and desired to know what crime she had committed to produce so great an alteration in her majesty. Anne, in reply, told her grace that she was inveterate against poor Mrs. Masham, and had nothing so

Lord Wharton, who had always been hated or feared by Godolphin and Marlborough. The Marquess of Annandale had in his possession one of Godolphin's original letters to the court of St. Germain, and the marquess, after a regular bargain, transferred this "miraculous manuscript" to Wharton, who thereby had the lord treasurer in a manner at his mercy: Godolphin imparted his alarm to Marlborough, "who directed him, by all possible means, to be speedy in hushing the business, by giving to the holder of the letter whatever he should ask." According to this authority, Wharton, "not being of a selfish nature," contented himself with the government of Ireland for his own share, a place for Lord Somers, another for Lord Dorset, and some other *douceurs* for other friends.

* The rhymesters of the day, including names that stand high in English literature, lost all discretion of praise, and completely exhausted the Pagan mythology. The following are moderate specimens from 'State and Miscellany Poems,'—

"Whilst Anna's sword is lodged in Marlborough's hand,
'Tis victory to obey, and empire to command."

"And Albion's fierce artillery proclaim
Great Anna's glory and immortal fame,
Like Jove's dread voice, in thunder and in flame.'

much at heart as the ruin of her cousin;—that, as to any misunderstandings between her majesty and her grace, they were only owing to this, that she could not see with the duchess's eyes, and hear with her ears—that it was impossible for her to return to her former kindness, but that she should always behave towards her as the Duke of Marlborough's wife, and her groom of the stole. Loth to give up the struggle however hopeless it might be, the duchess set herself to draw up a long narrative of her faithful services, and to represent how hard and unseemly it was that, after such a violent affection on the part of the queen, she should now lose her favour by the artifice of her enemies, and particularly of one whom she had raised out of the dust. The better to move the queen, in this paper, the duchess had recourse to divinity; and, with a heart almost bursting with envy, hatred, and uncharitableness, she had the face to recommend the duties of charity and Christian forgiveness. "Knowing," she says, "how great a respect her majesty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the author of The Whole Duty of Man with relation to friendship; the directions in the Common Prayer Book before the Communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by Bishop Taylor upon the same head; and I concluded with giving my word to her majesty that, if, after reading these, she would please only to answer in two words, that she was still of the same opinion as when she wrote that harsh letter, which occasioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the least trouble upon any subject, but the business of my office, as long as I should have the honour to continue her servant." Anne never answered this paper; but one day, in church, as she was passing by her, in order to receive the sacrament, she looked with much good nature, and very graciously smiled upon her grace. "But," adds Sarah, writing in her old age, "that smile and pleasant look I had afterwards reason to think were given to Bishop Taylor and the Common Prayer Book, and not to me!"

If we leave these wretched *tracasseries* of three women, upon which, however, the fate of one of the greatest of European wars may be said to have depended, we shall hardly get to the contemplation of more honourable or pleasanter matter. The Tories had resolved to terrify Anne again with the House of Hanover; and they sent privately to acquaint her with a discovery they pretended to have made, of "a terrible design" formed by the Whigs to bring over the Electoral Prince George whether her majesty would or no. To preserve the decency and unity of this proceeding, the person they appointed to be their secret messenger to Anne was that very Lord Haversham, who, not two years before, had been the mover of the address for inviting and bringing over the Electress Sophia!* Anne, in a fury, wrote to the Duke of Marlborough to tell him, that, if this matter should be brought into parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, she would look upon them as her enemies, nor would she ever make any invitation to the young man (Prince George) or his father, or his grandmother. The project was, of course, denied by the Whigs, but the queen continued to be haunted by apparitions of the "German boor." It is thought that, in this paramount dread of the Hanoverian, she would have summoned up spirit to break the cabinet, if it had not been for another fear, that, if she irritated them, the Whigs, who, in place or out, seemed sure of a majority, would, in their spite, have moved for the invitation of Prince George, with father, grandmother, and all.

The first British parliament, prorogued on the 1st of April of the present year (1708), had been dissolved by proclamation shortly after, and a new one summoned to meet in the autumn. The Houses met on the 16th of November. In the Commons, the Whigs elected for speaker Sir Richard Onslow, without opposition, as the Tories declined the contest which would have exposed their weakness. On account of the recent death of her husband, the queen did not attend in person, but her Whig lord-chancellor Cowper spoke in the name of the sovereign. He told the Houses that the extraordinary length of the campaign this year had obliged her majesty to put off their meeting longer than she had designed, in order that they might be informed with the greater certainty of the state and posture of the war; that in the interval the success of affairs abroad had been so great, as to justify the opinion that we were now brought much nearer than at the last session to the end of the war, and the reduction of the dangerous power of France; that her majesty therefore assured them that she had not the least doubt, but that this new parliament would be of the same opinion with the last, as to the vigorous prosecution of the war, believing it impossible that the representatives of the British nation could endure to think of losing the fruits of all our past endeavours, and all the great advantages we had gained, particularly in the present year, by submitting at last to an insecure and inglorious peace. The lord-chancellor further told them that the several parts of the war—that is to say, the struggle going on in Spain, on the Rhine, &c.,—would require their support and their supplies, at least in the same degree as in the preceding year; while in Flanders the nature of the war was much altered by the great advances made there towards entering into and invading France, which had so far alarmed the enemy, that they were drawing more troops daily to that side for the defence of their own country, so that an augmentation of our forces would be required, which, "with the continuance of God's blessing," must soon enable us to end triumphantly this long and expensive contest. A tribute was paid to the services of the fleet, and the importance of our cap

* The duchess calls Lord Haversham "the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm."

ture of Port Mahon was fairly stated — "as it afforded the means of our co-operating with more readiness and effect on the enemy in those parts." Timely and effectual supplies were also demanded for carrying on such fortifications at home as might extinguish the enemy's hopes of profiting by disturbances in Scotland. [Since the Pretender's attempt a few forts had been begun in that country.] The great subject of the Union was alluded to with just pride, as the greatest of all the great successes of this reign; and Cowper told the Lords and Commons that her majesty was anxious that they should prepare such bills as should be thought conducive to the confirming and improving this Union, and particularly to make the laws of both parts of Great Britain agree as near as might be, for the common interest of both nations, and more especially those laws which related to criminal cases and proceedings. The speech concluded with the confident assurance that her majesty would continue to defeat the designs of the Pretender, and his open and secret abettors, and make it evident that the true and lasting interest and well-being of her subjects was dependent upon their duty and loyalty. The Lords sent up an address by the Earl of Dorset in a private manner, Anne having intimated that this would be most agreeable to her feelings in her state of widowhood and mourning. Their lordships condoled with her majesty upon the loss she had sustained in the Prince of Denmark, whose *eminent virtues* must render his memory for ever dear to them and to the nation; but they entreated her to moderate her grief, and take care of her precious health, upon which the hopes of her people, and the safety of Europe so much depended. After following this condolence with congratulations on the success of her arms, they repeated the affirmation of preceding sessions,—that no peace could be safe or honourable till the whole monarchy of Spain was restored to the House of Austria: but their lordships desired that she would press her allies, who were more nearly concerned, to show a vigour equal to that of her own subjects. The Commons also sent up their address in a private manner by Mr. Secretary Boyle. They went beyond the Lords in applauding this year's campaign, which, they said, showed that no difficulties were insuperable to her great commander, and that no force of the enemy could stop the progress of her victories. All this was gall and wormwood to the queen; but the mourning she wore for her husband helped to conceal the gloom which now overshadowed her brow whenever the name of Marlborough was mentioned, or whenever his successes were alluded to. While, in the eyes of the world, she appeared to be overwhelmed with grief for the loss of her consort,—shunning the conversation of her nearest friends, and almost the light of day,—she was plotting with Harley and Mrs. Masham against her ministers. Though the Tories were in a decided minority, there were various little accidents and circumstances which played into their hands. A writer, whose toleration and political wisdom were in advance of the time, had ventured to publish a pamphlet in favour of the abolition of the penal laws and Test Act. This was complained of in the Lower House; the most liberal of the Whigs were afraid of exciting suspicions as to their own steadiness to the established church; scarcely an effort was made to defend or to palliate the author's propositions; and the Commons resolved that his pamphlet was a scandalous and seditious libel, tending to create misunderstandings among her majesty's subjects; and they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. In the Lords, the state of the nation at the time of the Pretender's intended invasion of Scotland was taken into consideration. Lord Haversham opened the debate with a set speech, in which, knowing the wishes of the queen and the plans of Mr. Harley, he turned our glorious victories into mortifications; showed how our haughty neighbour Louis, notwithstanding all our conquests, had had the presumption to attempt an invasion; and insisted that he might repeat his attempt, and with better success. "Has not the French king," asked his lordship, "as many ships, as many friends, and as great encouragement here, as he had last spring? For, notwithstanding all our inquiries, is it not as great a mystery as ever it was, who the persons among us were that were concerned in that black and unnatural design? It is true that several persons of great quality and interest have been taken up, whereby others have had an opportunity of supplanting them in their interest at the late election. I will not say whether this has proceeded from ill-will to some, or from favour to others; but has anything been proved against the persons arrested? The harsh proceedings adopted have rather proved vexatious to the subject than useful to the government: and I hope this will make them, for the future, set a greater value upon the Habeas Corpus Act. It has been said *that men of arbitrary principles ought always to be suspected:* but, if this is a good argument, it is as strong against some who are at the head of the present ministry, as against any men I know of who are out of it. Another character has been given of suspected persons; and it has been assumed as enough to prove disaffection, the casting reflections upon the ministry, or the attempting to lessen her majesty's esteem of her ministers; but, if this doctrine be adopted. there will be an end to the constitution and to the uses of parliament, which are chiefly the redressing of grievances, and keeping great men in awe." After a few words about Papists, Jacobites, and Nonjurors, Haversham made a home thrust at the lord-treasurer Godolphin. "I know," said he, "that even among the apostles themselves, he that bore the bag proved the traitor." He asked why the most usual and likely methods for a discovery (namely, promises of pardon and reward) had not been offered in Scotland and in England; he spoke of the run upon the Bank, which had been in danger

of breaking, and which had not yet recovered from the blow; and he asked whether some men's mighty services must prevent their looking into other men's great miscarriages or misdoings. In spite, however, of this stirring speech, it was resolved by both Houses that no blame lay upon the present government, or—"that timely and effectual care had been taken by those employed under her majesty at the time of the intended invasion of Scotland to disappoint the designs of her enemies both at home and abroad."

A.D. 1709.—As Anne was now a widow, she ordered the prayers to be left out for making her a happy mother of children, that were used in all churches on the anniversary of her accession.* Upon this both Houses presented a humble address to her majesty, praying that she would not indulge her just grief so much as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage, upon which they professed all their hopes of future happiness did consist.† Anne, like an inconsolable mourner for her late husband, sent an answer thanking them for their frequent marks of duty and affection. She alluded to the provision already made for the succession in the person of a Protestant prince; and then delicately said, that the subject of their address was of such a nature that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer to it.

The ministerial party had assumed as a principle that a difference of laws must necessarily continue a dissimilitude of nations: Cowper, in his opening speech, had recommended the assimilating the criminal laws of England and Scotland; and now a bill was brought into the House of Commons for abrogating all the old laws of Scotland relating to high treason. In the preceding year, in Scotland, by the connivance, it is said, of the lord advocate and the judges, some persons deemed notoriously guilty of treason had been allowed to escape. It was urged that the same offence ought to be made liable in both countries to the same punishment; but this the Scots, who adhered to their old laws, which were in some respects better and in some worse than those of England, insisted might be done without altering their laws or interfering with their judiciary proceedings, the integrity of which was guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Union. And they declared that all Scotland would be thrown into confusion if any attempt were made to abrogate suddenly their old code or practice. They denied the right of the united British parliament to legislate upon this matter; and urged that the English could not with good faith oblige them to submit to English law when they preferred their own. Nor were there wanting English advocates to take the same view of the question. Sir John Hawles, who enjoyed great reputation as a constitutional lawyer, declared that, having compared the laws of both kingdoms, he preferred the laws of Scotland concerning high treason to those of England, and he proposed that there ought either to be a new body of law compiled out of the laws of both kingdoms, or else that each should keep their own. Though few matters could be so serious as this, there were some in the House of Commons that could make a joke of it.*

The Scots had the merit of proposing that in both kingdoms the horrid punishments of persons convicted of treason should be moderated. Sir Peter King, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Hampden, and other assertors of liberty among the English adopted this opinion; and the Tories, who were certainly then the party most in danger from high treason, had joined with the Scots and extreme Whigs. In the House of Lords the bill was taken up and managed with great zeal. It consisted of three heads:—1. All crimes that were high treason by the law of England were to be high treason in Scotland, and none other. 2. The manner of proceeding settled in England was to be observed in the Scotch courts. 3. The pains and forfeitures were to be precisely the same in both nations. The Scottish lords opposed every part of the bill, urging more particularly that their countrymen did not know the laws of England, and would have to study the English book of statutes to know when they were safe and when not. To this it was replied that the judges would publish an abstract of the laws bearing upon high treason, which would be sufficient information for any man; that the Scots, by the passing of the bill, would be in a much safer condition than now, for the laws they had were conceived in such general terms that their judges might put such constructions upon them as should serve the ends of any bad government. Under the second head, which went to alter the method of trial used in Scotland, it was provided that a grand jury should find the bill against the person or persons accused of treason; that the judges should only regulate the proceedings, and declare what the law was; and that the whole matter of the indictment should be left entirely to the jury, who were to be twelve in

* Anne was not a steril queen,—she had plenty of children, but they were all born sickly, and with the germs of mortal diseases. Of three daughters and two sons, whose names are recorded, only one (the Duke of Gloucester) lived to be eleven years old. Of fourteen others many were still-born, and the rest died in their infancy.

† According to Roger Coke—"In this time an order of council was made for leaving out the prayer for the queen's having royal issue: but whether this or something else gave rise to the motion of an address that the queen should think of marrying again, a Whig member in the House of Commons, to anticipate the Tories, as was then suspected, actually did it; the House unanimously falling in with it, and, upon their desire, the Lords joining with them in an address to that end."—*Detection.* Anne had now reached her forty-fifth year.

* "Sir David Dalrymple, one of the most eminent lawyers, having made a learned speech two hours long, in the House of Commons, concerning the laws of Scotland, full of many cases collected out of the grounds of the laws and ancient histories, a certain member thought fit to answer him in a few lines borrowed out of Hudibras, an English burlesque poem, which, though it gave occasion for laughter, yet gave much offence to great and learned men, who judged it very improper that a matter of high importance should be talked of in parliament after a ludicrous manner; or that the famous constitution of our ancestors, and all the learning of antiquity, should be slighted for the sake of a ridiculous joke."—*The History of Great Britain, from the Revolution in 1688 to the Accession of George I. Translated from the Latin MS. of Alexander Cunningham, Esq., Minister from George I. to the Republic of Venice.*

number, and all to agree in their verdict.* The Scottish lords objected that neither judges nor advocates in Scotland would know how to manage a trial of treason in the English way; and they insisted upon having the names of the witnesses delivered to the prisoners fifteen days before the trial, as was allowed by the Scottish laws actually in force.† They said that surely a man ought to know who were to be brought against him, that so he might cause an examination as to their respectability, and the degree of credit to which they were entitled as witnesses. The English lords replied, that to allow this would be to open a door to many illegal practices either upon the witnesses themselves, in order to corrupt them, or in procuring and suborning other witnesses to defame them. The Scots rejoined, that, without any such notice, a guilty man, knowing what might be brought against him, could take many illegal methods; but that security ought to be made for innocent men, whose chief guilt might chance to be a good estate upon which some court favourite had an eye. At last the Scottish lords were willing to compromise; and they required that the names of the witnesses that had given evidence to the grand jury should be signified to the prisoner *five* days before trial. But, upon a division of the House on this point, the votes were equal; and so, by the rule that in such a case the negative prevailed, the amendment was lost. When the third head of the bill, which provided that the penalties for treason should be the same as in England, and that the forfeiture of estates should follow a Scottish sentence as it did an English one, was presented; the debate grew still warmer. It was represented that in Scotland there were many estates settled upon families by entails in perpetuity, and it was argued that, as by one of the articles of the Union all private rights were preserved, no alteration could be made in these settlements either by sentence of treason or otherwise. Bishop Burnet carried this further. "I thought," says he, "it was neither just nor reasonable to set the children a begging for their father's faults: the Romans, during their liberty, never thought of carrying punishments so far: it was an invention under the tyranny of the emperors, who had a particular revenue called the *Fisc;* and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called confiscations. It was never the practice of free governments. Bologna flourished beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, because they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope that no confiscation should follow on any crime whatsoever." He showed how, in many instances, prosecutions had been instituted only to obtain a confiscation of property; and he might have added that, in arbitrary times, few such prosecutions had ever failed. But none of the lords seconded him; and the most that he procured was an acknowledgment that what he said was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed into law in good times, when the nation should not be exposed, as it now was, to dangers from abroad. Clauses, however, were agreed to, and inserted in the bill, by which marriage settlements might be made in Scotland, as was practised in England, so that no estate should be forfeited for the crime of him who was only tenant for life. Though contrary to the letter of the law in Scotland as well as in England, horrible tortures had been practised at the command of the Scottish privy council; and from the time of the restoration of Charles II. down to the Revolution of 1688, these atrocities appear to have been far more frequent in Scotland than at any former time. The present Treason Bill had the merit of absolutely prohibiting the use of torture. It also empowered the queen to grant commissions of Oyer and Terminer, as in England, for trying treasons. Here the Scots objected that this was interfering with their separate establishment of courts of justice, which was guaranteed to them by the Union. The English ministers replied that their criminal courts would still sit, without any diminution of authority, at the seasons regularly appointed; and that these commissions would be granted rarely, and upon special occasions, in the intervals between the terms, upon such emergencies as would not admit of long delay. They also agreed that a judge of the criminal court of Scotland should always be one of the quorum in these commissions. In this shape the bill was carried in the Lords, notwithstanding the opposition of all the Scots there; "with whom," says Burnet, "many of the Tories concurred, they being disposed to oppose the court in everything, and to make treason as little to be dreaded as possible." When the bill was sent back to the Commons they objected to many things in it, and proposed two capital amendments of their own—1. That the names of the witnesses should be sent to the prisoner *ten* days before trial. 2. *That no estate in*

* "Anciently," says Burnet, "the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but, by a late Act, the verdict must be given upon the agreement of two-thirds of the jury. [*A unanimous verdict is still unnecessary in Scotland except, as directed by this Act, in cases of treason.*] In the sentence the law did not limit the judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the punishment, or moderate it, according to the circumstances of the case (*or their own view of it!*). . . . In one particular the forms in Scotland were much preferable to those in England: the depositions of the witnesses were taken, indeed, by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the witnesses: they were sent in to the jury; and these were made a part of the record. This was very slow and tedious: but the jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the evidence, and the matter was more clearly delivered down to posterity; whereas, the records in England are very defective, and give no light to a historian that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the History of the Reformation." The practice here lauded may have its conveniences for historians; but few reflecting persons will agree with the bishop, that it is better the jury should decide from a mere written report of the evidence than from the whole testimony of the witnesses, as actually delivered, and including the thousand significant indications of deportment and manner, as well as the mere import of their words.

† "In Scotland the queen's advocate signed a citation of the persons accused of treason, setting forth the special matter of which they were accused. This was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witnesses, fifteen days before the trial. When the jury was empannelled no peremptory challenges were allowed; reasons were to be offered with every challenge; and, if the court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to high treason or not: this was to be determined by a sentence of the court, called the interloquitur; and the proof of the fact was not till then to be made: of that the jury had the cognizance."—*Burnet.*

land should be forfeited upon a judgment of high treason. This latter proposition answered fully to Burnet's motion. Both amendments, however, were resisted by the ministers in the Lords. Halifax proposed that they should not take effect so long as the Pretender was alive; and this opinion was seconded by Godolphin. After a long struggle, the success of which was dubious to the last, the amendments were adopted with this qualifying clause, extended by the House of Commons so as to postpone the operation in any case till three years after the accession of the House of Hanover; and the queen hastened to give the bill the royal assent, regardless of a protest which was signed by all the Scots peers. The Tory lords, who had opposed the Union, and what they called the dishonouring of their House by the introduction of elective Scottish peers, now fancied they might derive strength from them; and they began to strike up a wonderful friendship and affection for the northern Thanes. But the Scottish peers distrusted their motives and disliked their foreign policy, and seemed rather to prefer the Old Whigs—as the Whigs out of office, and unconnected with the ministry, were now called. After the Treason Bill for Scotland was carried, to obviate the suspicions of harsh designs and severities, an act of grace was passed, by which all treasons committed before the signing the act, or the 19th of April, 1709, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the sea—an exception meant to include all those who had embarked the preceding year for Scotland with the Pretender.*

But, notwithstanding the act of amnesty on the one side, and the equalization of the laws of treason on the other, the Scots continued their plots and intrigues; and men of the greatest ability among them made a woful abuse of their ingenuity in suggesting to the French court a fresh expedition, and in demonstrating that nothing was so likely to end the war in favour of King Louis as an invasion. In a "New Scheme in relation to Scotland" which was presented to the court of Versailles this year, it was shown how his most Christian majesty had been able to carry on the war with advantage against the united force of the whole House of Austria, the Dutch, and all the princes of Germany, so long as Charles II. and the late King James had sat peaceably upon the English throne. The astonishing change that had since taken place and all the French king's ill successes were attributed wholly and solely to the Prince of Orange (the late King William) and to England's entering upon the war with such vigour. England had not only contributed immense sums of money—"as much as all the other countries put together"—but had given a new turn to the war by employing in it her own native and excellent troops. So long as the late Prince of Orange had been obliged to employ the English troops to reduce Ireland, France had maintained her wonted superiority; but had not the scale of victory turned as soon as the Irish wars were finished and the English troops sent into Flanders? "It is, therefore, evident," says the scheme, "that, of all the expedients that can be proposed to re-establish the affairs of France, the most effectual would be to make a powerful diversion in Great Britain." The French were again solemnly assured "that the greatest and most considerable part of that kingdom" were actually ready to have declared for the Pretender the preceding year if he had only landed; "and the council and ministers of the Princess Anne in Scotland were so convinced of this, that they had already taken measures to return to England, as soon as they should hear of his landing." But, though disappointed then, the Scots were still as willing as ever to join their lawful sovereign; and everything that had happened since had contributed to increase their hatred to England and to facilitate his return. There were, for example, fewer regular troops in Scotland now than then;—the Scots had been well informed of the great earnestness his Britannic majesty had expressed in that expedition, to run any hazard to land among them, and this had gained him the hearts of all more than ever;—they had been worse treated by the English than before, many of them, of highest rank, having been dragged into the prisons of England, upon bare suspicions, contrary to the laws of Scotland, and their ancient nobility, more considerable by the number and dependence of their vassals than by their riches, having been deprived of their rights of vassalage or feudal superiority, which "touched them in the most sensible part;"—and, finally, the English, by building forts and putting garrisons in several parts of Scotland, had made appear their intention of destroying what remained of their liberty and nationality. The next clause of this scheme goes to prove that the anxiety of the government about the laws of treason had not been without cause. "We have," it is said, "a very recent proof of the dispositions of the Scots, who appeared publicly, with their vassals, *in arms*, in favour of the king, when he was upon the coast of Scotland. *There were two thousand witnesses of the fact, which was notorious and public.* The court, wanting to make an example to terrify others of the same party, ordered some of these gentlemen to be tried, not in the least doubting of getting them condemned: yet, though every precaution was taken, not a single witness could be made to appear against them, and the judges unanimously discharged them, and declared them innocent." Even without the letters and signatures which had been sent into France, "from the *principal* lords of the country," could there be any rational doubt of the disposition of the Scots for a general insurrection, the moment their lawful king should ap-

* The Tories said that this amnesty was contrived and procured by Godolphin and Marlborough, who wanted for themselves and for their own personal security "the potent shield of an act of grace pointedly and especially pardoning all correspondence with the court of St. Germain."

pear among them with the means necessary to back him? If this insurrection began in Scotland it would not end there, but that same confusion which was ready to break out in England last spring would certainly happen again. It was well known that England subsisted and carried on the war merely by the credit of the bills of the Exchequer and of the Bank of London. A run like that of last year, only a little longer, would ruin everything in England, where, moreover, the friends of the lawful sovereign were very numerous, and where the opposite parties were never before so animated against each other—" a circumstance which proved that one of the parties would want no other inducement to declare for the king, than because the contrary party would be attached to the established government." Ireland was represented as on the tiptoe for revolt; and the movement in Scotland would inevitably be followed by a rising there. The great numbers of Catholic bishops, priests, and monks, who had been obliged to take refuge in France, must have proved to his most Catholic majesty how much the true religion was oppressed in that country. This was our sore part, and the Jacobite schemer probed it to the quick. " Almost all the ancient families," says he, " are stripped of their estates; no Catholic is allowed to hold any employment, civil or military, and all of them are disarmed. Yet it is well known that there are in that kingdom at least six Catholics for one Protestant; and one may easily judge by the valour and irreproachable conduct of the Irish regiments which serve in France, what their countrymen would be capable of doing at home, if they had arms. In short, one may boldly say, that there is not in nature any one motive that can induce a man to espouse any particular clause or party which the Irish Catholics have not to take that of their lawful king." This universal rising in Ireland and Scotland would of itself make so powerful a diversion, that the grand alliance of the confederate princes would fall to pieces, and France would assuredly regain the superiority which she had lost. But still the most passionate Jacobites in Scotland would hardly consent to rise unless assisted with, at least, 8000 men from France, a good number of well-made and tried arms, with cannon, ammunition, and *a certain sum of money*. For his Britannic majesty to come with less than this, would be nipping the spirit of the nation. Mr. Ferguson had been among the Highlanders, who had always expressed the greatest inclination of any for the king, and who would run the least hazard by an insurrection; he had asked them whether they would not take up arms if their king should come among them with 400 or 500 men, to be followed by a greater number which his most Christian majesty would promise to send afterwards; and they had all in general rejected the proposal, though well disposed in other respects, and not in the least doubting of success, provided only that the king came well accompanied. But as King Louis could not afford the money and the other means, this new scheme fell to the ground like so many old ones.*

While the furious Scots had been inviting the French, the English government had incurred great odium by admitting a few thousand honest and unfortunate Germans. Upon no people had the curse of the continental war fallen so heavily as upon the Protestants on the Rhine or the subjects of the Palatinate. In time of defeat they had been plundered by the enemy, and in time of victory by their friends; on either side of the Rhine the country had been repeatedly ravaged, and there seemed no end to the march of destructive armies, and their passing and repassing that glorious river. Harassed and dispirited by these uninterrupted calamities, the poor people came to a resolution among themselves to remove far out of the way both of the French and of the confederates, and to seek their fortune in a strange land; and, at last, in an enthusiasm of despair, Papists as well as Protestants resolved to quit for ever their habitations and their native soil, and to transport themselves into England, that happy country which heard the rumours of wars only at a distance, and where, of late years, the common people had known little about campaigns except through illuminations and rejoicings made to celebrate brilliant victories! Some of these Germans, who were all called Palatines in England, came over in the autumn of 1706, others in the spring of 1707; and other bodies of emigrants, from time to time, continued to arrive on our then not very hospitable shores—" as if by direction of an oracle; not with expectation to settle here, but to be transported to America, there to cultivate some waste lands in the English colonies, and to acquire by their labour an honest livelihood."† They were of all kinds of persuasion in religion, miserably poor, and in want of everything. The queen, moved by compassion, had granted them permission to come into England; and the ministers, not fearing any ill consequences from an act of mercy, had given orders for admitting 5,000 of them. As they arrived they pitched their tents and huts on Blackheath, in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, where they remained many months. But the unhappy Germans soon found that the gracious permission to come signified little more than leave to starve in England: no ships were appointed to convey them to the western world, where the colonies were languishing through want of robust arms to till the rich soil; and employment in England was scarce, or rather was difficult to obtain, on account of the prejudices of the people. Some sums were doled out to them from the royal bounty, and some humane gentlemen made subscriptions for them, and began to employ them about their houses or grounds. The influx of so considerable a number into one district probably had the effect of somewhat reducing wages; and the Englis-

* Hooke's Negotiations. † Cunningham.

workmen and labourers, seeing these Germans hire themselves out by the day at a lower rate than was customary, became furious against them, saying that an Englishman could now only earn eightpence a-day instead of a shilling. From words they proceeded to blows, and it is said that the French refugees who had sought shelter from persecution and misery on this side the Channel were even more pitiless towards the poor German wanderers than were the English boors. If ever there was a case where the voice of party ought to have been hushed, and where the more enlightened classes ought to have exerted themselves against popular ignorance and prejudice, it was assuredly this; yet the Tories did not hesitate to make a handle of it, and for factious purposes they still further inflamed the people. They represented that there was a dangerous plan on foot to supply the places of the native English, cut off in a uselessly protracted war, by importations of bands of foreigners; they maintained that an act of parliament lately made for naturalising foreign Protestants* was meant to forward this scheme; so that, in the end, England would be eaten up by these hungry Germans. These vulgar and atrocious declamations told the more because the price of bread was rather higher than usual. A writer of the day, who is himself not free from party heat, says that the hottest of the Tories always made it a point of religion not to relieve any but those who were of the same principles with themselves; and he charges them with having underhand stirred up the common people, who were naturally averse to foreigners.† But, happily for the character of the nation, there were even in those days public men of more philanthropy and wisdom: many of the bishops, and many other eminent persons, used their best endeavours to procure some substantial relief for the helpless, harmless sufferers, to send part of them into Ireland, and part of them to America. In many cases they took the Germans into their houses or otherwise provided for them; and when the rigours of a bad winter began to be felt they hired empty houses in the suburbs of the city or the villages round London, to shelter the rest of the poor creatures, who as yet had remained houseless and in the open fields. As corn grew dearer and dearer the ignorant mob clamoured that it was all owing to the Palatines and the Papists; and so the cry of the church in danger was revived—we shall presently find it louder than a hurricane;—for some men saw, or pretended to see, evil consequences from the sudden introduction of so many schisms and heresies, and of so much Papistry—for, as we have mentioned, Catholics as well as Protestants had abandoned the Rhine in search of peace and employment on the banks of the Thames, or of the mightier rivers of the American continent. By degrees, however, large parties of the refugees were shipped off for the colonies, and the rest of them, by being dispersed over England or sent into Ireland, were almost lost sight of.

The parliament this session was not less liberal than heretofore. Six millions and a-half were voted as supplies; 220,000*l.* of which was appropriated to the augmentation of the army in Flanders. It was found necessary to contract with the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000*l.*; and the Bank was compensated by the renewal of its charter for twenty-one years, with permission to double its capital by subscription. People complained of poverty, and timid minds were palsied at the spectacle of the fast increasing national debt; but nevertheless both money and confidence were so plentiful in the city of London, that the subscription book of the bank was filled up in one morning. The session closed on the 21st of April. Among its acts was one which defined and limited the privileges of foreign ambassadors. The ambassador from the court of Russia, or, as it was then the fashion to call him, "the Muscovite ambassador," had been arrested by Mr. Morton, a laceman of Covent Garden for a debt of 100*l.* His excellency claimed his privilege, but the London tradesman obliged him to find bail. Hereupon the emperor's ambassador and the Prussian and other foreign ministers applied to the court, and demanded satisfaction for the great affront put upon the representative of a sovereign prince and great nation. The Czar Peter thought that hanging was the mildest punishment his sister Anne could inflict on the laceman, the sheriffs, and their officers; and it appears that ministers had some difficulty in convincing this most absolute prince of a semi-barbarous country that matters could not be so managed in England. It was, however, considered necessary to protect diplomatic persons from such suits; and a bill "for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other public ministers of foreign princes and states," was brought in and passed. By this act all suits and actions against the Muscovite ambassador or his bail were made void, and it was declared that all process whereby any ambassador or public minister or any of his servants might be detained, or his or their goods distrained, should for the future be adjudged void; that the prosecutors of such suits should be deemed violators of the laws of nations, and suffer such penalties

* "An act passed this session that was much desired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aside in so many former parliaments, that there was scarce any hopes left to encourage a new attempt: it was for naturalising all foreign protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and then receiving the sacrament in any Protestant church. Those who were against the act soon perceived that they could have no strength if they should set themselves directly to oppose it; so they studied to limit strangers in the receiving the sacrament to the way of the Church of England. This probably would not have hindered many who were otherwise disposed to come among us: for the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of strangers; and, therefore, since, upon their first coming over, some might choose the way to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in our Protestant communion. This was carried in the House of Commons with a great majority; but all those who appeared for this large and comprehensive way were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the church; and in that I had a large share, as I spoke copiously for it when it was brought up to the Lords: the Bishop of Chester spoke as zealously against it, for he seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called high church. The bill passed with very little opposition."—*Burnet.*

† Cunningham.

and corporal punishment as the lord chancellor and the chief justices, or any two of them, should determine; provided only that no bankrupt putting himself into the service of an ambassador should have the benefit of this act, nor the servant of such ambassador, unless his name were previously registered in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, and transmitted to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who should hang the list of such servants up in some public place of their office. A copy of this act, engrossed on vellum, and handsomely ornamented, was transmitted to Russia, with a very civil message of apology from the queen; and the great Peter was obliged to content himself with this amount of satisfaction.

During this session the queen appointed a third secretary of state, whose province was to be the kingdom of Scotland; and his grace of Queensberry, who had done so much for the Union, received the appointment. Queensberry, moreover, had been created a peer of England, with the high title of Duke of Dover. This circumstance gave occasion to some debate. Sitting in the parliament of Great Britain, Queensberry yet claimed the right to vote as a Scottish peer at the election of representative peers of Scotland; but it was resolved by the Lords that no peer of Great Britain, whether Scotch or English, sitting in the House by right of a new peerage, should have any such vote. It was also resolved by the other House, that the eldest sons of the Scots peers should be incapable of sitting in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom. This last resolution was invidious as a distinction, and caused a great disgust in Scotland. It has since been rescinded.

The Duke of Marlborough had not returned to England, as usual, in the autumn. After his great successes at Lille and Ghent, he was seriously occupied by some bold movements of the Elector of Bavaria, who besieged and well nigh took the city of Brussels. But, when all the troops had gone into quarters, Marlborough still lingered in the Low Countries, where, indeed, he spent all the winter. As his presence seemed highly necessary in England—as all were aware that he was fully informed of the disgrace of his wife, and of the dangerous ascendancy of Mrs. Masham, his absence seemed strange and unaccountable. It has since been accounted for by ascribing to him very disreputable motives; it has been said that ever since the victory at Ramillies his conquest in Flanders had yielded him a considerable revenue; and that he stayed to get his money together and to make the most of his market while it lasted.* It is fair, however, to observe that Marlborough had other strong motives for remaining on the continent: from the Hague he could keep a better eye upon France, whose condition seemed every day growing more desperate; and, besides, he was aware of overtures and negotiations, *private* as well as public, that were going on between French agents and Dutch deputies—two classes of men whom he disliked and distrusted for many reasons. His confederate, Prince Eugene, was at Vienna; and there is some probability that it had been arranged between them that Marlborough should remain at the Hague to counterwork the manœuvres of the French diplomatists and to keep the Dutch—among whom there was always a strong French party—steady to the grand alliance. On all hands the condition of France is represented as most calamitous. The government was in the hands of a set of mean, jealous, and incapable intriguers; the people were in the talons of disease and famine. The dearth of the preceding year had been terrible, and this winter was so cold and so long as to destroy the seeds in the earth. Many thousands died of hunger; and everywhere the peasantry were reduced to scanty supplies of bad food. What in England had been merely a malicious, pointed, but untrue sarcasm, was in France a real truth—money had made itself invisible. Louis's treasury was empty, his debt great and increasing. M. Bernard, the principal of his bankers, with many more of his brethren, broke, and a vast number of persons, before in flourishing circumstances, who had lodged money in their hands, were reduced to a state of beggary. The system of finance, always defective, had been rendered worse than ever under the pressure of difficulties and the sudden exigencies of the state caused by the defeat and destruction of successive armies. Nearly all the resources of the state were farmed out to those notorious precursors of the greatest of modern revolutions, *les Fermiers Généraux:* and, what was worse, the public taxes, exposed in open market, were afterwards exacted again of the farmers, whose houses were never free from king's collectors and the collectors of the *fermiers généraux*, both demanding the same tax. Pensions and public payments were suspended, and the tallies which the king had commanded to pass as money sunk to half of their value; and at last, after frequent alterations and paltry subterfuges, they would not pass at all. If even before this long and ruinous war there were few people of substance in France, except the *fermiers généraux* and their collectors, the commanders of the army, the untaxed clergy, and some lawyers, the number of people of property now became much less. The loss of the public credit was followed by a stop to private trade, whereby the customs were lessened when the government most wanted them. After everything had been taxed that was possibly taxable, money was raised upon all the provinces under the name of a donative—a thing of the nature of our old English benevolences. Chamillart, and Pontchartrain, and other ministers made a progress through all the countries and towns to raise money for the king's service; or, in other words, they went a begging: a poll-tax was laid upon all servants and children; the high roads swarmed with collectors, tax-gatherers, governors,

* Hamilton, Transactions.

and intendants, whose rapine and violence were unchecked, and whose double object was to get money for themselves as well as for the government. Since the taking of Lille the question seemed to be, no longer whether France should be victorious, but whether she should continue to exist as an independent kingdom. The confederates had repeatedly crossed her frontier and made plundering incursions into some of her northern provinces: the road to them seemed open to Paris; and a more daring enemy, or one less subjected to the superstitious dread of the time—the leaving fortresses in one's rear,—would in all probability have marched to the Seine and dictated the terms of peace under the walls of that capital. [It is assumed for Marlborough, that he entertained this bold plan, the non-execution of it being attributed to the timidity of the States-General.] A flying party, consisting chiefly of French Huguenots, in the service of England, penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Paris, and nearly succeeded in their daring enterprise of carrying off the dauphin. It was time to ask what had been the fruits of the *grand monarque's* insatiable ambition? One of his grandchildren, the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fenelon, is said to have put the question to the old king himself, and to have asked why the Spanish succession should be preferred to the welfare of France—why his brother (King Philip) should be preferred to himself, to all his family and countrymen. The proud old man at last became a supplicant for peace; and he began with the Dutch, whom in his early days he had treated with so much contempt. He dispatched M. de Rouillè, president of the council, to pray for a truce in Flanders. At the Hague this agent was met by Buys and Vanderdussen, who remarked, that, as the allies were stronger in Flanders, so were the French stronger in Spain; that, if Louis would consent to a cessation of arms in Spain, they would also agree to a cessation in Flanders, *provided the French king would first of all put some cautionary towns into their hands.* Rouillè could not consent to this demand; the Dutch would not yield; and the afflicted president of the council informed Louis that no truce could be hoped for upon his conditions. When his dispatch was read in the French council, it dissipated all hope of peace, making men, however, feel more and more the necessity of obtaining a peace at whatsoever price it might cost. The Duke of Beauvilliers, in pathetic and touching terms, described the fatal consequences of a war which it was no longer possible to sustain; Pontchartrain, the chancellor, made the picture still more dreadful, and both he and the duke implored the rest, as faithful ministers, to tell his majesty the real state of the troops and of the finances.* "A scene so sad," says a person principally concerned, "would be difficult to describe, even were it permitted to reveal the secret of what was most touching in it. The king then felt that the condition of a monarch, the absolute master of a great kingdom, is not always the happiest or the most to be desired."* This Frenchman of the old regime adds, in courtly guise, that Louis bore his reverses with the firmness of a hero and the submission of a Christian; that he acquiesced in the dispensations of Providence, and that, consenting to new sacrifices, he instructed Rouillè to recommence the conferences at the Hague with larger promises on his part. But it appears, from better authority, that the *grand monarque* wept like a whipped schoolboy, and yet was unwilling, in his pride, to concede anything. His instructions, however, imported that Rouillè must do the best to conclude a peace before the opening of another campaign. An offer was made to purchase back Lille, the last great conquest of Marlborough, by yielding up Tournay, or by demolishing the fortifications which Louis had erected at Dunkirk: Sicily Louis was willing to leave to the allies, but he still claimed the kingdom of Naples, which had now been for two years in the undisputed possession of Austria, in lieu of the whole of Spain and the Indies, which his grandson Philip was to resign; he was willing to submit to a congress the interests of his faithful allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been ruined by their fidelity to him, and who were not likely to obtain mild conditions in any conferences wherein the ministers of the emperor had a voice: and, continuing this species of vicarious sacrifice, Louis engaged to send out of France the Pretender, upon condition that his security and subsistence should be provided for and secured by treaty. But time pressed; it was the end of the month of April before this dispatch was ready, and the opening of the campaign was delayed only by the unusual severity of the season. If there was the slightest delay the war would begin on the French frontier before the negotiations at the Hague could come to anything—nay, if any difficulty occurred, there would scarcely be time for Rouillè to send a courier and receive his answers by another courier from Paris. In short, every moment was of value; and at this crisis the Marquis de Torcy, secretary of state and minister for foreign affairs, volunteered to go to the Hague in person, and take the entire negotiation into his own hands. Louis, after some hesitation, consented to send him; and de Torcy, with a courier's passport, not without fear of being seized by the enemy's troops, or denied access by the Dutch ministers, travelled with speed to the Hague with a dispatch signed by the king himself. He was near being discovered and arrested at Brussels; but, aided and guided by a Dutch banker, who had connexions with France, he reached the quiet door of the Pensionary Heinsius, at the Hague, on the 6th of May, late in the evening. After the minister of the proudest monarch in Europe had waited some time in an antechamber, the pensionary appeared and admitted him to a close conference. A few

* Mémoires de M. de Torcy, pour servir à l'Histoire des Négotiations depuis le Traité de Riswick jusqu'a à la Paix d'Utrecht. 3 tomes, 12mo.

years before, when Heinsius went to Versailles on a mission from William III., Louvois, the insolent prime minister there, had threatened to throw him into the Bastille;—now the court of France was at his feet. The Dutch statesman, however, was too high-minded to show any triumph.* De Torcy attempted to demonstrate that Holland and England, and all the nations in the confederacy, had blindly engaged themselves to bear the weight of a war which must be useless, or useful only to the house of Austria. He also attempted to prove that Ypres, Menin, Condè, and one or two other third-rate fortresses, would be a sufficient barrier for the United Provinces. But here Heinsius let him know that the late King William had been of a very different opinion, having always recommended Lille as a place necessary for the solidity and strength of a barrier; and he further told him that, if the United Provinces had not hitherto been in a condition to get that place comprised, it behoved them, now that they had got it into their hands by conquest, to keep it. Lille, he added, was no new pretension—it had been demanded before the peace of Ryswick. Nor, when de Torcy passed to the subject of the Spanish succession, did he find any agreement of opinion in the pensionary. Heinsius reminded him of the treaty to which the grand alliance owed its existence, and assured him that it would be impossible to consent to the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, or to the cession of the kingdom of Naples or even of the island of Sicily. The Frenchman hereupon said that he had nothing to do but to return to Paris. Heinsius told him that the States-General, without whom he could engage for nothing, would meet in a day or two. To this de Torcy replied that to submit the question to the States would only produce a long-spun negotiation, for which he had no time, his post as secretary of state not permitting him to engage formally in the trade of a negotiator—that the king, his master, had commanded him to address himself directly and solely to him (the pensionary) in order either to finish the work of peace, or to inform himself clearly of the intentions of the States-General. Heinsius then proposed calling in Buys and Vanderdussen, who had been authorised by the States to treat with Rouillè. This de Torcy also declined, repeating the order he had received from his master to address himself only to the pensionary. But, after some diplomatic *ruses*, the Frenchman consented to confer on the morrow with Buys and Vanderdussen. He found them quite as high in their pretensions as Heinsius, and he was told by them that there could be no thought of peace unless Sicily as well as Naples was given up to the Austrian. "But," says de Torcy, in writing to Louis, "I believe, after all, that they are really interested only about their own barrier. . . . . Impatient to return to this article, they left off talking about Spain and Naples, and Sicily, to ask me what your majesty would really do for the Dutch." Notwithstanding his haste, the French minister was detained nearly a month at the Hague. Finding he could do nothing separately with Holland, he agreed to meet the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Marlborough, who had made a hasty journey to England, returned accompanied by Lord Townshend, an experienced negotiator, and who was believed to be well disposed to a peace: the Prince Eugene came accompanied by the imperial minister Zinzendorf. De Torcy on his side was assisted by Rouillè, who had begun the negotiation by demanding a truce in Flanders. At the same time he availed himself of the secret services of emissaries and of partisans of France, who went and came between him and the merchants of Amsterdam, notwithstanding the order of the States-General that nobody should visit the French minister's house without a license from the pensionary. As soon as Marlborough arrived, de Torcy saw that the negotiation would end in words; but he thought that an immense moral advantage would be obtained if he could make the world believe—and his own suffering countrymen, in particular—that the heart of Louis was bleeding for suffering humanity; that the great king was ready to purchase peace at any sacrifice short of the independence and honour of his country: and in France he succeeded in producing this impression, although at the Hague he absolutely refused any security for the accomplishment of the evacuation of Spain, and for the other sacrifices that were offered.* He insisted that the promise of his sovereign was security enough: but even this promise he did not pledge very directly, endeavouring rather to make the allies take his own word—with the evident intention of saving his master's honour. Marlborough, Eugene, and those acting with them, maintained that it would be the height of insanity to rest satisfied with a few words, that might be broken as easily as in former times; that it was most unreasonable to expect that while they were treating about terms they should let slip the time for carrying on war, and suspend their preparations for the field, without any security given them on the part of the French King. Then de Torcy said that his

* De Torcy thus describes the friend and confident of our late King William—"Heinsius, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland, had been placed in that post by the protection of the Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England. That prince, persuaded of his zeal, and of his attachment to his person and his house, placed an entire confidence in him. . . . . He had a consummate knowledge of business, the fruit of a long experience: intimately connected with Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, he deliberated with them on all their projects, and regulated the time of their execution. These three together directed everything; they were the soul of the confederacy. But the pensionary was neither accused of a desire to prolong the war on account of the consideration it gave him, nor suspected of any view to his personal interest. His exterior was simple. No pomp in his house: his establishment consisted merely of a secretary, a coachman, a footman, and a female servant, which did not indicate the greatness of a prime minister. The appointments he received from the republic amounted to 24,000 florins, the greater part of which he received as keeper of the seal. His manners were cold but without any rudeness; his conversation was polite; and he rarely grew heated in argument or dispute. All the recent treaties, including the Partition Treaty, had passed under his hands." —*Memoirs.*

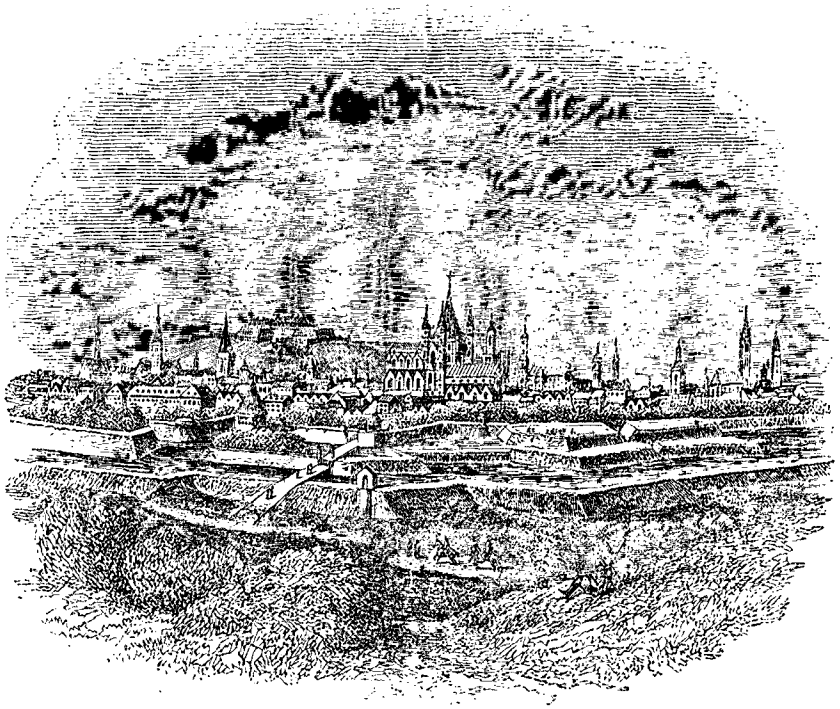
* The security demanded by the allies was, that some cautionary towns should be put into their hands till Philip had delivered up the whole of Spain to Charles.

king's good inclination, his great age, and the situation of his affairs, were in themselves a sufficient security for all that was promised. During these discourses the eyes of the French minister were frequently flooded with tears. These may have been forced from him by the miseries of his country; but they were certainly not calculated to make the allies cede any of their resolutions. The ambassadors of every court represented they had heard, in the days of his prosperity, little else than insult and bravado from Louis at Versailles; and the inference now to be drawn was, that his fortunes must be low indeed, and his spirit gone, when one of his cabinet ministers could weep before an assembly of Dutchmen, Englishmen, and Austrians. The Dutch negotiators, however, continued to be rather lukewarm on the question of Spain; and in the end they agreed to take "the word of a king" on that point. At the end of May the confederates gave de Torcy their ultimatum in forty preliminary articles. Their chief demands were—1. That the French king should acknowledge the succession of King Charles III. to all the rights and dominions of the crown of Spain. 2. That the Duke of Anjou (King Philip) then in possession of the greater part of Spain, should, within the term of two months, depart out of that kingdom with his whole family; that the French king, within that time, should cause Sicily to be delivered to King Charles; and that, if the Duke of Anjou should not assent, then the French king should unite with the confederates in reducing him to obedience, "so that all Europe might enjoy a perfect tranquillity." 3. That the French king should recall, within two months, whatever forces he had in Spain, Sicily, or the Indies; and promise, on the word of a king, not to support the Duke of Anjou, nor assist him with troops, money, or provisions. 4. That the monarchy of Spain should remain whole and entire to the House of Austria; that none of the dominions of it, either in whole or in part, should ever be united to France by any tie or authority whatever, or by legacy, covenant, succession, marriage, purchase, contract, free gift, or by any other title whatsoever; that no prince reigning in France, nor any prince of the House of Bourbon, should ever acquire any right to any cities, places, or jurisdictions within the dominions of Spain, either by exchange or by marriage, by purchase, or by any other right whatsoever; and that this should apply particularly to Spanish Flanders. 5. That the French king should never become possessed of the Spanish Indies, nor send any ships thither for commerce, either directly or indirectly. 6. That the French king should deliver up to his imperial majesty the city and citadel of Strasburg, together with Port Kehl and its appendages; that he should also deliver up to the emperor the town of Brisac, and at his own expense demolish all the fortified places he had on the Rhine between Basle and Philipsburg: Alsace he was to retain; but the emperor was to be at liberty to demolish Landau if he thought fit. 7. That the French king should acknowledge the title of the Queen of Great Britain, and the succession of her crown according to the Act of Settlement; that he should deliver up to her Britannic Majesty all that he then possessed in Newfoundland; and that he should, within the space of two months, and at his own expense, raze or fill up all the fortifications on one side of the port of Dunkirk, according to the direction of the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General, with all the works, moles, bulwarks, banks, and sluices; that he should demolish the other half within two months more, and never repair the same, nor suffer it to be made a port capable of receiving ships for the future. 8. That the person calling himself King of Great Britain should be sent out of France, and that a treaty of commerce should be arranged between France and England. 9. That the French king should yield and make over to the States-General, as a barrier, the places of Furnes, Fort Kenoq, Menin, Saverge, Ypres, Warneton, Comines, Wervick, Lille, Condé, Tournay, and Maubeuge. 10. That, further, he should be obliged to deliver up all the fortified places, castles, and cities which he had taken in the Spanish Netherlands. 11. That Louis should acknowledge the new King of Prussia and the new Elector of Hanover, and restore to the Duke of Savoy whatever he had taken from him in the duchy of Savoy or the country of Nice, and make over to him the towns of Exilles, Fenestrelles, and Chaumont, together with the valley of Pragelas. 12. That, as to what formerly belonged to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, their rights and pretensions should be referred to the congress which was to settle this peace. 13. That the congress should meet forthwith, and that the general treaty of peace should, if possible, be concluded within two months after its opening. 14. That, in order to the conclusion of this peace within the space of two months, there should be a cessation of arms, to commence immediately after the ratification of these present articles. De Torcy, instructed by a special dispatch from Louis, attempted to procure better conditions by bribing the Duke of Marlborough, whose love of money, increasing with his years, was notorious to all Europe. "I doubt not," says his most Christian majesty to his minister, "but that you profit by every opportunity of seeing the Duke of Marlborough, in letting him know that I am informed of the efforts he has made to hinder the progress of these conferences for a peace, and even to break them; at which I am the more surprised, as I had room to believe, after the assurances he had given, that he would have contributed to the peace; and I should be happy if he would so act as to get the recompense I have made be promised to him.* And, to enable you to explain yourself more clearly with him, I wish you to give him a positive promise that I will cause to be remitted to him two millions of livres, if he will contribute by his good

* "*Que je lui ai fait promettre.*"

offices to obtain for me one of the following conditions:—the reservation of Naples and Sicily for the king (Philip), my grandson; or, at the worst, the reservation of Naples alone. I would give him the said gratification if he would preserve to me Dunkirk with its port and fortifications, without the reservation either of Naples or of Sicily: I would give as much to be enabled to keep Strasburg: but, of all these different advantages, the one I should prefer is the reservation of Naples. I would consent to raise his gratification to three millions of livres, if he would contribute to procure for me both Naples and Dunkirk. . . . . Finally, I wish you to offer the Duke of Marlborough even as much as four millions, if he will facilitate for me the means of obtaining both Naples and Sicily for my grandson, and retaining Dunkirk, its ports and fortifications, and Strasburg and Landau for myself."* When de Torcy made these tempting offers, Marlborough blushed, and changed the conversation. It is stated, on the authority of manuscript letters and of a conversation of Rouillé, that Harley had his spies upon the duke; and that the offer of the bribe was discovered and communicated through Mrs. Masham to the queen.† De Torcy, upon the rejection of the millions of livres, intimated to the duke that he was in the secret of his intrigues with the court of St. Germain: and here he says that Marlborough blushed again, yet still refused to become a mediator for King Louis. The Frenchman then pretended that his master would make a virtue of necessity, and submit to these hard conditions in order to prevent further misery and bloodshed; and he set off for Paris with the preliminaries in his portfolio. He had kept off hostilities till the 1st of June, and he hoped, at least, to gain a few more weeks. At Douay he met Marshal Villars, showed him the hard articles, and advised him to put his army in order. Old Villars expressed his confidence in the bravery of his troops, but told the minister that, in the course of a month, the men would be without bread, and obliged to trust to Providence for their subsistence. When de Torcy reached Paris, Rouillé was recalled from the Hague; Prince Eugene was informed that his most Christain majesty could never accept the terms proposed by the allies. The confederates, on their part, declared that, unless he accepted the articles as now proposed by the 15th of June, they would never again offer him such good terms. By the advice of de Torcy, the *grand monarque* condescended to write circular letters to the local authorities throughout all the provinces of France, declaring that he had tried all methods in order to restore peace; that he had spared himself no sacrifice, but that he had been opposed and disappointed by the insatiableness of his enemies—by men who delighted in war for the sake of their own private interests. "The more easy I was," said this royal apologist, "the more hard and difficult they became. If I granted all they asked it would be to the ruin and perpetual infamy of the nation and French name." He also declared in his council, that, if he must make war, he would rather make it against his enemies than his own family. That susceptible people were warmed and excited, and, half-starving as they were, they applauded the patriotism of their aged king, and exerted themselves to their utmost to support him. His letters and speeches, and the representations of his skilful emissaries, produced an impression in other countries, until it became an article of belief with many, even at London and Vienna, that the allies had exacted far too much, and that they might and ought to grant peace upon milder conditions. The article in the preliminaries most generally criticised was that wherein the confederates would have bound Louis to make war upon his own grandson King Philip. But it was as positively affirmed by others that the French king had procured the conference at the Hague, and proposed the treaty of peace, only with a design to avoid the pressing danger and to gain time,—that he never for a single moment seriously intended to give up Spain or to agree to any other important sacrifice. Prince Eugene declared that the only proper place to treat with the French was a field of battle; and by the 21st of June he and Marlborough took the field; crossed the frontiers of France, and drew up in a large plain not far from Lille. Villars occupied a well-entrenched camp in their front, covered on each side by impassable morasses. The confederates, not daring either to attack him there or to march upon Paris and leave him where he was, struck off by night, on the 27th of June, for Tournay, a strong place, but insufficiently garrisoned. Villars vainly attempted to throw into it a reinforcement of 7000 men; the besiegers broke ground before it on the 7th of July; but Tournay did not surrender to Prince Eugene till the 30th, and then it was only the town that capitulated, the citadel not being taken until the 3rd of September. On the same day, leaving a force under the Earl of Albemarle to level the works, Marlborough and Eugene marched into Hainault to lay siege to Mons. Villars, having quitted his entrenched camp, manœuvred with the view of guarding the approaches to Mons and cutting off the confederates' van, which was commanded by the Prince of Hesse. Marshal Boufflers joined him at this critical moment, and shared the command with him. On the 9th of September the outposts of the two armies were slightly engaged; but the French fell back to an encampment near the town of Malplaquet, and passed the night in fortifying their front. Marlborough and Eugene were waiting for their rear guard; and for the two following days the hostile forces stood opposite to each other. On the evening of the 11th, when the forces they expected had come up, Marlborough and Eugene, in spite of the objections of the Dutch field-deputies, who represented that it would be a hopeless attempt to force Villars and Boufflers in their camp, resolved

* Mémoires de Torcy. † Hamilton, Transactions.



Tournay, with its Fortifications.
From an Old Print in the King's Library, British Museum.

to give battle on the morrow. And accordingly, on the 12th of September, they fought and won the battle of Malplaquet—a battle more terrible than either Ramillies or Blenheim. After fighting from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, the French retreated upon Maubeuge, Valenciennes, and Condé; leaving the field of battle, strewed with 30,000 dead, to the confederates. The forest of Ardennes served to protect the French from pursuit, and to enable them to carry off most of their artillery and standards. Villars was badly wounded in the battle, and forced to quit the field before the decisive moment; Prince Eugene was wounded; and the Duke of Argyll, who led the van, and fought most gallantly, had his coat cut and shot through in many places; Colonel Cranstoun was killed by a cannon-ball as he was upon his knees at prayer. A vast number of officers were killed and wounded, but Marlborough escaped unhurt. The conquerors proceeded to Mons; but that place detained them till the 23rd of October, when it was deemed too late a season to undertake anything else. The bloody tragedy of Malplaquet, however, reduced Louis to sue again for peace. Through the medium of Petikum, the resident of the Duke of Holstein at the Hague, he proposed that the negotiations there should be renewed. The States refused, but consented that Petikum should go to France in order to concert some expedient. Petikum went to Versailles in the month or November; but in the mean time King Philip published a manifesto protesting against everything that might be done to his prejudice, and declaring his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards as long as there was a man among them that would stand by him; and Petikum on returning to the Hague carried with him an open declaration from his most Christian majesty that he would not pledge himself to drive Philip out of Spain. This declaration put an end to Petikum's mediation, and the States-General advised their allies to prepare for prosecuting the war with more vigour next campaign. The course of military operations in the Peninsula, though far from being decisive, had this year been favourable to Philip. Lord Galway, with his British and Portuguese troops, had been again defeated on the frontier of Estremadura. Alicant, after a very long siege, had been reduced by a French and Spanish force, and nothing had been gained by the allies except the town of Ballaguer, on the frontier of Catalonia. But we pass to a new species of war,—

> For Sacheverell of Southwark a sermon has preach'd,
> For which he must stand by the Commons impeach'd.*

On the 15th of November Anne had opened the session of parliament in person. She declared that the common enemy of Europe had been using all

* Whig and Tory; or, Wit on Both Sides. London, 1712.

his artifices to amuse with false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire for peace, in the hope of creating divisions or jealousies among the allies. She was happy to state that the operations of the war had not been delayed, and that the campaign had been at least as glorious as any that had preceded it. France was now much more exposed and open to the impression of her arms than at the beginning of the campaign, and consequently more in need of a peace. She then asked, as usual, for liberal supplies, that she might put the last hand to this great work of reducing the exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The Lords, in their address, fully approved of her majesty's rejecting the proposals of Louis, and resenting his artifice and insincerity; they praised the Duke of Marlborough; and they encouraged her majesty to carry on the war till France should be compelled to submit. The Commons made precisely the same kind of address, and soon proceeded to vote an increase of the army, and 6,200,000*l.* as supplies. They also waited upon the Duke of Marlborough, on his return to England, to thank him for his eminent services: but on the side of the court Marlborough saw nothing but clouds.

For some time past the Tory leaders had been at work with the more combustible portion of the high church preachers, and the pulpits of the kingdom had been resounding with new cries of the church in danger. There was one Dr. Henry Sacheverell, an obscure divine of little moral character and still less ability—a fellow that had been a furious Whig, but, getting no promotion, had suddenly turned Tory, heaped abuse upon the party he deserted, and talked his way to the living of St. Saviour's, Southwark. His impudence was measureless; and he had a very loud voice. There was nothing original in his proceedings, for there were several models to follow. One Francis Higgins, for example, a debauched Irish Protestant clergyman, had recently performed before the people, and made loud and lamentable outcries about the dangerous state of the church, the hardness of the times, the wickedness of the ministry, the lord-general, and all men in place. He had bawled in churches till the roofs shook; he had gone about the streets and suburbs of London raving and declaiming; retiring, after the spiritual exercises, to his ale and his women. But, though Sacheverell followed, he had the fortune to surpass this model. At an assize sermon preached at Derby on the 15th of August, he had made a terrible onslaught upon the government; and on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, he had preached before the lord mayor and corporation of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, upon the words of St. Paul,—"Perils from false brethren." In the latter sermon he excelled himself in abuse and scurrility; he held up Godolphin, the lord-treasurer, by the name of Volpone, to the detestation of all good Christians; and he inveighed against some of the bishops as perfidious prelates and false sons of the church, because they approved of toleration and were against persecuting the Dissenters. He asserted in the broadest terms the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and spoke of the Revolution as an unrighteous change and an unpardonable offence. With foaming lips and with fists thundering, he proclaimed that the Church of England, the Church of Christ, was assaulted by deadly enemies, and only faintly defended by professed friends; that it was necessary —now or never—to put on the whole armour of God, and to stand up in defence. The magistrates and common-councilmen, who, it is said, did not attentively observe his words (probably they were thinking more of the good dinner which always followed the Fifth of November sermon), gave thanks to the preacher as a matter of course; but Sir Peter King, who was one of them, "and the quickest of them all," complained that the sermon contained many things which were false, injurious, impious, and tending to sedition and schism in the church. Another alderman, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, "a man both eloquent and rich," was of the same opinion; and insisted that Sacheverell ought to be called to account. Nevertheless the doctor proceeded to print his inflammatory discourse with a flaming dedication to the lord mayor. The Tories, and all that opposed the ministry, cried the sermon up to the skies, and took so much pains about it that it was calculated above 40,000 copies were printed and distributed throughout the kingdom.—[Dr. Samuel Johnson said he was told by his father that nothing ever sold like it except 'The Whole Duty of Man.']—The ministers were irritated, and the queen herself pretended to be much displeased. The matter was laid before the council. The solicitor-general and others thought that the best way of dealing with Sacheverell was to burn his sermon and keep him in prison during the session; but the great Marlborough was for more violent proceedings, saying that such preachers might preach them all out of the kingdom: Godolphin also, who had been described in the sermon in a manner that was next to naming him, proposed severe measures; and the whole council agreed that the offender should be prosecuted. But still there remained a question among them as to the court in which he should be tried; nor were they unanimous as to the degree of punishment which ought to be adopted. Some were for leaving him to the ordinary judges in courts of law; some for calling him before themselves; but others were of opinion that he ought to be impeached before parliament. Sunderland was for the impeachment; Somers was against it. "I think it best," said Somers, "to make use of that ordinary method of process which our laws have provided. If the majority of the noble lords should absent themselves, or if the members of the Commons should revolt to the other party, you will then find it too late to have recourse to judiciary proceedings: for when your adversaries perceive you are feeble they

will become the more daring. Order a charge to be drawn up against the offender; but still take care not to consult your passions or affections more than your own dignity and usage: we are all of us liable to passion; and no man looks upon the injuries done to himself as small ones: for my own part, indeed, I look upon those which Dr. Sacheverell has done to the ministry to be very great; but, in the punishment thereof, let no hatred, revenge, anger, or passion interpose; for where these take place, the mind does not easily discern the truth; or, if it does discern it, it is not apt to embrace it; and that which would pass among others as anger only our people would call cruelty in the government, which is odious to all men." But this opinion, which tended to clemency, was overruled by the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, and their friends; and an impeachment was resolved upon. When the impeachment was moved in the House of Commons, Garrard, the lord mayor of London, and a member of the House, was examined upon the point whether the sermon was printed at his order or not. "Upon his owning it," says Burnet, "he would have been expelled the House; but he denied he had given any such order, though Sacheverell affirmed it, and brought witnesses to prove it: yet the House would not enter upon their examination; but it was thought more decent to seem to give credit to their own member, though, indeed, few believed him." Some opposition was made in the Lower House,* but the motion for impeaching Sacheverell was carried by a great majority. The proceedings, however, were so slow that the high church party, and the intriguing politicians in league with them, had abundance of time to agitate and prepare the people, who, among other things, must certainly have been moved by unpleasant traditions of the starchness and tyranny of the mass of the Dissenters when they had the upper hand. It was given out boldly, and in all places, that the Dissenters, the Puritans, and the Presbyterians were about to recover their old ascendancy; that a design was formed by the Whigs to pull down the church; that the prosecution of Sacheverell was only to try their strength; and that, upon their success in it, they would proceed to their object openly and fearlessly. It was observed that the trumpeters of alarm, the spreaders of these reports, were well supplied with money; and that a zeal for the establishment was kept warm and glowing by copious libations of strong ale. The common clergy generally espoused Sacheverell as their champion, who had stood in the breach, and they reckoned his cause their own. Hence the batteries of the pulpit were all on one side. Many sermons were preached both in town and country to provoke the people, in which design they succeeded beyond expectation. Their success, perhaps, would have been less but for the dearness of provisions, which put the poor in bad humour, and kept them in a state of mind proper for violence or revolt.

A.D. 1710.—Moreover, the Duke of Marlborough played into the hands of his enemies by causing fresh delays and interruptions. The Commons had voted the sermons of Sacheverell to be malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting on her majesty and her government, the late glorious Revolution, and the Protestant succession, as early as the 13th of December, and they had impeached him and taken him into the custody of their serjeant on the 15th; but the articles were not carried up to the Lords till the 13th of January (1710); and then, through Marlborough, who made many pretences to excuse himself from coming to parliament, saying that he was busy in preparing for the war, and that his duty called him over to Holland, the trial was not commenced before the 27th of February. There were also several significant little circumstances, which tended to convince the people of the truth of the assertions of the preachers and trumpeters, that the heart of the queen was wholly with the doctor, and that the honest and noble men in parliament would see the error of their ways and prevent cruel extremities. For example, when Sacheverell was brought before the Commons he was attended by Dr. Lancaster, vice-chancellor of Oxford, and by above a hundred of the most eminent clergymen in town, *among whom were several of her majesty's chaplains.* And though the Commons refused to admit the doctor to bail, and kept him in the custody of their serjeant, the Lords admitted him to bail as soon as the Commons gave him over to the black rod. In the mean time the clergy flocked together, and traversed both town and country, so that many places were full of riot, and little was heard in the land except the old war-cry of the church in danger. The lowest in condition were the loudest in their outcry: in the city of London butchers' boys, chimney-sweepers, scavengers, costermongers, prostitutes, formed the most conspicuous part of the church chorus and of the defenders of the doctor. It seems certain that the veteran Marlborough was more afraid of this kind of war than of stern contests in the field, like those at Blenheim and Malplaquet. *Perhaps* he had still some faint hope of recovering ground with the queen, by falling in with her well-known prejudices, or, at least, by withdrawing from the contest with the doughty divine. His friends were offended at his lukewarmness, as they could not s

* Harley attempted to palliate the offence, and described Sacheverell's sermon as too silly a thing to be dangerous—as "a circumgyration of incoherent words, without any regular order:" he would not say but some of the passages were such as he could not approve of, although he could not think them deserving a charge of high crimes and misdemeanors: the sermon seemed to him rather offensive than religious; but, then, the man was too inconsiderable to be prosecuted by impeachment. One of the members replied that Mr. Harley was making use of such a circumgyration of incoherent words as he had himself been condemning in Sacheverell; so that the House could not discover from his expressions whether he spoke for the doctor or against him. During all these proceedings Harley was in the habit of feasting with the zealots, and inviting them to dinner in his own house. The Earl of Nottingham also took extraordinary pains in favour of Sacheverell.

well answer for the success of their proceedings in his absence; many of the peers complained that he showed a disregard to his own honour in keeping away from parliament. And, while his friends were thus uneasy, his enemies availed themselves of the opportunity of his going over to Holland to insinuate, through Mrs. Masham, that he was gone to procure a petition from the army for the immediate removal of the favourite from the queen. It appears that Anne had for some time past entertained a dread that some motion might be made in parliament against Mrs. Masham: and now she sent about in much concern to many persons, imploring them to stand by her, as if some great attack were really going to be made. She invited a number of the peers to attend her, and earnestly pressed them one by one to be mindful of their duty to her, and to resist any petition of the army which the Duke of Marlborough might present to the parliament, and any attempt whatsoever to deprive her of the society and services of her present favourite.* Marlborough and his party denied that there had ever been any such project; but Cunningham asserts that some persons of distinction were reported to have proposed in secret conferences, held late at night, something tending to an address for removing Mrs. Masham, which was opposed by Somers, Cowper, and Godolphin, as too harsh, and not agreeable to the laws of the land, but hotly seconded by Sunderland, who was boiling with revenge. "The Earl of Wharton and the Lord Halifax," adds Cunningham, "who, with all duty to the queen, were desirous of having the kingdom governed according to the constitution, are said to have modestly insisted that evil counsellors of one sex, as well as of the other, might be lawfully removed from the throne, by the advice of parliament. But this affair continued still a secret: so that I know not anything of certainty more than that *many* were of opinion at that time, that the peers should provide for their own safety and that of their allies, and take care that the kingdom should not receive any damage. It appears that the Duke of Marlborough neglected the opinion of the Earl of Sunderland, who declared that he could find out and name such men as would manage this affair in parliament, and that he came into Lord Somers's sentiments, rather to wait for a favourable opportunity, than to expose himself and the government to hazard, upon the uncertain and not sufficiently approved custom of former times. He is therefore said to have politely waived certain petitions presented to him, when he was in his chariot, entreating him to put off his journey. He persevered in his resolution of going to Holland, even before Sacheverell's trial should be over: nor did the seditious tumults in the city detain him." London, indeed, had been a scene of riot ever since the arrest of the troublesome doctor. There was every day a prodigious mob, and the more respectable class of the citizens began to apprehend that all this drinking and rioting might not pass unattended with robbing and killing, or maiming. The susceptibilities of the purse were excited, and many declared that the cause ought not to be tried in a public and ostentatious manner at such a turbulent and dangerous time,—that it would be better to leave Sacheverell to be dealt with by his bishop, or, otherwise, to put off his trial till another time. The Lords, however, ordered the trial to be at the bar of their House; but, it being moved that Westminster Hall would be a properer place, they changed their resolution, and Westminster Hall was prepared accordingly, exactly in the form of the House of Lords; and the trial opened on the 27th of February, as appointed, with a wonderful deal of show and ceremony. A box was prepared near the throne for the queen, who attended in a private character. On the one side of the hall benches were erected for the Commons of Great Britain, and accommodations were provided for noble ladies and gentlewomen. There was a kind of platform raised for the managers of the impeachment, and another for the doctor and his counsel. There were galleries erected at the end of the hall for the people, who flocked thither in such vast numbers as to excite a dread that the whole erection would come toppling down upon the heads of those beneath. "The noble ladies who attended the trial were very much afraid lest somewhat in their dress or behaviour there should give occasion to the 'Tatler' or 'Observator' to turn them into ridicule in their papers: they came thither to see and be seen, or else out of a groundless opinion, that the church of England would be ruined by the punishment which was to be inflicted upon this one priest."*

When their lordships were seated, the Lord Chancellor (Cowper) asked whether it was their pleasure that Dr. Sacheverell should be called to appear before them? Their lordships, going through the form, answered aloud in the affirmative; and then Sacheverell came to the bar with great boldness and confidence, being attended by Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Atterbury, who stood by his side during nearly the whole time of his trial. The frog in the fable was nothing to the doctor! He was so swollen and inflated, so lifted up with the sense of his recently-acquired importance, that men who knew him well could hardly recognise in him their old acquaintance, the minister of a poor church in the Borough. Besides Smalridge and Atterbury (both learned ecclesiastics), Sacheverell had the assistance of counsel learned in the law, at the head of whom were Sir Simon Harcourt

* Cunningham.

* Cunningham. The Duchess of Marlborough says, "This application and the closeting some persons, who were known enemies to the Revolution, gave encouragement to the Jacobites; several of whom were now observed running to court with faces full of business and satisfaction, as if they were going to get the government into their hands. And this being represented to the queen, as a kind of victory gained by her over the Marlborough family, was doubtless one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation."—*Account of Conduct.*

and Mr. Constantine Phipps. The managers for the Commons were the Lord William Paulet and Lord Coningsby, Sir Thomas Parker, Sir Joseph Jekyl, Sir John Hollis, Sir John Holland, Sir James Montague, and Sir Peter King; Mr. Henry Boyle, Mr. Robert Eyre, Mr. James Stanhope, and Mr. Robert Walpole; Mr. Spencer Cowper, Mr. John Smith, Mr. John Dolben, and Mr. William Thomson; Sir David Dalrymple, who was appointed to be one of them, was by some sickness or indisposition prevented from attending the trial. Proclamation being made for silence, the doctor was asked if he was ready to take his trial before their lordships? He replied that he was, and should ever be ready to submit to the laws of the land. The articles of impeachment were then read, reciting—1. That Dr. Sacheverell, in his sermon, had publicly reflected upon the late Revolution, and suggested that the means used to bring it about were odious and unjustifiable. 2. That he had opposed and defamed the toleration granted to Dissenters, and had cast scurrilous reflections upon those who favoured and defended liberty of conscience. 3. That he had seditiously suggested that the church of England was in great peril under her majesty's administration. 4. That he had suggested to the people that the constitution, as well ecclesiastical as civil, was in danger of destruction; and had reproachfully called those, whom her majesty had promoted to high stations in church and state, spurious and false brethren: that he had plainly called the lord high treasurer of the kingdom *Volpone:* and had also given opprobrious names to the rest of the ministers; and, in the exercise of a sacred function, had wickedly wrested and perverted the Holy Scriptures.

Several of the managers for the Commons spoke long and eloquently in support of these charges; but the speech of the rising Robert Walpole was much admired by the Whigs: "I hope," said Walpole, "that your lordships' just judgment will convince the world that every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher, (the doctor will pardon me for borrowing one string of epithets from him, and for once using a little of his own language,) who has no hope of distinguishing himself in the world, but by a matchless indiscretion, may not advance with impunity doctrines destructive of the peace and quiet of her majesty's government, and the Protestant succession; or prepare the minds of the people for an alteration, by giving them ill impressions of the present establishment and its administration. . . This doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs some time or other of making use of it. What then can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, when the *law* is the only ruling measure both of the power of the crown and of the obedience of the people?"* After his counsel had pleaded Sacheverell offered a defence of his own, but which was suspected not to be of his own composition. He had probably been assisted in it by the learning and literary habits of Smalridge and Atterbury, who both, and especially the latter, must have despised the low-minded ignorant block head they were helping to convert into a champion of the church and of Toryism. In the first place the doctor dwelt at some length upon the dignity of the holy order to which he belonged, and which was equally concerned with himself in this cause. Then he excused his conduct with subtle arguments, expressed in logical forms; and he finished by calling God and his Holy Angels to witness that he had never been guilty of the wicked, seditious, or malicious intentions imputed to him in the Commons' impeachment. The Countess of Sunderland, one of Marlborough's daughters, and a lady as generally admired for her piety and virtue as for her exceeding beauty, was so much affected at this appeal to God to witness what she was convinced was a falsehood, that she could not refrain from shedding tears. But the majority of the "noble ladies" present felt the appeal in a very different way: they believed it to be the bold voice of innocence and truth; and some of them fancied that they almost saw ministering angels hovering round the wig of the impeached priest. The Duchess of Hamilton, in particular, "who always favoured the prevailing cause," exhausted her strength and spirits in proclaiming the doctor's innocence: and others likened him to St. Paul, who had said—"I could wish myself accursed or cut off for my brethren." When Sacheverell left the hall on the first day of his trial to return to his comfortable and well-stocked lodging in the Temple, the countless mob that had stood shouting during the proceedings in Palace Yard followed him with tremendous huzzas up Whitehall and all along the Strand. His more immediate body-guard was a company of London butchers, who are said to have been hired for the occasion. His chairmen—for the doctor used a chair—walked erect and elate as if they were carrying a queen, or something higher. The streets were thronged; and people of both sexes, "better born than bred," saluted him with great ceremony and profound respect from the balconies and windows; while some of them even threw down presents for him. The doctor officiously returned these compliments from his chair, nodding and bowing like a Chinese idol. He expressed a sovereign contempt for his adversaries, and behaved as if he were the doctor of doctors. "This huzzaing," says Defoe, "made the doctor so popular, that the ladies began to talk of falling in love with him; but this was only a prelude to the high church affair: an essay was to be made on the mob, and the huzzaing by the rabble was to be artfully improved.† On the very next day, the 28th of February, the second day of the trial, those who had attended the

* Coxe Papers, Brit. Mus.—State Trials. † Review.

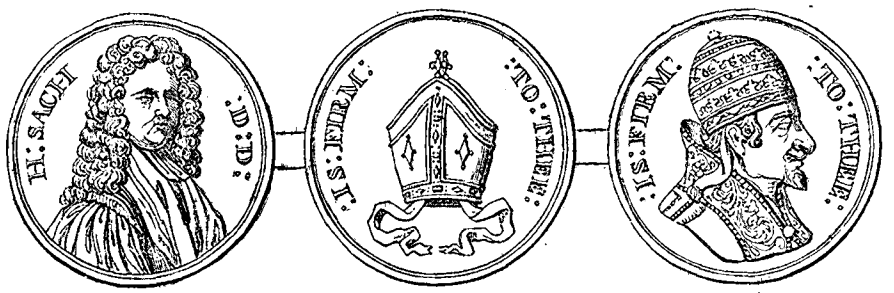
doctor to Westminster Hall in the morning assembled about dusk in the evening, together with a gang of sweeps, link-boys, and people of similar condition, and forthwith began to plunder and burn the meeting-houses of the Dissenters. The Tory writers represent that, as at the Revolution, when they thought their religion to be in danger from the Papists, the Londoners pulled down Catholic chapels and broke into the houses of several that were marked as zealots of the church of Rome; so now, when they regarded the church of England to be in as imminent danger from the Dissenters, they, in the like manner and of their own impulse, expressed their resentment against the Dissenters, which was a thing so natural as to excite neither astonishment nor any serious blame. But in reply to this miserable *tu quoque*, the writers on the other side maintain that it was not a spontaneous movement—that the fellows who began the riot acted according to instructions. [We should hint, however, that some men of the most liberal minded of the Whigs looked upon the riots at the Revolution and the present disturbances in a very different light, and that, while they held it to be an atrocious crime to make a bonfire of Dissenters' chapels, they could look upon the burning of the Catholic chapels in 1688 as a very venial offence. So slow have been the steps of religious toleration.] The first attack was made upon Mr. Burgess, minister of a dissenting congregation, in a court near Lincoln's Inn Fields. They broke into his meeting-house, now called Gate-street Chapel, carried off cushions and bibles, pulled down the pulpit and the pews, collected the benches, the curtains, the sconces, and everything that was combustible, carried them all into Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there made a bright bonfire, shouting as it burned, "High Church and Sacheverell! Sacheverell and High Church." A similar destruction, with the same sort of bonfire, took place at the meeting-houses of Mr. Earl, in Long-acre, of Mr. Bradbury, in New-street, Shoe-lane, of Mr. Taylor, in Leather-lane, of Mr. Wright, in Blackfriars, and of Mr. Hamilton, in Clerkenwell. When the mob came to Clerkenwell they destroyed the chapel belonging to St. John's parish—a chapel of the establishment, but which, in their ignorance, they mistook for a meeting-house, as it had no steeple. In outward and visible matters, they could only distinguish between a steeple and no steeple; and, if the conflicting creeds had been submitted to their examination, it may be doubted whether they would have known the one from the other. On the other side of the square, close to St. John's chapel, Clerkenwell, lived Bishop Burnet, who was certainly among the prelates that Sacheverell had denounced, and who, whatever may have been his other merits, was always the active advocate of toleration. The mob made a rush upon his residence, and would have treated it as if it had been a meeting-house; but the respectable people in the neighbourhood had the spirit to resist them; and upon the timely arrival of some of the queen's guards the rabble desisted. By this time the court was in a consternation, and presently information was received from the Directors of the Bank of England that the rioters were moving in that direction. The queen and all about her were seized with a paleness and trembling; but the Earl of Sunderland sent for Captain Horsey, and commanded him to march immediately with a detachment of the guards into the city. Horsey asked whether he was to preach or to fight. Sunderland replied that he must use his judgment and discretion, and forbear to resort to violent means, except in case of absolute necessity. But the skirmishers for the high church had not the least inclination to come to blows; and when George Purchas, one of their ringleaders, who had formerly been a life-guardsman, tried to make a stand with a few of the most resolute of them, crying out "High Church and Doctor Sacheverell," he soon found that he was left to cry alone, and that even his staunchest adherents were running away as fast as their legs would carry them—and, thus circumstanced, the hero was obliged to make a hasty retreat likewise. There was a slight show of opposition near Fleet Ditch, but, after receiving a few sabre cuts, and losing some of their number as prisoners, the rabble rout there fled likewise, leaving the guards in peaceable possession of the streets of the city, where they patrolled all night. Yet even in these disgraceful scenes there were encouraging symptoms of the national and deep-rooted aversion to blood—that most glorious attribute of the English people. Not a life was sacrificed, either by the mad mob or by the provoked soldiery: the maximum of the mischief to the person lay in a few broken heads and a few flesh wounds. Bishop Burnet says, that the rioters were directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney coaches, and were seen sending messages to them. Cunningham says it was whispered that the tumults were excited, and the rioters directed by many gentlemen in disguise, who threw money out of their coaches. "But of this," he adds, "there never appeared any legal proof: however, among others, there were some of her majesty's guards and watermen taken in the very act of rioting, so that the court itself was not free from suspicion: but the queen, in order to prevent all the reflections on her own conduct, issued orders to repair the damage, and promised that her servants should be brought to a fair trial." Yet "the trumpeters" were so far from condemning the riot or clearing themselves from the suspicion of being concerned in it, that on the morrow they reported with radiant countenances, that the like demonstrations of popular feeling had already been made, or soon would be made, in every country town of England.* If

* "They who had vehemently argued in parliament against resistance now practised resistance against government with open arms: and they who thought resistance might in some cases be warranted, seemed now resolved rather to suffer the last extremity than to repel force by force; and even the queen was thought by many not to be

the mob believed that Anne disapproved of their violence, they continued nevertheless to believe that her heart was with the doctor. On one of the days of the trial, as she was on her way to Westminster Hall, they gathered round her chair shouting "God bless your majesty and the church! we hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell." And at the same time they made several members of parliament, who were passing in a coach, take off their hats and shout, "Sacheverell for ever!" Throughout the whole of this famous trial, which interested and agitated all ranks and conditions of people, and which was continued upwards of three weeks, the Duke of Buckingham declared plainly that he considered it merely as a trial of strength between the two parties. The earl of Nottingham insisted that the ordinary forms of judicial proceedings ought to be strictly adhered to, and that the lords ought to determine and give judgment, like the ordinary judges, according to the law of the land and the rules of court. Several of the lords opposed this, urging that they had a legislative as well as a judicial authority—could make new laws as well as administer old ones—and were at liberty to proceed whichever way they chose, without being limited by any of the forms of an ordinary court. Somers and Cowper both spoke upon this important point: they confessed that nothing ought to be more carefully maintained in any country than the law of the land; which if once injured or taken away, no man could have any certain rule to know what was his own, and what another man's,—who was innocent, and who guilty: and therefore, there were judges appointed to interpret the laws and bound to proceed according to their very letter. But, on the other hand, since all contingencies and new circumstances, or new combinations of circumstances, could not possibly be conceived in express words, it was equally necessary to have other judges competent to determine according to the equity of the case, and not according to the strict letter of the law; that, therefore, the law of the land was not the rule in all causes, but that there must be on some occasions a power paramount to the written law. And to whom could this power be so fitly intrusted as to those who made the laws, and had made whatever was law in England? Nottingham then proposed that a question in reference to the particular point in dispute should be put to the judges;* but this was resisted "*lest the judges should, by degrees, come to determine concerning the rights and privileges of parliament.*" At last, however, it was agreed that the question should be put to the judges, but for their *opinion* only, not for their *determination* or sentence. The judges declared in favour of the jurisdiction and uses of their own courts, which, even at that time, was thought perfectly natural, and was foreseen; but the lords nevertheless proceeded in their own way, without admitting the opinion of the judges to be any impediment to their proceedings. The Duke of Leeds, now seventy years of age, delivered a speech that might almost make us pardon all his former misdoings, tergiversations, and meannesses. "What do I hear?" said he, "King William set down in sermons as an usurper! The Revolution a rebellion. Indeed if that enterprise had not succeeded to our wishes, both these assertions had been true; and the judges would have pronounced all of us who then stood up in defence of our country, our religion, and our laws, rebels; but, since the Prince of Orange's cause has been avowed both by God and man; since he has been acknowledged in our public records as the deliverer, guardian, and preserver of our nation; and his enterprise to be most glorious, and the establishment of our present government; I wonder how there can be any debate among your lordships about this matter. I am now in my old age to defend that cause in parliament, in which, on mature deliberation, I engaged and took an active part; and, if need should require, I promise, in support of the same cause, to meet you in the field. My lords, suffer not such matters as these to be made subjects of debate, nor any question to be started in parliament about what was done at the time of the Revolution." There were others who spoke to the same effect, and who yet, when the question came to be put, voted for the acquittal of Sacheverell, and this they are said to have done either out of resentment or out of disappointment of their expectations of places and employments. At last a question was separately put to each lord whether Sacheverell was guilty or not guilty; and he was found guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours laid in the indictment by a majority of 68 to 52. Three days after this, on the 23rd of March, the doctor was brought to the bar on his knees, and the lord chancellor pronounced this judgment:—"You, Henry Sacheverell, doctor in divinity, shall be, and you are hereby, enjoined not to preach during the term of three years next ensuing; and your two printed sermons shall be burnt before the Royal Exchange, at one of the clock in the afternoon, by the common hangman, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London." This mild sentence was looked upon by the doctor's friends and admirers rather as an acquittal than as a condemnation, and as an indubitable proof of the weakness of his enemies and the growing impotence of the Whig party. On that night, and for several nights following, there were illumina-

very consistent with herself."—*Cunningham.*—This author continues, rather ungallantly, "However, that a woman should be inconsistent is not to be wondered at, since the wills of women are nothing but humour or fancy, which, when it is rendered peevish by old age, is apt to turn to revenge, especially if it be irritated by any affront offered to their age, their bed, or their beauty; of this the French were fully aware, when they excluded them from all administration of government; which, if they had not done, all France had, before this time, under the name of pious donations, fallen into the hands of the clergy."

* The question put to the judges was—"Whether, by the law of England and constant practice in all prosecutions, by indictment or information, for crimes and misdemeanours, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal ought to be expressly specified in such indictment or information;" and the opinion of the judges being demanded, they unanimously declared, "that the particular words supposed to be criminal, ought to be specified in such indictment or information."



MEDAL STRUCK IN LONDON ON THE OCCASION OF SACHEVERELL'S TRIAL.

The Doctor's Portrait was accompanied by different Reverses, to suit the opinions of purchasers. In one case the Reverse would be a Mitre, emblematic of the Church of England; and in the other a head of the Pope, as the representative of the Roman Catholic Church. The Inscriptions, which are continuous, would then, in either case, read—"H. Sach, D.D. is firm to thee."

tions in London and Westminster, with bonfires in the streets—made, however, of less valuable materials than dissenters' pulpits and pews;—there was a deluge of ale and beer; and every one that passed by was compelled by the mob to drink to the health of the glorious Sacheverell. A few obstinate heads were broken, but generally these champions of the high church party were peaceful and merry in their cups. As for the doctor he was a greater doctor than ever: he returned from Westminster Hall in a grand ecclesiastical triumph; his chair was carried on high, and he was huzzaed by the mob like a victorious prize-fighter, or like a candidate for parliament coming successfully out of a contested and hard-drinking election.* For several days he employed himself in going from house to house to thank those lords and gentlemen who had voted for him, or befriended him in other ways: he congratulated them on their common delivery and present safety—for, since the Whigs and Dissenters had been able to do so little against him, it was as clear as daylight that they could not prevail against the mansion built on a rock, and therefore the church was safe. Wherever he went he was followed by a prodigious train, much more remarkable for their enthusiasm than for decency: they were butchers' boys, link-boys, and the like, who made the welkin ring. When the doctor came thus attended to return thanks to the Duke of Argyll, that nobleman commanded a servant to check him, and refused to receive either him or his thanks. "Tell him," said the duke, "what I did in parliament was not at all done for *his* sake." Many a lord might have said as much; but it was considered that the bold-fronted man might yet be useful; and therefore the high church party and the Tories in general continued for some time to pet and applaud him. The university of Oxford gave way to paroxysms of sympathy and gratitude. But it should be mentioned that that *alma mater* underwent a similar castigation at the hands of parliament; for the famous Oxford decree was ordered to be burnt at the same time and place with the doctor's sermons, and the whole university was held up by the Whigs as a nursing-place of slavery. If the House of Commons had had the power, neither the university nor the doctor would have been let off so easy: they complained bitterly of the slight punishment which had been awarded Sacheverell after so much parade and combustion, and so much bullying on the part of the preachers and the populace: they represented that the doctor, though condemned by parliament and by the bench of bishops, would be rather benefited than otherwise by being relieved from the discharge of his clerical duty, since he would receive his pay without work, and so be enabled to travel the country at his ease. On the other side, to keep his spirit up, presents were showered upon him; Lord Weymouth gave 50*l.*, and some more, some less, according to their means and inclinations. And Dr. Sacheverell, presently making a progress through the kingdom, was looked upon "as another Hercules of the church militant." Wherever he went his emissaries were sent before him, with his portrait, or engraved effigies, properly "done in brass;" pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of clergymen and sextons, country singers and fiddlers, a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded

* The doctor as he was has been ably painted by the Duchess of Marlborough:—"It must be owned that a person more fitted for a tool could not have been picked out of the whole nation. For he had not learning enough to write or speak true English (as all his own compositions witness); but a heap of bombast, ill-connected words at command, which do excellently well with such as he was to move. He had so little sense as even to design and affect that popularity which now became his portion, and which a wise and good man knows not how to bear with. He had a haughty insolent air, which his friends found occasion often to complain of; but it made his presence more graceful in public. His person was framed well for the purpose, and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves, white handkerchief well managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance; and the solemnity of a trial added much to a pity and concern, which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched than like persons in their senses. . . . . Several eminent clergymen, who despised the man in their hearts, were engaged to stand publicly by him in the face of the world, as if the poor Church of England was now tried in him. A speech, exquisitely contrived to move pity, was put into his mouth,—full of an impious piety, denying the greatest part of the charge (which the man had been known to boast of before), with solemn appeals to God, and such applications of scripture as would make any serious person tremble."

together to meet and welcome him. When the reader understands that this progress was made after the dissolution of the Whig parliament, which had prosecuted him, and during the turbulence of a new election, he will conceive the motives of the journey and the successes and excesses with which it was attended. The doctor, in fact, represented not merely the high church, but the whole Tory party; and wherever he appeared the Whig candidates and canvassers were put to the rout. In many of the country towns he found open houses, entertainments, and feasts provided for him as if he had been the foremost man in the land, and the person most entitled to reverence and gratitude. In one respect the fellow had a strong head, and his faculty of bearing an immoderate quantity of wine was of vast service to himself and to his party; for men still considered it essential in a Tory and high churchman to drink a great deal more than other people. One bottle was deemed puritanical, two looked lukewarm, but three bottles and a magnum were pure orthodoxy! But such drinking and feasting as now prevailed had not been seen for many a day; perhaps not since the Restoration, in 1660, when the same party drank upon their knees healths fathoms deep to the worthless Charles II.—There was, in fact, a universal swilling; for, in spite of prohibitory acts of parliament, that grossest kind of bribery—the corrupting of the poorer electors with drink—was practised to an unprecedented excess: every public house was thrown open, and every house was filled with riot and drunkenness. The University of Oxford held a high feast to welcome the champion of the church; but it is said that his arrogance and insolence and unspeakable ignorance disgusted most of the learned doctors there. The stately mansions of the Tory nobility were thrown open at his approach; and in several towns he was received by the mayors and magistrates in their formalities. He was generally attended by a numerous and mounted escort; and, but for his bands and his cassock, he might have been mistaken for a trooper. The avenues to these towns were lined with spectators, the hedges and trees were hung with garlands of flowers, flags were displayed on the church steeples, and the air resounded with cries of "Sacheverell and the church."* But there were some towns that would never join in this carnival; and, after a few weeks, when sobriety began to return, the doctor's picture, instead of being received as ready money, was frequently torn in pieces or converted to the vilest uses, and in many places he was rudely treated and refused admittance. When he was going towards Ely the people there were so provoked, that they threatened to do him a mischief; and in other towns he was saluted with stones as well as curses. Being far from any ambition of the honour of martyrdom, the doctor made the best of his way back to London. There he was very earnest for permission to make an harangue to the Company of the Bank of England; but the directors gave orders to turn him out of their doors. Sacheverell, however, had done his work, and had, more than any other single cause, helped the Tories back to their places. Five years after this, Bolingbroke and some others of that party thought that he would be a useful man to help to bring in the Pretender!*

The Whigs were disheartened, and the cabinet was distracted with opposite views and conflicting intrigues and interests. Some of them, upon seeing the humour of the queen, would have resigned at once; but Marlborough still indulged in some hopes of recovering the royal favour; and Somers, whom Anne continued to receive with a semblance of friendship, advised his friends to keep their temper and wait with patience till the humour of abetting and applauding Sacheverell should cool of itself, and die away like other aberrations of the popular mind. The session of parliament, which had been chiefly occupied by the doctor and his nonsense, was closed on the 5th of April, with a hearty wish (in words) on the part of the queen, "that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill intention." And every one knew that, though timid at the height of the storm, Anne rejoiced in the effects of the Sacheverell tempest, and was now looking confidently forward to the formation of a court and cabinet in which Harley should be predominant, and Mrs. Masham safe and honoured. The Duchess of Marlborough, who did many things both in the way of submission and cajolery, and in that of threatening and intimidating, unworthy of the high-mindedness and pride of character to which she pretended, had widened the breach instead of closing it; Marlborough himself had had the folly to quarrel with the queen about appointments and promotions in the army, which things were now getting into the

* "Everybody knows that he was afterwards sent about several counties, where, with his usual grace, he received, as his due, the homage and adoration of multitudes; never thinking that respect enough was paid to his great merit, using some of his friends insolently, and raising mobs against his enemies, and giving ample proof of how great meanness the bulk of mankind is capable; putting on the air of a saint upon a lewd, drunken, pampered man; dispersing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in, drinking their best wines, eating of their best provisions without reserve, and without temperance. And, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph, as the old fat monk did over a hot venison pasty, in his barbarous Latin—'*Heu, quantu patimus pro ecclesia;*' 'Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the church!'"—*Duchess of Marlborough's Papers.*

* Cunningham.—Burnet.—Life and Reign of Queen Anne.—Roger Coke, Detection.—State Trials.—Pamphlets.—In the Stuart Papers there is a "minute of what was resolved on by his majesty (the Pretender) and Earl Bolingbroke" (Bolingbroke was then an exile in France, and had been made an earl by the Pretender), and in this minute there is the following entry:—"Sacheverell to make his way to the king on his landing, unless he can be more useful in London." Lord Mahon fancies that this Jacobite entry may explain what were Sacheverell's principles; but it is surely doing such a contemptible tool too much honour to give him credit for any political principle whatever. As to the *principles* of many of those who made use of him, no doubt can be entertained: they all along looked to the restoration of the Stuarts—to the introduction of the Pretender as soon as Anne should die.

hands of Mrs. Masham, who, in the first place, favoured her own relations, and, in the second, those that bribed or flattered her. It was a common saying in the army that the best way of becoming a general was not by fighting in the field, but by carrying the favourite's lap-dogs, or by paying court with a well-filled purse to "Mrs. Abigail Earwig;" and the lord-general bitterly complained, in a letter to the queen, that all his victories, and all his zeal for her majesty's service and glory, could not protect him "from the malice of a bedchamber-woman." A few days after the rising of parliament, Anne gave an unequivocal proof of her intentions. The Duke of Shrewsbury, once the staunchest of Whigs, and one of the greatest promoters of the Revolution of 1688, returned with an Italian wife from a long residence at Rome, and joined the Tories in voting in favour of Sacheverell; and the queen now turned out the Marquess of Kent, and gave the office of lord chamberlain to Shrewsbury, in spite of her premier, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin.* By the month of June people began to talk publicly of the dismissal of Marlborough's son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, the worst tempered, but probably (after Somers) the honestest man in that cabinet. Anne hated him on account of the boldness of his language and of his projects about Mrs. Masham, which were all betrayed to her by some un-named member or members of the council.

Though Marlborough disliked the political principles of his son-in-law, and had even, in the first instance, opposed his admission into the government, he now considered his remaining in it as essential to his own security; and both he and his duchess made the most strenuous exertions to induce the queen to alter her resolution in this respect. "No consideration proper to myself," says her grace, "could have induced me to trouble the queen again after our last conversation. But I was overcome by the consideration of Lord Marlborough, Lord Sunderland, and the public interest; and wrote in the best manner I could to the queen, June 7, 1710, begging, for Lord Marlborough's sake, that she would not give him such a blow, of which I dreaded the consequence, putting her in mind of her letter about the duke upon the victory at Blenheim; and adding the most solemn assurances that I had not so much as a wish to remove Mrs. Masham, and that all the noise which had been about an address for that purpose had been occasioned by Lord Marlborough's discontent at that time, which most people thought were just. To this the queen wrote a very short and harsh answer, complaining that I had broke my promise of not saying anything of politics or of Mrs. Masham; and concluding, that it was plain, from this ill usage, what she was to expect for the future." The duchess wrote again to vindicate herself for what was now made the pretence for turning out Sunderland and driving her husband to extremities. "I told her," says her grace, "that all the politics in my letter was my concern for Lord Marlborough; making it, at last, my *most earnest request that her majesty would only defer the blow to the end of this campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my knees.*" But Anne, as we have said, was at least as obstinate as her father had been before her; and she turned out Sunderland, and gave his office of secretary of state to Lord Dartmouth, whose Jacobitism was only exceeded by his love of jests and sarcasms. To soften the blow a retiring pension was offered; but Sunderland, who did not share in his father-in-law's passion for money, indignantly refused it. "If," said he, "I am not fit to serve my country, I am incapable of plundering it." On this occasion several great men, "who wished well to their country," and who feared that the Duke of Marlborough, who was with the army in Flanders, might in disgust quit the service, as by this time he had repeatedly threatened to do, addressed to him a joint letter, imploring him, as he valued his glory, the success of the grand alliance, and the safety of his friends at home, to continue where he was and prosecute the war. This letter was signed by Cowper, Somers, Halifax, Devonshire, Newcastle, Henry Boyle, Godolphin, and Orford, who all remained in the cabinet, though they must have seen that the floor was sinking under their feet. The removal of Sunderland, who was so nearly allied to the Marlboroughs, spread alarm through all the courts of Europe, except that of France, where it was hailed with transports of joy, as a forerunner of the entire downfall of that able general who had so long been heaping defeat and disgrace upon their arms. Anne, however, instructed Secretary Boyle to write to the allied courts, in her name, to assure them that all their fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministers, and continue to intrust her army to the duke. Yet, within a few weeks, the queen commanded Godolphin to break his staff of lord-treasurer, put that office in commission, and appointed Harley chancellor of the exchequer. Harley made some attempts on the Whigs, and endeavoured, in particular, to effect a coalition with Chancellor Cowper and Robert Walpole; but his overtures were in all instances rejected. Thereupon Harley, knowing that he could do nothing with a Whig House of Commons,

* Godolphin wrote a strong letter to the queen, expressing his conviction "that she was suffering herself to be guided to her own ruin and destruction, as fast as it was possible for those to compass it to whom she now seemed so much to hearken." But this epistle was not likely to be of much use, particularly as Anne had privately given the chamberlain's staff to Shrewsbury two days before the letter was written. At this check Godolphin ought to have resigned; but it is evident at every step that our modern notions of ministerial consistency, dignity, and decency are *very modern*, and were altogether unknown to the politicians of those times. Robert Walpole, however, who subsequently gained power and kept it for many years, not less through his boldness and decision of character, and by the bribery he exercised and the eminent abilities he possessed, recommended an instantaneous and a universal resignation, which in all probability would have intimidated the queen. It is added that Walpole's colleagues were duped by Harley, who persuaded them that he only wanted to remove Godolphin and Marlborough, and "intended a Whig game at the bottom."—*Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

and knowing, also, that Dr. Sacheverell had done, and was actually doing, great things for the Tories, boldly proposed an instant dissolution; and the queen, after some misgivings, made up her mind to follow this advice. When her majesty appeared in the council-chamber to give orders for a proclamation to this effect, the Chancellor stood up to speak; but the queen silenced him instantly by saying, "Such is my pleasure—the parliament *shall be* dissolved." The proclamation was accordingly issued, together with writs for a new parliament; and then began that uproar which we have already briefly indicated. The canvassings and elections were said to have been carried on with such feuds and violence as had never before been known in England. Encouraged by the spectacle of the triumphant progress of Sacheverell, and of the high hand with which the Tories and high churchmen were carrying their elections, Anne proceeded to sweep court and council clean of Whigs. Lord Somers was turned out, and the queen's maternal uncle (the boisterous, hard-drinking Rochester) was made president of the council in his stead; the Duke of Devonshire, lord steward, gave place to the Duke of Buckingham; Secretary Boyle made room for St. John (Bolingbroke); the great seal, held by Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; Lord Wharton was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond in the government of Ireland; Lord Orford was removed from the Admiralty, and his office was put in commission; the Duke of Somerset had already thrown up his office of master of the horse, and entered into new measures with the Whigs, of whom, in a few days, not a vestige was to be seen anywhere in St. James's, except, indeed, in a few understrappers without name, character, or weight of any kind. If we are to believe the caustic Swift, who was struggling in the dirty streams of political faction to obtain promotion in the church, Mr. Harley himself would not let the Tories be too numerous, for fear they should be insolent, and kick against him; and for that reason they kept several Whigs in employment, who expected to be turned out every day.* It was confidently reported that the queen would not allow the Duke of Marlborough the opportunity of insulting her by resigning on a sudden, and leaving the army in confusion. Many conjectures were hazarded as to the great man to whom her majesty would confide the command of her victorious troops: some said it would be the Earl of Rivers; others, that it would be the Elector George: "but," says a Whig writer of the time, "those who gave credit to the latter report neither knew the Elector of Hanover's sentiments nor the queen's intentions, who never thought it advisable to arm the successor to her throne with her own forces."†

The inevitable consequences of all these sudden changes were doubt and discouragement on the part of the allies, indecision on the part of Marlborough, and an almost universal discontent in the English army serving abroad. Early in the year, before the Tories began to rise by clinging to the skirts of Sacheverell's black gown, Louis XIV. again made overtures for peace; the Marquis de Torcy, who had done all the preceding year that a good diplomatist could do, was sent again to the Hague; and Petikum re-appeared on the scene as a mediator, having promised himself some mighty reward if he could succeed in obtaining tolerable terms for the French. This busy minister of an insignificant power went to Versailles, carrying with him a message from Pensionary Heinsius, proposing that if Louis was really anxious for peace he should immediately sign the preliminaries proposed before, leaving the articles to which he objected open to future discussion in the conferences which must precede the definitive treaty. A difficulty arose immediately: Louis wished the negotiations to take place at the Hague; but the Dutch insisted they should be held in the obscure town of Gertruydenberg; and Louis was obliged to yield the point. The Abbé de Polignac and Marshal d'Huxelles were the French plenipotentiaries, and they were sent on their journey with instructions to be cautious, patient, and submissive.* On the 19th of March (1710) the two Frenchmen arrived at Maërdik, where they were expected by Buys and Vanderdussen, who were on board a yacht, and who were so punctilious as only to meet them half way upon the water. The negotiators accompanied the Dutchmen back to the yacht, near to which there were two other vessels, one destined for the plenipotentiaries, the other for their servants. Buys and Vanderdussen left it, however, to their choice whether they would live on board the vessels or in lodgings ashore. The Frenchmen, of course, preferred the shore: the Marshal, under pretence of sickness, landed immediately; but the Abbé passed one night in the yacht. The first conference lasted three hours; and, according to De Torcy, fully proved the necessity of that patience which Louis had recommended. The great stumbling-block was still the Spanish question. Buys, in a long speech, established, for the thousandth time, the rights of the House of Austria to all the States of the monarchy of Spain: Polignac and d'Huxelles insisted that Philip, the king *de facto*, ought to have some portion of that vast monarchy for his peaceful resignation of all the rest. The Dutch negotiators treated the proposition of a partition with contempt, and maintained that nothing was due to Philip for consenting to descend from a throne which he had unjustly occupied. During these first debates, which lasted with some interruptions from the 9th to the 24th of March, Buys and Vanderdussen received frequent dispatches and instructions from the Hague, where the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were residing, and making their preparations for a new campaign. From his declining influence at home, Louis had hoped that Marlborough would be indifferent to

* Journal to Stella. † Cunningham.

* Mémoires de Torcy.

the success of the war abroad, and even disposed to make a peace while the army was yet left in his hands; but the French negotiators saw, to their surprise, that Marlborough was as anxious about the war as ever.* To avert another campaign they offered to acknowledge the Archduke Charles as King of Spain—to withhold all aid from Philip—to give up four cautionary towns—to restore Strasburg and Brisac—to destroy all their fortifications on the Rhine from Basle to Philipsburg—to destroy the port and fortifications of Dunkirk—and to give up to the Dutch Maubeuge, Condé, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Tournay, and Lille. They seemed to waive the question of *dédommagement* for Philip, not even proposing the kingdom of Sicily; but, as Sicily was actually occupied by the French, Louis was resolved to keep it, with or without the treaty. Buys and Vanderdussen, however, spoke to this point; and, when forced to explain, Polignac declared that the kingdom of Naples was expected as well as the island of Sicily—that the union of those two States, now called the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was indispensable to the security of France, the liberty of Italy, the durability of the peace, and the balance of power in Europe. It appears to us that this difference would have caused the negotiations to fall to the ground, and that Louis and his diplomatists artfully shifted the cause of the failure from this point to fix it upon another, which far more interested the feelings of mankind, and which put his most Christian majesty in an amiable light. The allies had insisted that Louis should *compel* Philip to surrender the throne of Spain within two months, and join his arms with theirs to that effect, if judged necessary; and Louis and his diplomatists declared, that to enforce this condition was to outrage the ties of blood and family affection. Men forgot how small a share these feelings had ever had in the transactions of princes; and the *grand monarque* was pitied as a harshly treated old grandfather weeping over the fate of his grandson, and resolving, even in his extremity, to maintain a war against all the powers of Europe rather than fight his own flesh and blood. It was upon this point that the conferences at Gertruydenberg actually, or at least ostensibly, broke up. While they were going on, Philip, who had wonderfully increased his army in Spain, applied to his grandfather for the services of the Duke of Vendôme; and, before they broke off, Louis sent that duke into Spain to take the supreme command of the troops under Philip. It appears to us the height of absurdity to believe that there was ever any sincerity in the offer of withdrawing all French assistance from Philip, or in the declaration of Louis that he really intended that his grandson should evacuate that kingdom. But, again, Philip was by this time strong enough to defend himself if France would only keep closed the passes of the Pyrennees, and remain as a neutral but impenetrable body between him and the allies. The confederates knew this, and therefore it was they had asked for Louis's co-operation; and, in denying that co-operation, the French court gave what was equivalent to a positive refusal of the great *sine quâ non* of the allies, which, right or wrong, was, that Philip should cease to be King of Spain, and that the Archduke Charles should be put in his place. As Marlborough and Eugene took the field, and were obtaining other successes, the French renewed the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and offered that Louis, instead of taking up arms against his grandson, should be allowed to *pay* a certain sum to assist the allies in dethroning him. Buys and Vanderdussen opened their ears to this proposition, and asked how much Louis would pay per month, and what security he would give for such payments. Polignac and his colleague begged to be excused the naming of any precise sum; but they were quite sure that their master would pay liberally, and that this money would be of great help to the confederates in carrying on the war against Philip. According to de Torcy, Louis instructed his plenipotentiaries to offer 500,000 francs a month, and then to raise it gradually to a million of francs per month, if less would not satisfy the Dutch deputies. At this moment Louis had neither the money to pay, nor the intention to pay it if he had; and, on the other hand, the Dutch deputies had very high notions about the securities to be given. The French ministers then spoke of giving up the whole of Alsace; but this was to be upon condition that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne should be re-established as they were before the war, and that there should be no question about any ultérior demands whatsoever. But the negotiations again came to nothing, and each party accused the other of insincerity and of an entire want of a desire for peace. The ministers of Holland, of the emperor, and of England, published to the world that France, always artful, had explained herself obscurely, and that, if the intentions of King Louis had been sincere, his ministers would have spoken more clearly, instead of leaving it doubtful to the last whether they did not intend to secure Spain for Philip, and to keep possession of nearly all the places they talked of giving up.

In the mean while Marlborough and Eugene, at the head of 60,000 men, had invested Douay. Marshal Villars, after coming in sight, gave up his intention of attempting to raise the siege, and that important place capitulated in the month of June. The allies then moved upon the frontier town of Arras, but they found that place so well

* De Torcy, however, takes credit to himself for more sagacity. He says that he foresaw that Marlborough would be more eager than ever for the war, since now he could be nothing in England. "We learned about this time that his duchess had been completely disgraced. The Duke of Marlborough himself sent this news to his nephew, the Duke of Berwick. That disgrace was the first effect of internal agitations in England, and the secret intrigues of that court. . . . . Those who had most foresight judged that such a change, far from facilitating the peace, would raise new obstacles to its conclusion: they founded their conjecture upon the interest which Marlborough would have to prolong the war, as the sole means of rendering himself necessary, and preserving his employments and high authority, then violently attacked by the persons that were most constantly about the queen."—*Mémoires.*

defended that they did not attempt a siege. Turning to easier prey, they captured Bethune, while Villars kept retreating, in order to avoid a battle and to bar their road into the interior of France. It was observed, both by friends and foes, that Marlborough was no longer the same man: his confidence of success and his cheerfulness seemed to have abandoned him; and several sinister accidents, such as had not been known before in any of his campaigns, embarrassed his movements and augmented his too apparent vexation. A great supply of powder and other stores, under the convoy of 1200 foot and 450 horse, was intercepted and destroyed. This was but the beginning to other misfortunes. At the same time his attention was constantly distracted by the thick-coming reports of changes at home. He gave up the notion, proposed by Godolphin of attacking Boulogne and opening the road to Paris; and the campaign closed with the capture of two fourth-rate towns on the French frontier. As if one of these wars could only be brilliant by the eclipse of the other, the campaign in Spain was this year active in the extreme. General Stanhope, after attending to his duties in parliament, returned to Catalonia in the month of May, and there joined the Imperial general Count Starenberg. These two generals and King Charles remained on the defensive till some reinforcements arrived from Italy. Then they marched into Aragon, where King Philip was at the head of an army of Spaniards. On the 27th of July, Stanhope, leading the van, brought Philip to action near Almanara, and routed him in half an hour. Philip retired with his foot—his horse were almost annihilated—under the cannon of Lerida; but want of provisions presently forced him to continue his march to Saragoza. On the 19th of August Stanhope and Staremberg overtook him near the town of Saragoza, and defeated him a second time. Saragoza surrendered to the victors; and Philip, flying with a miserable wreck of an army, abandoned the whole of Aragon. After spending nearly a month at Saragoza, King Charles set out with Stanhope and Staremberg for the capital. On the 21st of September, Stanhope, still leading the van of the army, took quiet possession of Madrid, which seemed to be playing the part of a shuttlecock between the rival sovereigns. On the 28th King Charles made his triumphant entry, and paid his devotions, as became a Spanish king, to Our Lady of Atocha. A detachment was sent forward to take possession of Toledo, and keep clear the passage of the Tagus, it being expected that a Portuguese army would again advance from that side to co-operate with the allies in the heart of Spain. But the Portuguese came not; and Philip, still supported by the loyalty and affection of the Castilians, was preparing to return in force. Nor were these the only misfortunes that attended the Austrian claimant: his communications were frequently cut off by flying bands of partisans,—the peasantry carried on "a war to the knife," and fell upon all stragglers that wore his uniform,—and, moreover, advice was received that the French were in motion on the side of Roussillon, as if they intended to invade Catalonia, the only part of the kingdom really attached to the Austrian cause. Provisions also began to grow scarce at Madrid. The whole of the army moved to Toledo: that place was soon as uncomfortable as the capital; and Charles, thinking he could be safe nowhere but in Catalonia, fled back thither with the best part of his cavalry. Stanhope and Staremberg, with half-starving troops, soon followed his footsteps, leaving *King Philip* to enter Madrid once more. On the 8th of December, Stanhope, when separated from Staremberg, who was moving in a parallel line, was surrounded at Brihuega by a Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Vendôme; and, after making a gallant resistance, and burning nearly all his gunpowder, he was compelled to surrender with his 5000 English on the morrow. On the 10th of December Vendôme fell upon Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, where a battle was fought in which both sides claimed the victory. It appears that Vendôme suffered very severely, and that the Spaniards were completely beaten on their left wing; yet Staremberg was glad to continue his retreat, which he did the faster upon learning that the French had got into Catalonia, and that Girona had surrendered to the Duke of Noailles. He arrived at Barcelona with the remnant of the army of King Charles, who, in the autumn, had regarded himself as master of all Spain, but who now had nothing left to him save Catalonia, and that invaded. In the course of the summer an attempt was made to light again the flames of civil war in France,—or, as it was expressed, "a humane project had been formed for the relief of the Cevennois." The English and Dutch fleet in the Mediterranean, after conveying the reinforcements from Italy to Catalonia, landed 700 men in Languedoc, hoping they would speedily be joined by the Protestants in that province; but, after taking two or three villages, this paltry force retreated before 10,000 militia and 400 dragoons, and got back to their ships with the loss of about a hundred men.

But the war of parties at home was now exciting a far deeper interest than our foreign wars. Indeed, independent of other circumstances the latter had long since lost the charm of novelty; people were tired of long gazettes, rejoicings, and illuminations, and wanted a new excitement. The new parliament met on the 25th of November. Bromley, member for the University of Oxford, and chief urger of the bill against occasional conformity, was elected without opposition in lieu of the late speaker, Onslow. The queen, in her opening speech, showed that she was in the hands of new advisers. She no longer condescended to use the word toleration; but, in mentioning her resolution to support and encourage the church, she spoke of *indulgence* to be allowed

"to scrupulous consciences." This term of *indulgence* was the more observed because it was the pet word of Dr. Sacheverell, who held that whatever liberty of conscience Dissenters enjoyed was a matter of indulgence, and not of right. The Whigs, though in a minority, were still formidable, and the chief managers of the Sacheverell impeachment were in the House, in spite of the exertions made to prevent their re-election. On the other side, the queen had knighted Constantine Phipps, who had been counsel for the doctor on his trial, and made him lord chancellor of Ireland; and other Tories had received different honours and employments. As for the doctor himself, he had been gratified with a new living, and with as ample a licence of speech—out of the pulpit—as even he could desire.

A. D. 1711.—When the Duke of Marlborough arrived from Flanders during the Christmas holidays he met with the coldest reception possible. The usual motion of thanks to him had been dropped by his friends for fear of its being negatived by the Tory majority. The new ministers, however, waited upon him, promising that he should have all his present military commands, and also the nomination of the generals that were to serve under him. His wife had never ceased making efforts at court, by means of "*one* person" there, who happened to be in good favour with the queen, and to whom the duchess wrote long accounts of the past, justifying herself, and exposing the ingratitude as well as malice of her enemies. All these accounts that gentleman read to Anne, but he might as well have read them to a stock or a stone. According to her grace, the queen never offered a word good or ill, except on one particular point: Mrs. Masham and Harley had employed Swift and other writers to accuse the duchess of having grossly cheated her royal mistress of vast sums of money; and on that occasion her majesty was pleased to say, "Everybody knows cheating is not the Duchess of Marlborough's crime." Where there was so much received in what was deemed an honourable as well as a regular way,* there was no great temptation to embezzle and cheat; and the duchess was in all respects a higher-minded person than her husband, in whom the love of money became at last the ruling passion to such a degree as to make him stoop to all kinds of mean and paltry actions. The duchess, as mistress of the robes, boasts that she had dressed the queen for nine years for thirty-two thousand and some odd hundred pounds; and she asks if ever queen of England had spent so little in robes! "It evidently appears," says her grace, "that, by my economy in the nine years I served her majesty, I saved her near 90,000*l.* in clothes alone."† Anne's sister and immediate predecessor, Queen Mary, had been charged 12,600*l.* for her dresses one year, and 11,100*l.* another year. Just at this moment the duchess thought herself obliged to appear at court, "on account of some new clothes; which, as groom of the stole, she had by her majesty's order bought for her;" but the queen charged the *only* friend her grace had there to advise her, as from himself, not to come. It was scarcely possible, after this, to think of retaining her office, and it appears that the duchess of her own accord sent in her resignation. Lord Dartmouth, however, says that it was Marlborough that intimated the necessity of her resigning, and that she threw her gold key on the floor, and told him to do what he liked with it; and that then Marlborough carried it to the queen.* About one point there is no doubt—Anne accepted the resignation with eagerness and joyfulness, and divided the duchess's court places between Mrs. Masham and the Duchess of Somerset. It astonished most people to see the duke consent to serve when his wife was dismissed—to see him continue to hold the command of the troops under the ministry which had sprung out of a bedroom squabble, and which was sure to thwart him in all his measures. His enemies have generally accounted for this by assuming that the duke's avarice was at the bottom of it; but his lady assigns very different reasons. "The Duke of Marlborough," she says, "notwithstanding an infinite variety of mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to *make him* resign his commission, that there might be a pretence to raise an outcry against him, as having quitted his queen's and his country's service merely because he could *not* govern in the cabinet as well as in the field, continued to serve yet another campaign. All his friends here, moved by a true concern for the public welfare, pressed him to it, the confederates called him with the utmost importunity, and Prince Eugene entreated him to come with all the earnestness and passion that could be expressed." These were certainly powerful inducements, and they may have been mingled (together with that passionate fondness for a fine army which every good general must contract) with Marlborough's

* The Marlborough family were said to be in the receipt of 90,000*l.* a-year, including all their places and pensions!

† "Notwithstanding this," continues the duchess, "my lord treasurer (Harley) has thought fit to order the Examiner (Swift) to represent me in print as a pickpocket all over England; and for that honest service, and some others, her majesty has lately made him a dean." These words are from a MS. paper, written by, or rather for, the duchess, in the year 1713, but not published. In the printed "Account" the direct reference to Swift and the Examiner is suppressed, and it is merely said that Harley, afterwards lord treasurer and Earl of Oxford, "hired his creatures to misrepresent me (her grace) throughout all the nation as a pickpocket."

* The Duchess herself says, "When, after a very successful campaign, the Duke of Marlborough was returned to London, the queen most readily accepted the resignation which *he* carried her *from me* of my offices."—*Account.* There is a reason given by Horace Walpole for the implacable hatred conceived by the queen against the duchess, which is almost too gross to be mentioned to modern ears, but which, nevertheless, may have been perfectly true.—See his *Reminiscences.*

Mr. Hallam says, with strong and proper feeling—"It seems rather a humiliating proof of the sway which the feeblest prince enjoys even in a limited monarchy, that the fortunes of Europe should have been changed by nothing more noble than the insolence of one waiting woman, and the cunning of another. It is true that this was effected by throwing the weight of the crown into the scale of a powerful *faction*; yet the House of Bourbon would probably not have reigned beyond the Pyrennees, but for Sarah and Abigail at Queen Anne's toilette."—*Const. Hist.*

love of money. Lord Peterborough, who had fondly hoped to eclipse his fame, and who was held by the Tories to be a far greater general than Marlborough, meanly joined in an outcry against him in the House of Lords, where a vote of censure was carried against the late Whig ministers for the ill successes of the war in Spain. The eccentric lord was rewarded by an embassy to Vienna, and Lord Galway, his rival in Spain, and the man he most hated, was disgraced and censured by parliament. But it was in the House of Commons that the great strength of the Tories now lay. There they attacked the late Lord Treasurer Godolphin, and heaped all kinds of censures on the fallen ministry. Among other things they charged the Whigs with having preferred profligates and blasphemers to the true friends of the church; and they declared that both church and state had been saved from destruction solely by the great goodness and *wisdom* of her majesty. The Bishop of London, still the fiery Compton, had been labouring during the preceding autumn with the clergy of London and Westminster, and had got up an address to her majesty, which seems to have been held as giving a clerical sanction to this last procceding of the laymen in parliament. In this address Compton had spoken of "the unprecedented attempts lately made to undermine not only our excellent constitution in church and state, but all religion and government whatsoever." To gratify the clergy, a bill was brought in for building fifty new churches in the cities of London and Westminster—the want of which was said to have contributed to the great increase of schism and irreligion; and, that this church business might be done by proper hands, that devout Christian, Henry St. John (Bolingbroke), had been charged, as secretary of state, to communicate the queen's message upon it and the address of the archbishops, bishops, and clergy in convocation assembled. The Commons voted 350,000*l.* for building the said churches—being, as they said, "entirely disposed to promote everything that was for the interest of the established church."

For some time the Tories had been complaining that far too many seats in the House of Commons fell to men of no hereditary rank and of no landed property—that officers in the army, lawyers, merchants, and others living in towns and trading cities were gradually assuming that superiority which naturally ought to belong to the lords of the soil. During this session a bill was brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments by farther qualifying the members to sit in the House of Commons. Hitherto no such qualification had been thought of; but now it was enacted than no man should represent a county unless he had a real estate in land of 600*l.* a-year, nor a borough unless he had a real estate in land worth 300*l.* a-year. Scarcely any resistance was made at the time by the Whigs to this qualification act, which has since become a solemn mockery, and an opprobrium to the British parliament.*

Harley, by this time, felt his position a very uneasy one, and it is supposed that he must have fallen through the intrigues of his colleague St. John, but for a lucky attempt which was made upon his life, and which rendered him for a short time popular with the nation. Although it had been so often proved that such money was thrown away, or worse, the different governments of England, whether Whig or Tory, continued to spend large sums on secret services. Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Poles, all found encouragement; and the majority of these adventurers seem to have taken money from both sides, and to have betrayed the secrets (when they really knew any—which was not often) of both parties. Among the foreigners that fattened on this secret service money was a Frenchman who called himself the Marquis de Guiscard, and who got 500*l.* a-year. It is said that he was indebted to St. John for this liberality, and that he had recommended himself to that accomplished and then dissipated scoundrel of genius by administering to and sharing in his pleasures. Harley, who had no taste for such revelries and excesses, thought 500*l.* a-year too large a sum, and reduced the amount. Thereupon the Frenchman hired himself to the cabinet of Versailles, and began to supply the ministers of King Louis with secret intelligence. The correspondence was discovered, and he was arrested and brought before the English council. There he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John; but the secretary assured him that this was a favour not to be granted to a man in his situation. Guiscard then advanced towards the table as if he would say something to Harley, and stabbed that minister in the breast with a pen-knife. Fortunately for Harley, the pen-knife, striking against a bone, broke about half an inch from the handle. Guiscard struck again and again, and Harley fell to the ground with blood flowing from his breast. Then St. John, crying out "The villain has murdered Mr. Harley," drew his sword; and the rest of the ministers followed his example. As in all cases of this sudden and alarming kind, the scene is differently

* Previously to the introduction of this bill, an attempt had been made to carry an old bill, already lost more than once, for disabling all persons holding places from sitting in the House of Commons. This project failed again. Burnet says, then "another bill to qualify members, by having 600*l.* a-year for a knight of the shire, and 300*l.* a-year for a burgess, succeeded better; the design of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that, this being settled, the land interest would be the prevailing consideration in all their consultations. They did not extend these qualifications to Scotland; it being pretended that, estates there being generally small, it would not be easy to find men so qualified capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential part of our constitution, touching the freedom of elections: and it had been, as often as it was attempted, opposed by the ministry, though it had a firm appearance of securing liberty, when all was lodged with men of estates: yet our gentry was become so ignorant and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would neither be understood nor regarded." From the operation of this qualification bill a considerable portion of the aristocracy were exempt; for it was provided that the eldest sons of peers, or of any persons qualified to serve as knights of shires, should not be incapable of being elected though they had no such landed estates. The universities also were favoured, it being provided that those learned bodies should return their members as formerly.

described even by the eye-witnesses and actors in it; it is said, for example, that Guiscard attempted also to stab other members of the council, who all defended themselves with whatever came first to hand; that every one struck him as hard as he could with his naked fists, but that Mr. St. John pierced him through with his sword; that, on hearing the noise, the door-keepers and messengers in waiting rushed into the room, laid hands upon the assassin, and dragged him, with his bones almost all broken, to prison. Another account affirms that St. John was not the only one that used his sword, that Guiscard was wounded by several swords, and would have been dispatched but for Lord Paulet, who entreated they would not kill the assassin, but keep him to see what discoveries he might make. It is said, too, that Guiscard begged the Duke of Ormond to dispatch him outright; and that his grace answered, that that was not work fit for a gentleman. Lord Dartmouth, who was then one of the three secretaries of state, says—"He (Guiscard) behaved himself with great confidence before the council; and denied everything, till he was shown one of his own letters, which he endeavoured to snatch out of Lord Harcourt's hand. Having thrust himself between the Duke of Ormond and Mr. Harley, in such a manner that he could easily have drawn the duke's sword, if he had not depended on the other tool, when Mr. St. John refused to speak with him, he bent down as if he would have whispered with Mr. Harley, and gave him two or three violent blows upon the breast before anybody could stop him. When Boucier, the surgeon, came, Mr. Harley asked him if he were in immediate danger, (the pen-knife having been broken in his body), that he might settle his affairs, for he did not fear death, which was visible by his countenance, which was not in the least altered. After Guiscard was carried into another room, he desired to speak with the Duke of Ormond, which the Duke refused, unless I would go with him, which I did. He (Guiscard) lamented Mr. Harley, who, he said, was truly a great man, and to whom he had many obligations; and several times repeated that the duke of Marlborough was a lucky man. We asked him what he meant by that. He said he had often designed to have done as much for him (Marlborough), and now it was fallen upon a man that he would be glad to be rid of."* Notwithstanding his being an eye-witness, this rabid party-man is scarcely more entitled to implicit credit than Burnet, or any other writer on the other side. Burnet says not a word about Marlborough, but declares that it was Guiscard's intention to assassinate St. John, who, however, was so placed as to be out of his reach, whereupon he struck at Harley, who was within his reach—"and wounded him as much as could be done with so small a tool." The bishop adds, that the other members of the council drew their swords and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and then the attendants being called in dragged out the all but murdered assassin. Harley's wound appeared to be a slight one, yet he remained a long time in the hands of the surgeon. Some imputed this to an ill habit of body; some, among whom was his friend Swift, to the unskilfulness of his surgeon; and some thought it was a mere artifice to increase the popular interest. There can be no doubt, however, that Guiscard was left in much worse case. Whether wounded by the single sword of St. John or by the swords of all the company, he had wounds that were deep and dangerous, and when he was carried to Newgate he was considered by those who saw him as a dying man. Some of the members of the council visited him in Newgate, in order to examine him. Burnet says that his confession was kept secret,—Lord Dartmouth, that he confessed nothing, as he could not expect a pardon. "Two days after," adds Dartmouth, "he desired to speak again with some of the council: he began a story of a man, who, he said, had ill designs, but would not name him; and stopped short, and said it would make against himself; and rambled like a man that was light-headed; upon which we left him. His correspondence with France seemed to be but of a late date; and the intelligence that he gave was of a matter few of the cabinet had any knowledge of before they had read his letters; and he was never asked who he had it from—the answer being evident." This means that Guiscard had had his intelligence from his quondam ally and associate, St. John. If Guiscard discovered more than this, it was kept as under the seal of confession, and the unhappy man, whose intellect in all probability *was* deranged, died of his wounds in Newgate.* "This accident," says Burnet, "was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one who was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark." Both houses of parliament hastened to address her majesty, touching the late horrible and villanous attempt made upon the person of Mr. Harley by a French *Papist*. They affirmed that that minister's fidelity and zeal had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of *Popery* and faction; they pledged themselves to defend her majesty and all such faithful servants against all the attempts of her enemies,

* Notes on Burnet. There was a rumour as if the assassin had intended to murder the queen. On this head Lord Dartmouth says; —"If Guiscard had any designs upon the queen's life, his heart failed him, for he had been with her the evening before, and nobody in the outer-room but Mrs. Fielding, or within call but Mrs. Kirk, who was commonly asleep. The queen told me he was very pressing for an augmentation of his pension, and complained that he was ill paid."

* "This bold attempt having incited the curiosity of multitudes to go and see Guiscard in Newgate, the turnkey kept his corpse in pickle after he was dead, and showed him for money several days; which coming to the queen's ear, she ordered the body to be buried: and a law was made this session, which made it felony to assault a Privy Counsellor in the execution of his office."—*Life of Queen Anne.*

whether open or secret; and they desired that she would cause all Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. And accordingly a proclamation went forth, and the English Catholics, who had no more to do with Guiscard than the Mufti had to do with the church of Rome, were harassed and annoyed after the old fashion. If Harley had died they would have made a sort of saint and martyr of him; as it was he was revered as one that had run extreme danger for the Protestant cause, and there was no longer any doubting of the patriotism, and orthodoxy, and anti-Jacobitism of one who had had a French knife in him.* When he first appeared in the House of Commons, the speaker made a very pompous and very absurd discourse on the past dangers of the great minister; who, a few weeks after, was made lord-treasurer, and elevated to the House of Lords with the high-sounding titles of Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. The death of Lord Rochester, which happened just at this time, was considered as another signal piece of good fortune for Harley. But at this moment his colleague St. John was undermining his authority, and laying, among other plots, plans to monopolise the favour of Mrs. Masham, who continued to monopolise that of the queen. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more degrading state than that into which the government, as well as the court, had fallen: there were manœuvres, intrigues, back-door influences, bribery, and corruption everywhere, and frankness, sincerity, honesty, and disinterestedness nowhere. Even what was good and commendable in itself was brought about generally by base and treacherous means: Harley, or, as we must now call him, Lord Oxford, indolent and indecisive, did very little, and all that was done was done slowly, and every great state measure was made to partake of the character of a trick or a juggle at cards. On the 12th of June Anne prorogued this Tory parliament, which had voted with exemplary readiness upwards of six millions and a-half, though they had assured the people that their very first step would be to curtail the supplies, as passed by the improvident Whigs.

In the mean while Marlborough had gone to the wars—and this was for the last time. Earnestly summoned by Prince Eugene and most of the leaders of the allies, he went into Flanders and took the command; but he presently found that his authority was diminished and his force weakened, that many of his best regiments were drawn off for the now altogether hopeless war in Spain, or to be sacrificed in a paltry expedition to Quebec, under Mrs. Masham's brother, Jack Hill. On the other hand, the French had regained new spirits by the proceedings of the Tory cabinet at home, and by the assurances of their emissaries, that it was the main object of Lord Oxford to hurry on a peace—to secure a peace at any price, or at least without any nice attention to the treaties of the grand alliance, or to the great principle of dethroning King Philip,—and they seemed confident, both in camp and court, that they would see disgrace brought upon a general who had so often humbled them, and whose very name had been a sound of terror in their ears. But Marlborough's masterly conduct disappointed alike the hopes of the French abroad and of the Tories at home. Oxford and St. John, Dartmouth and the rest had been confident that in going to Flanders this year he was going to certain defeat and humiliation; and Marshal Villars, who had established lines which were deemed impregnable, and called Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*, all the way from Bouchain to Canchè, and who had directed movements to be made on the Upper Rhine, which compelled Prince Eugene to quit his friend to watch the French in that quarter, anticipated nothing less than full security for the whole summer, if Marlborough remained inactive, or a victory if he attempted to force those wonderful lines. Yet the result was altogether different: Marlborough, with admirable generalship, distracted the attention of Villars, forced his *impregnable* lines at Arleux without losing a single soldier, and then calmly proceeded to invest Bouchain under the eyes of Villars, who either could do nothing, or relied too much upon the prodigious strength of that frontier town. In twenty days Bouchain was in the possession of Marlborough, and Villars was covered with shame. These brilliant successes, however, only forwarded the secret negotiations between the Tories and the agents of King Louis. The Tories had pledged themselves to the queen to draw the country out of a war which had been too much prolonged, and to disentangle her from those alliances which William III. had made, and which Marlborough and the preceding Whig ministry had maintained and strengthened: they had proclaimed, as an unquestionable axiom in politics, that England ought to watch the balance of power, but to keep aloof from the disputes of foreign states—to engage in commercial relations with every country in the world, but to contract alliances offensive and defensive with none. This was neither the first nor the last time such principles were announced: they were clearly impracticable, and would have been very questionable in many cases, in reference both to honour and interest, if they could have been acted upon; but, this notwithstanding, they were acceptable to the masses of the people, who had had

* Yet only a few months before Guiscard's attempt—that is, about the end of 1710—Harley had sent the Abbé Gaultier (of whom more will be heard in the sequel) to the Duke of Berwick with authority to treat about the restoration of that duke's half-brother, the Pretender. By this plan Anne was to continue to hold the crown till her death, and then the Pretender, upon assurances and securities touching the national religion and liberties, was to be brought in upon the shoulders of the people. Nor were these secret negotiations without an effect. Berwick and the other advisers of the Pretender directed the Jacobites in the English parliament to fall in with the court and with Harley, who by their means would be enabled to obtain a decided superiority. At the same time the conclusion of a peace was an indispensable condition. When Harley had attained all his ends, he took no steps whatever to forward the great Jacobite plan; though he continued to lean upon that party for support at home, and to correspond with it abroad, representing the necessity of caution, yet still speaking as if the succession of the House of Hanover would be easily set aside on the death of Anne.—*Memoirs of Berwick.—Macpherson—Lockhart Papers.*

a surfeit of military glory, and who were now thirsting for a peace, which, however, they hardly desired with more eagerness than they had at the beginning desired the war. This popular feeling would in all probability have been less violent if Marlborough had been less grasping and avaricious, and his wife less arrogant. Another circumstance that made many men impatient for any kind of peace was their natural, and, we think, commendable preference of the pleasant light wines of France, to the strong and heavy wine of Portugal. It may look like a joke, but it is certain that this cause is very seriously mentioned by several writers of the day, and classed with the love of the church, and a hatred and jealousy of the Marlboroughs, as a contributor to the inglorious peace of Utrecht. "And now," says Cunningham, "I shall take this opportunity to speak of the French wine-drinkers as truly and briefly as I can. On the first breaking out of the confederate war, the merchants in England were prohibited from all commerce with France, and a heavy duty was laid upon French wines. This caused a grievous complaint among the topers, who have great interest in the parliament, as if they had been poisoned by port wines. Mr. Portman Seymour, who was a jovial companion, and indulged his appetites, but otherwise a good man; General Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough's brother, a man of courage, but a lover of wine; Mr. Periera, a Jew and smell-feast, and other hard-drinkers, declared that the want of French wine was not to be endured, and that they could hardly bear up under so great a calamity. These were joined by Dr. Aldridge, who, though nicknamed "the priest of Bacchus," was otherwise an excellent man, and adorned with all kinds of learning. Dr. Ratcliffe, a physician of great reputation, who ascribed the cause of all diseases to the want of French wines, though he was very rich, and much addicted to wine, yet being extremely covetous, bought the cheaper wines; but at the same time he imputed the badness of his wine to the war, and the difficulty of getting better: therefore the Duke of Beaufort and the Earl of Scarsdale, two young noblemen of great interest among their acquaintance, who had it in their power to live in magnificence or luxury, merrily attributed all the doctor's complaints to his avarice. All those were also for peace rather than war. And all the bottle companions, many physicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy, and, in fine, the loose women too, were united together in the faction against the Duke of Marlborough."*

* Hist. Gr. Brit.—To gratify these claret and champagne drinkers, an act had been passed in the preceding session, repealing the acts of the 3rd and 4th of Anne, so far as they related to prohibiting the importation of French wines. "This," says Burnet, "was not much to the honour of those who promoted it; the interest of the nation lay against it so visibly, that nothing but the delicate palates of those who loved that liquor could have carried such a *motion through* the two Houses. But though the bill passed, it was like to have no effect: for it was provided that the wine should be imported in neutral vessels; and the King of France had forbid it to be exported in any vessels but his own; it seeming he reckoned that our desire of drinking his wine would carry us to take it on such terms as he should prescribe."

Ever since the beginning of the year secret messengers had been going and coming between London and Paris—some employed and received by Lord Oxford, some by St. John, who, though equally determined on a peace, as the only means of keeping down Marlborough and Godolphin, were by no means agreed as to the means of obtaining it. It appears proved beyond the reach of a doubt that St. John wrote repeatedly to the Pretender at this moment, while Oxford, less enthusiastic or far more cautious, contented himself with sending word of mouth messages, unmeaning compliments, and vague hopes. Oxford, however, is generally believed to have been the first to make a direct overture of peace to the French court.

There was in England a certain Abbé Gaultier, an adept in gallantry, and in intrigues, political as well as amorous, even above the degree common to a certain class of French priests before the Revolution, who were little more than priests by name, or little better than profligates, panders, and *chevaliers d'industrie*. This Gaultier knew England well, and was in the closest intimacy with the Catholic Lady Jersey, the wife of a Tory minister. Oxford preferred him to others on account of his equivocal character, which would make it easy to deny and disavow his proceedings if they should fail of success and come to be discovered by the Whigs. The abbé, without papers, but fully instructed, repaired secretly to Paris, and easily obtained an audience of de Torcy. "Sir," said the confident priest, "do you wish for a peace? I am come to give you the means of treating, and of concluding one independently of the Dutch, who are unworthy of the honour done them by our king, who has so often addressed himself to them for the pacification of Europe." According to de Torcy himself, whose account we follow, "to ask a minister of France then, whether he wished for peace, was like asking a man suffering under a *long* and dangerous malady, whether he wished to get better." This minister, however, well aware of the fact that there were mountebanks and impostors of all descriptions going about to profit by the difficulties of their country, made Gaultier explain himself thoroughly before he would trust him in the slightest degree. "As to the means of conducting this negotiation," said the abbé, "only give me a letter for my Lord Jersey, saying that you are glad to have heard from me that he is in good health, and that you have charged me with your thanks for his inquiries. That letter alone will serve as my passport, and as my powers to listen to the propositions they are disposed to make." De Torcy was charmed at the facility of negotiating without committing himself. "This peace," says he, "was as absolutely necessary to us as it was unexpected by us. All our negotiations and attempts at negotiation in Holland had only produced a greater animosity and a more obstinate determination to continue the war; and England, more than any other power, had hitherto blown the fire. Yet the new

ministers of that crown now held a language totally different from that of their predecessors; and the advances they were making were the less open to any suspicion, as it was for their evident and personal interests that the war, the prop of the credit of the Whigs, their enemies, should finish immediately. They asked from the king no sort of engagement—no, not so much as the shadow of an engagement; Gaultier had orders to be satisfied with a simple letter of compliment, by which it would be understood that the general proposition had been favourably received in France." By order of Louis, de Torcy wrote the note to Lord Jersey, and gave it to Gaultier with *vivâ voce* instructions to assure the ministers of her Britannic majesty, that his master, justly irritated at the conduct of the States-General, would never again treat for a peace through them, but solely with England. The abbé travelled back to London, and shortly after was back again at Paris to inquire as to the advantages which Louis was disposed to offer to England as the price of her abandoning her allies, and recognising his grandson as king of Spain. Encouraged by the defeat of the Archduke Charles, the surrender of General Stanhope and the whole course of events in Spain, and not as yet alarmed by Marlborough's forcing Villars's boasted lines and capturing Bouchain, Louis was not disposed to offer very much; and all that he did offer was, that we should keep Gibraltar and have a free trade with Spain and the Indies. The secret of these negotiations was not long kept—probably Gaultier himself sold them to the Dutch—for, presently, Petikum intimated to Louis that, if he would enter again into negotiation with the States-General, he would certainly have reason to be satisfied with the Dutch. When neither party could hope to deceive the other any longer, Lord Oxford and St. John explained themselves to the States-General; and then it was represented that both England and Holland would be happy to contribute to the conclusion of a general, a definitive, and a lasting treaty of peace; that the republic was ready to join the queen of Great Britain to this effect; but that the propositions to be offered by France must be large and definite.* At this point the business became heavy, and Oxford slower even than usual. If Marlborough had been well beaten by Villars, the lord treasurer might have taken heart; but as the lord-general had gained, without loss of blood or loss of any material kind, advantages equivalent to a great victory, it seemed dangerous to run on too rapidly to make a treaty which could only have been justified by the annihilation of our army abroad and the defeat of our fleets. The people of England wished for peace, but were anxious that that peace should be an honourable one: if they should be irritated by any sudden and disgraceful treaty, their blessings upon the present pacific ministry were pretty sure to be converted into curses. Lord Raby, our ambassador at the Hague, represented that it was advisable and necessary to be open with the States-General, lest they should have reason to accuse us of taking our measures without them; and his lordship further said that all the letters from France agreed, that all the hope the French king had was to sow jealousies among the allies. But Mr. Secretary St. John soon prepared his excellency to entertain other sentiments, by acquainting him that it was her majesty's pleasure he should make all possible haste to St. James's, as there were many intrigues expected upon the *tapis*, concerning which the queen thought it expedient that he (Lord Raby) should confer with her ministers here. This Raby had been very anxious for an English peerage and for the title of Earl of Strafford, being a Wentworth, and cousin to the son of the man that had made the name of Strafford for ever memorable in English history: therefore, St. John, in the same letter, tells him that her majesty designs, upon his arrival in England, to give him the promotion in the peerage which he desired; and then, "that his excellency might begin to have some notions agreeable to the sense of her ministers," the secretary tells him that Britain "had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle our affairs without tearing or rending." Raby, in his reply, thought far more of his peerage than of the Dutch. He seems to have been in a paroxysm of gratitude. "You may be assured," he writes to St. John, "that I will venture anything, and undertake anything, to serve the queen: you may venture boldly to trust me with the *real intentions*. . . . . If you have a mind I should come over for the queen's service, I am ready to come in a yacht, frigate, packet-boat, or any way."* And in such ways as these did the court overcome the scruples of the few Tories that had any, about rushing on to a disgraceful peace as the termination of a long and glorious war. Harley, Jersey, and Shrewsbury pressed the queen not only to send the Abbé Gaultier back to France, but to send him in company with one of her own subjects—"a man of wit and fidelity, in whom she might put confidence." As the proper person they proposed Matthew Prior, the poet, who was already well known in France, where he had passed some years as secretary of embassy to the Earls of Portland and Jersey. "Prior," says de Torcy, "was renowned in England for his wit and poetry; but his best quality, at the present conjuncture, was a sincere desire for the peace, and his attachment to the Lord Treasurer Oxford." Accordingly, in the month of July, Matthew Prior was dispatched for France with the abbé, and with a paper signed "Anne R.," at the top, and "A. R.," but not countersigned, below, importing that he was fully instructed and authorised to communicate to France the preliminary demands of the queen, and to bring her back the answer. These preliminary

* Mémoires de Torcy.

* Prior's Negotiations.

demands, or private propositions, were, that the Dutch should have a barrier with a security to their trade; that the emperor should have a barrier on the Rhine; that another barrier should be erected for the Duke of Savoy, who should recover possession of all the places he had lost, and keep possession of all those which he had gained, or which had been conferred upon him by the emperor; that care should be taken to establish a proper balance of power in Italy; that positive assurance should be given that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united; that all the allies should be satisfied according to their agreements and treaties with England, and that their pretensions should be regulated and terminated to their common satisfaction: and, in relation to Great Britain in particular, that trade and commerce should be so settled as to give satisfaction to her majesty's subjects; that the government as now settled should be acknowledged in France; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should continue in our possession; that Dunkirk should be demolished; that the Assiento should be entirely in the hands of Great Britain;* that Newfoundland should be entirely given up to the English; that the trade of Hudson's Bay should continue in the hands of the French and English; that all things in America should continue in the possession of those they should be found to be in possession of at the conclusion of the peace; that all advantages, or liberty of commerce, that had been or should be granted to the French by the Spaniards, should be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain; and, finally, that the secret of the present overtures should be closely kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual consent of both parties concerned.† Upon the poet's arrival at Paris, de Torcy wrote to Secretary St. John, to express his great pleasure at seeing Mr. Prior again after an interval of so many years; and, at the same time, his regret that he had not greater liberty to employ those talents which he was persuaded he could have made a good use of. In his Memoirs the French minister says that Prior had good intentions, but very limited powers; that he could only listen to the answers made to the propositions he brought. The French minister conceived that the advantages demanded by England would ruin the trade of France and of other nations; but Prior told him that the service his mistress was willing to render the House of Bourbon, in *maintaining* King Philip on the throne of Spain, merited advantageous distinctions for herself and her kingdom. Prior *further attempted to* prove that England ought to be gratified with four establishments in Spanish America, anywhere between California and the straits of Maghellan. England, he said, had contracted immense debts, and must find some means of paying them—nothing was so likely to answer the purpose as to advantages resulting from her trade in America—King Philip ought to consider the sacrifices it would cost the queen of England to support him; for the Austrian claimant had promised her majesty all possible advantages, and had engaged, by secret treaties, to admit the English flag into the ports of South America as freely as the flag of Spain. But de Torcy represented, with good effect, that these bargains with Charles were very unlikely to be realised: that the throne of King Philip had taken good root in the soil of Spain, and that, except the Catalans, and a few bands of malcontents scattered here and there, the people of that country had unequivocally proved their attachment to the Bourbon, and their resolution to have him and none other for their sovereign. But there was yet another argument of which the French diplomatist could hardly make too much: by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph, which happened at Vienna in the month of April of the present year, the claimant, Charles, had been called to the empire and to the hereditary states of the House of Austria. If to these dominions this prince were allowed to join Spain, Naples, and Sicily, the Milanese, and the two Indies, his power must be excessive and dangerous to Europe. Were the allies anxious to see again the colossal might of the Emperor Charles V.? In beginning this war they had declared that their motive was a fear of seeing the crowns of France and Spain, the Indies, &c., united on one head; but would that union be less dangerous which they now seemed aiming at? Charles had put forth no declaration that the Spanish inheritance should be held separate, by a prince of his house, from the Austrian inheritance and the empire; but Louis had bound himself, and was ready to repeat the pledge, that, though a Bourbon prince should reign in Spain, that crown should never be worn by the same person that wore the crown of France. These particular arguments were overpowering; and if the expulsion of Philip and the establishment of Charles ought never to have been made a condition in the Grand Allance—as it never would have been if William III. had lived to work out his own plan—it was now certainly time to think of abandoning that principle. There was, therefore, in the great change of circumstances resulting from the death of the Emperor Joseph, sufficient ground to justify a change in policy, and an advance towards peace—though never such a peace as the Harleys and St. Johns were now precipitating.

As Matthew Prior was so limited by his instructions, the French cabinet sent him back to London, accompanied by M. Ménager, a very expert diplomatist, and by the poet's old friend, the Abbé Gaultier. All these measures were concerted with great secrecy; and in some respects there was a double mystery, for neither Prior nor even Gaultier was made acquainted with the instructions with which the French cabinet furnished

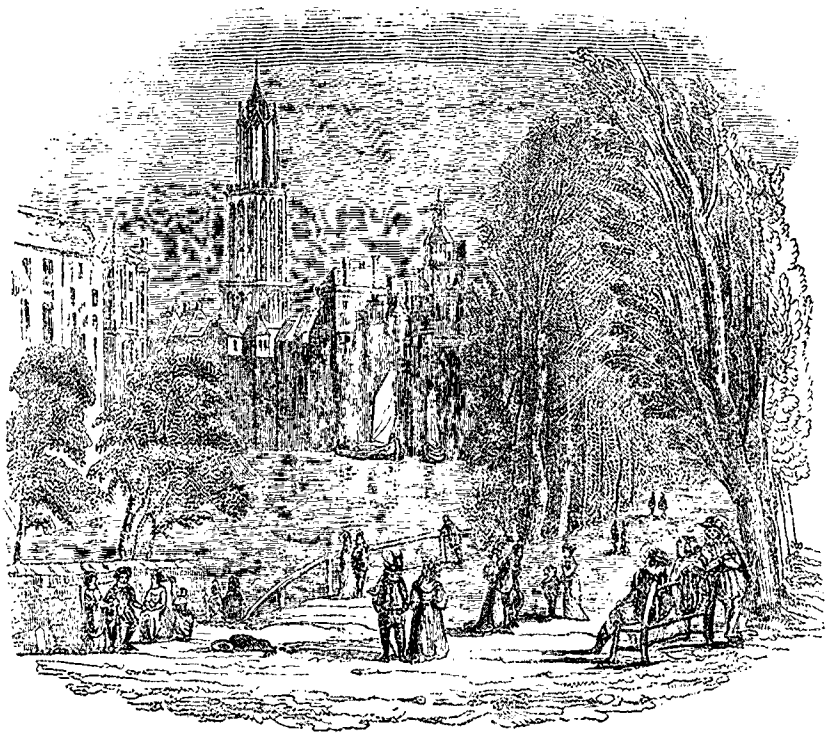
* The Assiento was the contract for supplying the Spanish possessions in South America with negroes from Africa. It had been formerly held by Portugal, but by France since 1702.

† *History of Prior's Negotiations.*—Mémoires de Torcy.

Ménager. These instructions were full and significant. Ménager was to demand an equivalent for the ruin of Dunkirk; he was to demand the restitution of some of the places which Louis had lost in Flanders, and particularly of Lille and Tournay. He was to offer some other places in exchange for these; but, above all things, he was to be circumspect, and only bid by degrees like a cautious man at an auction. The English poet, the French abbé, and the *homme de bureau* got safely and secretly into England; but at Canterbury they were discovered, and, having no regular passports, were seized by the master of the packet-boats, Mr. Macky,—the author of the Memoirs, from which we have quoted some quaint and amusing characters of the personages of the English court, cabinet, and parliament,—who had got information of Prior's illegal journey. If the Whigs had been in power there were acts of parliament which would have justified stretching the poet's neck at Tyburn; but, under the Tories, who had employed him, he was safe; and, after a short detention, he was liberated by my Lord Treasurer Oxford or by Secretary Bolingbroke.* One fine evening in August Prior was admitted into the queen's apartment; and on the same evening he waited on Ménager with her majesty's compliments, and her regrets that he had been obliged to come in so secret a manner. The poet also delivered courteous messages from Oxford, Jersey, Shrewsbury, and St. John, who had been appointed to open the conferences with the French agent. Anne, however, demanded, in writing, a categorical answer to all the propositions which she had sent to Paris by Prior. Ménager was greatly embarrassed at this demand; but he drew up a paper full of double meanings and equivocations, and with this the English ministers were so far satisfied as to proceed to the first conference, which was held privately in the house of Lord Jersey on the 26th of August, when Marlborough was bombarding Bouchain. But, notwithstanding every precaution, the conferences were discovered, and a large part of the nation became convinced that the Tory ministry were resolved to conclude a peace upon any terms. By the beginning of November preliminary articles were signed between England and France, and communicated to the ambassadors of the emperor and Holland. The emperor's minister instantly made the articles public through a London newspaper, and was forbidden the court. The Dutch minister was equally dissatisfied with them; but, after some altercation and correspondence, in which the able pen of Matthew Prior was employed, together with the still abler pen of St. John, they found themselves forced to consent to a congress, which was to treat for a general peace, and to meet on the 1st of January at Utrecht. The representations of the States-General, made on both sides the water, produced, however, some impression; and, though Anne's ministers declared, in a memorial, that the queen remained firm in her resolution of adhering to the preliminaries signed by Ménager and her ministers, it was also declared that a delicate attention would be paid to the interests of all the members of the Grand Alliance, and of those who had been concerned with them, or encouraged by them to take up arms in Spain, Italy, or elsewhere, and that care should be taken to obtain from his most Christian majesty full explanations of his intentions on these points. In France the signing of the preliminaries was hailed as an omen of succes and triumph, and de Torcy wrote to Secretary St. John that his master, King Louis, "wholly depended upon the secrecy and good use he would make of the entire confidence he testified to the queen of Great Britain." On the other hand, the Emperor Charles called upon the princes of the empire, in a circular letter, to persevere in all the objects proposed by the Grand Alliance; and the Elector of Hanover, who was only a step from the throne of Great Britain, remonstrated against the preliminaries in a strong memorial.

In the mean while Marlborough, crowned with fresh, but worse than useless, laurels, had returned to England to be insulted by the mob, to be baited by the ministers, and to witness the throwing in the dirt of most of the fruits of the most brilliant war in which England had been engaged in modern times. In taking leave of the States-General he said, he was grieved that he was now obliged to return into England, where all his services to their republic were to be turned to his disgrace. If he could derive satisfaction from the miserable failure of the new pet general of the Tories—Jack Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham—there was certainly occasion for indulging in that

* The account given of this odd transaction in the Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq., is very amusing. This Macky had partaken plentifully of the secret service money in King William's time, and had been instrumental in detecting several persons that were carrying on treasonable correspondence with France, with the exiled King James, and his son, the Pretender. These services were not much appreciated when the Tories got into power, and when St. John, the foreign secretary, was himself undeniably engaged in similar intercourse. "But," say the Memoirs, "the fatal information which was Mr. Macky's ruin, and which he hath never been able to retrieve, was a letter he received from Calais, that an English gentleman arrived there that morning in a boat directly from the river Thames; that he took post immediately for Paris; and that the boat waited his return. Mr. Macky sent this account to my Lord Bolingbroke, then secretary of state; who, by his secretary, Mr. Tilson, desired him to say nothing of it, but to look out for his return: accordingly Mr. Macky employed all his people between the Forelands, by which the boat must pass to return, to look out for her, and at last had advice that she landed at Deal three persons with my Lord Bolingbroke's pass. Mr. Macky, upon this advice, made haste to Canterbury, through which they must pass, and, to his surprise, found the gentleman going by the name of Matthews to be his old acquaintance Mr. Prior, and Monsieur Ménager, and the Abbé Gaultier. Mr. Macky dispatched an express that night to the Duke of Marlborough, then at the siege of Bouchain, with this important news: but whether his grace could not believe that the ministry would make such a step without him, Mr. Macky's letter was exposed, and a copy of it sent by Mr. Watkins to Lord Bolingbroke. Mr. Macky also took horse for Tunbridge, and acquainted the Bishop of Winchester and Admiral Aylmer with the matter, that they might inform my Lord Sunderland; he alarms Count Gallas and Mr. Vryberghen; and Mr. Macky being found to be the person who laid the train that sprung the mine, it brought down the indignation of the ministry furiously upon him. My Lord Bolingbroke threatened to hang him for keeping a correspondence with France. The Earl of Oxford ordered the postmaster to send his contract for the packet-boats to the attorney-general, for his opinion in point of law; his creditors were hounded out upon him; he was thrown into prison, and there he lay at the king's accession to the throne."



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feeling. While they were making their pacific overtures to France, in which they bargained for retaining every place in America which might be in their possession at the time of signing the definitive treaty of peace, Oxford or St. John* dispatched that precious brigadier-general to Quebec, to make the conquest of Canada, with 5000 land-troops, and a fleet under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. Hill, after various unnecessary delays and absurd manœuvres, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the end of the month of August. He began to ascend the mighty river that pours itself into the gulf, but before he could reach Quebec he was overtaken by fog and tempest, and driven among sands and rocks. Some of the transports foundered in the river; others were stranded on its banks with their crews, troops, and stores. The poor soldiers and sailors thus cast away were tomahawked and scalped by the wild Indians, or were subjected to scarcely less horrible treatment at the hands of the French colonists. Yet still, when the storm abated, and the fog dispersed, a brave man might have seen his way clearly, for the English force was still considerable, and the French ill prepared to meet it. But Hill, who was not a brave man, and who had as little military skill as the Abigail that had procured him his appointment, hesitated and quailed, and then called a council of war, in which it was agreed to return home as fast as possible. Hill reached Portsmouth in the month of October; but the fatality which attended the expedition was not yet over;—she had scarcely reached port, when the admiral's ship—a fine seventy-four—blew up with every soul on board.

During the recess of parliament the Tory ministry had been engaged in strengthening their interest by the distribution of titles and promotions. Wentworth Lord Raby, of course, got his earldom of Stafford—though, according to Swift, he was scarcely worth the buying, being "possessed of no parts, infinitely proud, and wholly illiterate." Sir Simon Harcourt, who held the seals, was created Baron Harcourt, and soon after was made lord chancellor: the Duke of Hamilton, who persisted

* It is suspected that St. John, who was as thorough-paced an intriguer as any French abbé that ever lived, promoted the expedition, and procured the appointment of Hill, to gratify his sister. All public men knew by this time—and St. John better than any of them—that the subjection of the queen to the low-minded Mrs. Masham was as absolute as it had been in former days to the high-spirited and clever wife of Marlborough; and it was precisely in his character and habits, in order to undermine Oxford, whom he despised more than he hated, to win over the bedchamber-woman at all hazards. Cunningham says decidedly, that Mrs. Masham was a principal projectress of the Quebec expedition, which was undertaken for her private interest. "The Earl of Oxford said, he had always opposed this undertaking; and that the managers of this American expedition had never given any account of the money, to the amount of 20,000*l.*, issued out of the Treasury for it; of which loud complaints were afterwards made by the impatient people. But all these things, through the queen's connivance, were overlooked: and the multitude of impositions was so great, that none of the public defaulters were compelled to refund their peculations."—*Hist. Great Brit.*

in his devious course, but kept mostly on the side of hot Jacobitism, was made an English peer under the title of Duke of Brandon: the Duke of Buckingham, being made president of the council in the room of the Earl of Rochester deceased, was succeeded in the office of steward of the household by Earl Paulet, who had been superseded in the Treasury by the promotion of Harley, Earl of Oxford, to the lord-treasurership; and Robinson, bishop of Bristol, on the decease of the Duke of Newcastle, was made lord privy seal—an appointment which reminded people somewhat too strongly of Archbishop Laud and his times, when churchmen of the most despotic principles monopolised so large a share of state business. Encouraged by all these symptoms and by the seeming prostration of the Whigs, who had achieved or completed the Revolution of 1688; convinced that it was the intention of the queen and of those who now governed for her to bring in the Pretender on her death, the enthusiastic Jacobites in Scotland had proceeded to some startling demonstrations of loyalty to the old dynasty. The Duchess of Gordon, who had so earnestly written to the Pretender—"Come when you please, and to what port you please, and you will be well received"—sent as a proper present to the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh a medal with a head on the right side, with the inscription "*Cujus est?*" and on the reverse the British island, with the motto "*Reddite.*" The head was that of the Pretender, and it was reputed a good likeness. The advocates, whose loyalty must have been enlivened by claret, voted by a majority of 63 to 12 that the medal should be accepted as a good and honourable present: and Mr. Dundas, of Arniston, in the name of the whole faculty returned the Duchess of Gordon most hearty thanks for this medal of their sovereign lord the king, hoping and trusting that her grace would soon have the opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the rightful monarch, and the termination of rebellion. This was too flagrant to let pass: the Duke of Queensberry, secretary of state for Scotland, was informed of the proceedings, and the resident minister of Hanover remonstrated against them in a formal memorial, to which Anne and her ministers could not turn a deaf ear without openly declaring against the act of succession. But the vindicatory steps taken were in reality worse than no notice at all. The lord advocate, Sir David Dalrymple, a stanch Whig and friend to the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, was disgraced on pretence of remissness in not prosecuting the makers and distributors of the medal; while Dundas of Arniston was let off, notwithstanding his printing and publishing a vindication of his treasonable speech and conduct, in which paper he out-Heroded himself, and treated the acts of the British parliament with contempt.

The session did not begin this year before the 7th of December. The queen delivered the opening speech in person. As long as the Duchess of Marlborough had enjoyed her good graces, Anne had to all appearance delighted in the war; and she had certainly, year after year, witnessed its continuance, and heard of the bloody battles and losses in the deadly breach without any visible emotion. Her weak and timid mind had even rejoiced in the fictions of the poets that made her a Bellona; but now the Tories were anxious to make her figure as a most tender-hearted sovereign, and as the proper type of the goddess of peace. They had represented that her majesty's heart was set upon putting a stop to that vast effusion of blood; that she had beheld with tenderness and grief the sufferings of her people, forced into the field, not to defend their native country, not to uphold the church and state, but to gratify the covetousness and ambition of her allies abroad and of her *late* ministers at home—"to the eternal reproach of Christianity." Although these preludes had prepared parliament for what they might expect, they were somewhat startled by the bold and reproachful paragraph with which Anne began her speech. "I am glad," said she, "that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." Marlborough was in the house when he was thus ungraciously reflected upon. Without the least regard to obvious truths, the queen declared that all her allies were ready to concur with her, and had an entire confidence in her. The more she had gone into measures or intrigues for sapping and undermining the Act of Succession, the louder had become her declarations, in public, of attachment to the house of Hanover, and of anxiety for securing the rights of that house to the crown as limited by parliament. On the present occasion, this matter, together with the Protestant religion and the liberty of the nation, was proclaimed to be her "chief concern."* On proposing an address of thanks, ministers found themselves abandoned by Nottingham, who was jealous of Harley, and who had been in treaty with some of the Whigs. Nottingham rose and made a long and striking speech against the address, against the policy now pursued, against such a peace as was now proposed, against the occupancy of the throne of Spain by a Bourbon, and against everything that had been done or was doing by the ministry. He moved that a clause should be added to the address, declaring that, in the opinion of that house, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, which allotted Spain and the Indies to any branch of the house of Bourbon. This gave rise to a violent debate, in the course of which Marlborough spoke with unusual heat and at a great length, being stung to the quick by the invidious implications of the speech from the throne. "I can declare," said he, "with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, who knows me, and now hears me, of this illustrious assembly, and of Almighty God, who is in-

* A few weeks before this, Anne had consented to receive a letter from her half-brother the Pretender.

finitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, I must soon appear to give an account of my actions, that I ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and far from any design of prolonging the war for my own private advantage, as my enemies have most falsely insinuated." Upon the question being put, it was carried in favour of Nottingham by a majority of 62 to 54, in spite of all the exertions of the court, who thus saw they had nothing to hope for in the House of Lords. When their lordships went up with their address, the queen told them very coldly that she was sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the house of Bourbon. This pious queen seems never to have hesitated at similar falsehoods and evasions: at this very moment she had entirely made up her mind to leave Spain and the Indies to Philip. In the House of Commons the Tories had it all their own way: the address, echoing part of her speech, assured Anne that they would use their utmost endeavours to disappoint as well the arts and designs of those who for private views might delight in war, as the hopes the enemy might have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any division among themselves. Robert Walpole proposed an amendment similar to that carried in the Upper House by Nottingham, but he found himself left in a minority of 106 to 232.

For some time matters remained in this state, the Tories carrying what they chose in the Commons, the Whigs in the Lords. In the latter House there was a strong antipathy to the Scottish peers, who were almost to a man Tories, if not Jacobites, and who began, as a body, to show too early a disposition to be bribed and bought by the ministry. The Duke of Hamilton, as we have seen, had been lately created Duke of Brandon. When he claimed the place in parliament which appertained to him in that quality, his demand was resisted by the Whig lords, who conceived the assumption to be incompatible with the limitation of Scottish peers in the Act of Union, and who urged the extreme danger to the constitution if the crown were allowed to crowd their House with Scottish lords, notoriously poor for the most part, and still more notoriously venal. After a vehement debate Hamilton's claim was rejected by a majority of five. It happened rather unfortunately for the consistency of the Whigs, that they had, before this, permitted the Scottish but Whiggish Duke of Queensberry to take his seat in their House as Duke of Dover, and had thus established a precedent directly in the face of their present decision. The Scottish peers, in a representation to the queen, complained of all this as a breach of the Union, and as a mark of disgrace put upon the whole nobility of Scotland, who thus seemed to be stigmatised as the only description of persons in the realm incapable of being admitted to the honours of the English peerage. For a time they kept away from court and parliament; but they were useful — particularly in the latter place—and the queen brought them back by kind promises and (it is said) by liberal donations of money. Nottingham soon proved himself an unsafe ally: he persuaded the Whigs that, if they would only allow the passing of a certain bill through the Lords, he could bring over to them from Oxford and St. John many of the Tories and high churchmen; and the Whig lords, in their anxiety for place, foolishly and basely consented. The bill in question was none other than the old Occasional Conformity Bill, which had been rejected three several times by the Upper House; but which now, somewhat, yet not much, shorn of its intolerance and fierceness, was carried through both Houses with little or no opposition. The Whigs, of course, hereby lost the sympathy and support of the Dissenters, without gaining that accession of strength which Nottingham had promised them from his high churchmen. According to Lord Dartmouth—" the court were glad to be rid of a bill they knew would signify nothing when passed, though often trumped up to make divisions and uneasiness; and Lord Nottingham had the mortification afterwards to see his bill repealed with some scorn, and himself not much better treated."*

The complaints and protestations of the Duke of Marlborough, who had hitherto borne his ill-treatment with astonishing meekness, inflamed the queen, and his steadily adhering to their opponents in parliament determined Oxford and St. John to complete his disgrace. The lord-treasurer had declared in a letter to the new Lord Strafford, that the general had put himself at the head of the Whigs, and had united himself with the foreign ambassadors, who were loudly complaining of the conduct of our court; and St. John had declared to the same party that Marlborough had been pursuing every counsel which was the worst for him. If the great general had bound himself to support the present cabinet, it is quite clear he would have escaped without further punishment; but his steadiness to the Whigs sealed his fate. Ministers matured their plans; and, on the 21st of December, Marlborough was charged in the House of Commons with having appropriated more than half a million of the public money, by taking and keeping 2½ per cent. out of the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and 63,000*l.* from Sir Solomon de Medina, and Antonio Alvarez Machado, the contractors for bread to the army. It was also made to appear that his secretary Cardonel, with his permission, had exacted from the contractors 500 gold ducats every time a new contract was signed. Marlborough pleaded established usage, and showed many precedents to justify these practices. He also maintained that his percentages and "perquisites" fell far short of the amount now stated, and were fully legalised by

* Note on Burnet.

the queen's warrants. The truth appears to be, that the whole administration of the army was very defective; that enormous perquisites, as they were called, were and had been left to the commander-in-chief; that Marlborough, in his inordinate appetite for money, had made the most of these sources of revenue, without, however, exceeding law, or rather usage and precedents, for law and rule there was none; that it was not always easy to separate the expenditure of the army from diplomatic and political outlays; that the queen's warrant expressly authorised Marlborough to reserve 2½ per cent. out of all money payable to the foreign troops, "to defray such extraordinary contingent expenses as could not otherwise be provided for;" and that she had approved and confirmed all such agreements as he might have cause to make hereafter respecting the said 2½ per cent., &c.*

A. D. 1712. Anne, however, after the Christmas recess, during which ministers had matured their plans, declared in council, that, as an information was laid against the Duke of Marlborough by the commissioners of public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might have an impartial examination. And then the queen herself, a stranger to all magnanimity, wrote him a letter announcing his disgrace, and attributing it to ill-treatment which she had received personally. The folly of the thing was equal to its meanness and pitiful spite, as she herself had just declared that his dismissal was owing to the charges brought against him in the House of Commons; while her ministers were representing that the duke's dismissal was a cruel necessity imposed upon her, by his putting himself at the head of those who opposed the blessed peace, on which the pious and compassionate queen had set her heart. Marlborough, whom Bishop Burnet compares to "Belisarius in Justinian's time," told her majesty that this was an ill reward for his long services, and that the inveteracy of his enemies had been more powerful with her than any other consideration.

But this was not the only work done during the Christmas holidays. Irritated and alarmed by the majority against them in the House of Lords, Anne and her ministers had endeavoured to "reconcile"—that is, to bribe and win over—some of the peers; and, finding their most strenuous endeavours unsuccessful, they had then resolved to turn the scale against the Whigs by making a new batch of peers. On the 1st of January the queen signed twelve new patents; and on the very next day twelve new lords in a troop took their seats in the Upper House.* These matters were not regarded so slightly as they have since been. "At the sight of this new proof of the ruined rights of the peers," says Cunningham, "the Tory party was observed, by their mutual congratulations, to be highly elated; while all sober men of the Whig party looked down upon the ground, as if they had been invited to the funeral of the peerage, and could not tell what to say. When the rights of the peers were thus violated, all things succeeded in parliament to the queen's wish; and the conditions of peace were approved just as her majesty, not to say as the French king, pleased." When the ceremonies of the introduction and oath-taking of the twelve new lords were over, a message was delivered from the queen, commanding the House to adjourn till the 14th, when her majesty would lay matters of great importance before them. Hereupon there arose a great debate; it was said that the queen could not adjourn one house of parliament and leave the other sitting; that, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of parliaments, the crown always addressed both Houses, never one House by itself. The Whig lords said, that, if this were allowed to pass, it might be established as a precedent for ordering one House to adjourn and leaving the other sitting—a thing which would amount to a total disjointing of the constitution. The question served as an immediate proof of the efficacy of the new creations; for it was carried

* In a letter presented to the commissioners of inquiry by Mr. James Craggs, Marlborough said—"Having been informed, on my arrival here, that Sir Solomon de Medina has acquainted you with my having received several sums of money from him; that it might make the less impression on you, I would lose no time in letting you know that this is no more than what has been allowed as a perquisite to the general, or commander-in-chief of the army, in the Low countries, even before the Revolution and since; and I do assure you, at the same time, that whatever sums I have received on that account have been constantly employed for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and in getting intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs; and it has fallen so far short, that I take leave to acquaint you with another article that has been applied to the same use, and which arises from her majesty's warrant, whereof the inclosed is a copy." The "other article" here mentioned, was the 2½ per cent., which Marlborough said had been applied from time to time "for intelligence and secret service, with such success, that, next to the blessing of God and the bravery of the troops, we might in a great measure attribute to it most of the advantages of the war." The chief witness against him—Sir Solomon de Medina—was a Jew, who, no doubt, had made a good bargain for himself in the contracts. It was attempted to prove that for all the large sums paid annually to him, Marlborough had been permitted to feed the army with very bad bread; but the soldiers *themselves denied the fact*. When Sir Solomon first appeared *before the commission of inquiry*, he expressed "much uneasiness of the apprehensions he had of being thought an informer, and of accusing a great man." But it is quite certain that this great contractor was at the moment convinced that he should never more get any profitable contracts from Marlborough, though he might make some good bargains by obliging the men who had supplanted the duke and the Whig cabinet. Those who are anxious to know the whole matter may be referred to Archdeacon Coxe's papers in the library of the British Museum.

* Several of these new peers were very inconsiderable persons in all respects. The twelve were—James, styled Lord Compton, eldest son to the Earl of Northampton, made Baron Compton; Charles, styled Lord Bruce, eldest son to the Earl of Aylesbury, made Baron Bruce; George Hay, styled Lord Duplin, eldest son to the Earl of Kinnoul of Scotland, who had married one of the lord treasurer's daughters, and who was made Baron Hay; Thomas Viscount Windsor, in the kingdom of Ireland, who received the title of Baron Mountjoy; Henry Paget, eldest son to Lord Paget, who was made Baron Burton; Sir Thomas Mansell of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan, made Baron Mansell; Sir Thomas Willoughby of Nottingham, made Baron Middleton; Sir Thomas Trevor, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, made Baron Trevor; George Grenville, Esq., of Stow, in the county of Cornwall, made Baron Lansdowne; Thomas Foley of Whitby, in Worcestershire, made Baron Foley; Allan Bathurst of Battlesden, in the county of Bedford, made Baron Bathurst; and, taking place before the two last, Samuel Masham of Oates, made Baron Masham. This Samuel Masham had no other merit than that of being husband to the favourite, Abigail Hill, Mrs. Masham, and now, *my lady*. It appears that Anne had some scruples *about* this last promotion. Lord Dartmouth says, "The queen *told me she never had any design* to make a great lady of her, and should lose a useful servant about her person; for it would give offence to have a peeress lie upon the floor, and do several other inferior offices; but at last consented, upon condition she remained a dresser, and did as she used to do."

against the Whigs by a majority of *twelve*.* The sarcastic and witty Wharton compared the twelve new lords to a jury, and asked one of them whether they did not intend to vote by their *foreman*. In the mean time the powerful Tory majority in the Commons pressed on their measures. They voted that the 2½ per cent. deducted by the Duke of Marlborough was public money, which he ought to account for, and that proceedings should be instituted by the law officers of the crown; and they expelled Cardonel, the duke's secretary, from his seat in their House. They also attacked Robert Walpole, who had excited the animosity of the party by rejecting overtures made to engage his great abilities on their side. Walpole, it will be remembered, had been secretary-at-war; and it was resolved, upon the report of the commissioners of public accounts, that he, Robert Walpole, Esq., a member of the House, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas, and in taking a note for 500*l*. more, on account of two contracts for forage for her majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, was guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption; secondly, that for the said offence he should be committed prisoner to the Tower; and, thirdly, that he should be expelled the House.† Walpole justified his trifling "perquisites," as Marlborough had done his great ones, by quoting usage and the precedents of former secretaries-at-war; but this did not prevent all the Tories, and a few of the Whigs, from saying that expulsion and imprisonment were too slight a punishment—that he deserved to be hanged.

The House of Lords re-assembled on the 14th; and on the 17th of January the queen sent a message to both Houses. After stating that she had not "recovered strength enough, since the return of her gout, to be present in person," Anne told them that her plenipotentiaries were now arrived at Utrecht, and had begun to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies. She assured them that they might depend on her communicating to her parliament the terms of peace before the treaty should be signed and concluded. "Thus," she added, "will the world now see how groundless those reports are, which have been spread abroad by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been treated of; for which there has not been the least colour given." The message ended with a sentence of alarm about the great freedom of the press, to whose attacks the Tories showed themselves far more sensitive than the Whigs had been, although the latter, when in power, had been assailed by all the concentrated malice of Swift, and by every possible species of abuse and vituperation. "Her majesty," said the message, "finds it necessary to observe, how great licence is taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government: this evil seems to be grown too strong for the laws now in force; it is, therefore, recommended to you to find a remedy equal to the mischief." By means of the new batch the address of the Lords upon this message was harmonious, and the highest satisfaction was expressed at her majesty's declaration, that there had not been the least colour given for those false and scandalous reports about a separate peace. But the Commons, in their address, went much farther than the Lords: they declared that the seditious reports which had been industriously and maliciously spread abroad to the dishonour of her majesty, that a separate peace had been treated of, could have been raised only "by some factious incendiaries, who, to cover their own disaffection to the present establishment and administration, and such secret designs as they dared not to own, had endeavoured to distract her subjects with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies." And, whereas the Lords had left unnoticed that part of the queen's message which bore upon the liberty of the press, the Commons, exceeding the royal alarmist, said, "We are very sensible how much the liberty of the press is abused, by turning it into such a licentiousness, as is a just reproach to the nation; since not only false and scandalous libels are printed and published against your majesty's government, but the most horrid blasphemies against God and religion. And we beg leave humbly to assure your majesty, that we will do our utmost to find out a remedy equal to this mischief, and that may effectually cure it." After this, persecutions of writers, and prosecutions of printers and publishers, were to be expected; and they soon followed.

The ascendancy of the high-church party in England, and the promulgation of principles which savoured strongly of Laud and those days when it was attempted to force episcopacy and the Liturgy upon the Scots by bullets and broadswords, greatly alarmed the Presbyterians of Scotland, who, on their side, had halted or made but a slow march on the road of toleration. This session a bill was brought into the House of Commons to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in Scotland, in the exercise of their religious

* "It is true," adds Burnet, "that the odds in the books is 13: but that was, because one of the peers who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for." It is said that these creations, which were then considered as a very bold measure, were urged on by St. John, and that he declared, in his dashing way, that, if these twelve lords had not been enough, they would have given the Whigs another dozen. Dartmouth says, "I asked Lord Oxford afterwards, what was the real inducement for taking so odious a course, when there were less shocking means to acquire the same end. He said the Scotch Lords were grown so extravagant in their demands, that it was high time to let them see they were not so much wanted as they imagined; *for they were now come to expect a reward for every vote they gave.*"

† Mr. Robert Man, Walpole's agent, refusing to deliver a copy of the promissory note for 500*l*., the House ordered that he should be taken into custody of the serjeant-at-arms, for having contemptuously refused to be farther examined before the commissioners of accounts. The borough of Lynn, for which Walpole sat, presently re-elected him, and thereupon it was resolved by the House that he was incapable of serving in that parliament, and that the said election was void.

worship, and their use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; as also for repealing an act passed in Scotland before the Union against irregular baptisms and marriages—that is to say, against all baptisms and marriages performed by the Episcopalian or any other dissenting clergy. This increased the alarm north of the Tweed; and the commissioners of the general assembly drew up a representation to the queen, setting forth that the act of 1707, for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian government in Scotland, was declared to be an essential and fundamental condition of the Treaty of Union, and was placed for ever out of the reach of any alteration or derogation, and even beyond the power of parliament itself. These zealots further represented to her majesty, that it was with extreme surprise and deep affliction that they had heard of a bill offered for such a large and almost boundless toleration, not only threatening the overthrow of their kirk, but giving a large licence to almost all errors and blasphemies, to the throwing up of all good discipline, to the dishonour of God, the scandal and ruin of the true Christian religion, and the infallible disturbance of their nation. They called upon her majesty, they besought and obtested her in the name of God, to interpose for the relief of the kirk, and set her veto upon the bill. But her majesty, who loved bishops above most things, thought that the toleration of episcopacy in the north was as reasonable as the toleration of presbytery in the south; and when the bill was passed by both Houses, she gave it the royal assent. This Scottish toleration bill included an important clause, prohibiting the magistrates of that kingdom from executing the sentences of the judicatories of the kirk, which was by this means deprived of some of its power of persecuting, and made less formidable in temporal matters. Nor was this all: another bill was brought in for restoring the rights of patronage in the kirk to the noblemen, landholders, &c., which rights had been set aside by the act passed for the restoration of Presbyterianism after the Revolution. The latter act, which gave the presentation to the kirk sessions, was held by the generality of the presbyterians to be almost a fundamental part of their establishment; yet the new bill "was passed through both Houses, only a small opposition being made in either. By these steps the Presbyterians were alarmed when they saw the success of every motion that was made on design to weaken and undermine their establishment."*

In the month of January, a few days after the disgrace of Marlborough, the companion of his glory, Prince Eugene, came over to England, charged by the emperor with the most difficult of commissions. Eugene was to endeavour to replace Marlborough in his sovereign's good graces; to represent the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the Grand Alliance; to urge on her majesty that she was bound, not merely by honour, but also by interest, to continue the war till France should submit to all the conditions laid down in 1706; and to propose a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which the emperor engaged to take upon himself a larger proportion of the burden than had been required from his brother and predecessor, Joseph. The English people received their distinguished guest with enthusiastic acclamations. "That prince's character," says Burnet, "was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen to look on him."* For a time both parties treated him with marked respect, and in a manner laid siege to him—the Tories to win him, the Whigs to retain him: but he destroyed the hopes of the former, and incensed the queen by passing the greater part of his time with the disgraced Marlborough; a circumstance, however honourable to himself, fatal to the objects of his mission. The Lord Treasurer Oxford, who, as Mr. Harley, had extolled the duke above all warriors, ancient and modern, one day attempted to make court to the prince, whom he was entertaining by styling him the first general in Europe; but Eugene replied—"If I am, it is to your lordship that I am indebted for it"—alluding to the recent dismission of Marlborough, who was no longer a general. After feasting him with wonderful magnificence, and exhibiting to his eyes proofs of the wealth of the English aristocracy and the profitableness of places and employments in England, the Tories turned against the prince; and began not only to abuse him, but to charge him indirectly with a share in many desperate plots and intrigues in favour of the Marlboroughs and against the queen and government. At that time, as the readers of our classical essayists are well aware, there was a fashion, among dissipated young men, of rioting about the streets of London at night—a mania which lasted for a time, and which, shorn of some of its brutalities, has been revived in a more civilised and altogether better age. The "Mohawks" of the period were, in fact, nothing more than the "Corinthians" and "Tom-and-Jerryists" of our own day. But malice is inventive, and faction scruples at nothing: the Tories coupled the drunken brawlers and rioters with Prince Eugene and the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and made some unthinking people really believe that the end of all this would be the assassination of her pious majesty and all her cabinet at the least; and if Eugene had been familiar with our vernacular, his ear must have been vexed with some very bad and very indecent rhymes; for some ballad-monger made songs about his mother, Olimpia Mancini, who was niece to Cardinal Mazarin, and not more

* Burnet.

* "I had the honour," adds the bishop, "to be admitted at several times, to much discourse with him: his character is so universally known, that I will say nothing of him, but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him: he descends to an easy equality with those with whom he converses, and seems to assume nothing to himself, while he reasons with others."

immaculate than the other princesses of her time; and these ballads were sung or bawled about the streets of London, by night and by day, unchecked by those who were expressing so much wrath at the abuses of the press. When the brave, accomplished, and modest Italian took his leave (in the month of March), the queen gave him a fine sword, with some assurances that she would be steady to the interests of the Grand Alliance; but these insignificant things could not conceal from one of the most acute men of that or any other time, that he had completely failed in his mission. Secretary St. John had declared before his coming that the allies were leaning "on the broken reed of a routed faction," and that they could and should obtain nothing through Marlborough and the Whigs. During the prince's stay—on the 14th of February—the Commons resolved that, in the treaty between her majesty and the States-General, for securing the Hanoverian succession to the crown of Great Britain, and for settling a barrier for the States-General against France, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain, and highly dishonourable to her majesty: and, secondly, that it appeared the Lord Viscount Townsend, who negotiated and signed, and all those who advised the ratifying, the said treaty, were enemies to the queen and kingdom. This was a proceeding the boldness of which must have been suggested by St. John—for the timid and vacillating Oxford was scarcely capable of it. Although rather too much was given or promised to the Dutch, the double object of the treaty was consecrated in the eyes of a very large portion of the nation: nothing seemed more fitting or desirable than to strengthen by diplomacy and treaty the cause of the Protestant succession, which was sure to be opposed by all the force and all the arts of France; and Holland, in contracting this obligation, had asked that England should guarantee her safety and integrity by procuring a chain of barrier fortresses along her frontiers to secure her from France—that is, the Dutch had only bargained for what the best and wisest of English statesmen had considered essential to the balance of power and to the safety of our own coasts and commerce.* Yet, although the treaty had been solemnly ratified by her, Anne, from a variety of motives, among which we may suspect an intention of weakening the claims and the means of the hated House of Hanover, was grateful to the Tory Commons for branding the barrier treaty and for reprobating so roundly the conduct of her displaced ministers. The States-General took the alarm, and remonstrated in forcible but courteous language. The Commons, set on by Oxford and St. John, drew up "a representation of the state of the war." In this very long paper they represented that the Dutch and all the allies had pursued selfish measures, and had failed to contribute their proper quotas to the war, the great weight of which had fallen upon England; that the Dutch had made great acquisitions, both of revenue and dominion, while the English had gained scarcely any territory and had sustained great losses in trade. The paper was presented to her majesty, who, in her answer, said she took it as a further instance of the dutiful affection of her House of Commons, who might be assured of her compliance with their wishes. She forthwith instructed the Earl of Strafford, now ambassador at the Hague, to intimate these complaints to the States-General, and to tell them, that unless they immediately increased their army in Flanders her majesty would decrease hers. The States, on their side, instructed their envoy extraordinary to represent to the court of Great Britain, that they could not admit the *suppositions* on which her majesty's declarations were grounded; to desire that her majesty would not diminish her troops at the present critical conjuncture, nor insist that the States should so suddenly augment theirs, when the condition of their affairs made it difficult or impracticable. The envoy also presented a memorial from the States, in which they insisted that by the letter of the grand alliance all the confederates were bound to employ all their strength by sea and land against the common enemy; that, as England was more powerful than Holland, so it ought to bear a greater share of the burthen of the war; that Holland had been exhausted by former wars with the French—wars that tended to the general security of Europe against the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV.—while England, no disinterested party in the struggle, as the conquest of Holland would be a great step gained to the conquest or invasion of her own land, had remained at peace; that England was now, and always had been, as much interested in the struggle as Holland, seeing that the French had set up a competitor for the British throne, and had threatened the annihilation of her trade in both Indies, in the Mediterranean, and in the Levant; that the States had, in fact, maintained upwards of a hundred thousand men in the Netherlands, while the English troops had fallen below seventy thousand; and that it was owing to the queen's not sending more troops in that direction, that they had been unable to send more than they had done to Spain, where, they acknowledged, their efforts had been inferior to those of the English. When contracting parties have made up their mind to differ,

* By this Barrier Treaty, which is less known than the famous treaty that goes by the same name and was signed in 1715, Anne, on the Protestant succession in England being guaranteed by the States-General, engaged to exercise her arms and policy in such a manner as to obtain for the Dutch the right of garrisoning certain fortified places in the Spanish Netherlands, which, moreover, should serve as the barrier to the United Provinces against France. The States-General charged themselves with the support of the said garrisons, and with the proper maintenance of the fortifications; but England engaged to furnish 10,000 men and twenty ships of war, in case the barrier fixed by this treaty should be attacked, and, in case of this aid proving insufficient, she farther engaged to declare war against the aggressor. As early as 1701, when the Grand Alliance was formed under the auspices of King William, the Dutch had proposed these conditions, and had explained how essential such a barrier was to their existence; but the treaty was not concluded by Lord Townsend until 1709.

or when one of them is tired of the alliance, the best treaty that ever was penned may be interpreted in different manners and explained away; and in a war carried on for such a length of time, and on so many different points at once, it must be always easy to misrepresent the relative efforts and objects of the parties engaged, and most difficult to obtain a true view of the whole case, even if honestly desired. Anne replied to the memorial of the States-General by a counter memorial, which was written by St. John with his usual point and clear style. It was short and insolent, and ended with an epigrammatic sentence, stating that, according to the Dutch, England could never give enough, nor the United Provinces too little. This English memorial was dated on the 8th of May (1712). More than three months before this, or on the 29th of January, the congress at Utrecht had been opened with a devout exhortation from the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, whom the Tories had thought proper to employ as their principal diplomatist. "We are this day met together," said the English prelate, who was an ungodly heretic in the eyes of most present, "in the name of God, to lay the foundation of a general peace between the high allies, and the French king your master: we bring sincere intentions, and also positive orders from our principals, to concur in everything on their parts which may tend to the furtherance and happy conclusion of so beneficial and Christian-like a work." He added that he was in hopes the other negotiators would be of the same mind, and that their instructions were so full as to enable them to explain themselves "clearly, roundly," and "without loss of time." But if the bishop really entertained these hopes, he soon saw that they were deceptive; the conferences became embarrassed by all sorts of conflicting pretensions; and nothing was so apparent in them as the returning confidence and assurance of the two French diplomatists, the Marshal d'Huxelles and the Abbé Polignac. The abbé took occasion to show that matters were now different from what they had been at the conferences at Gertruydenberg, where he and his colleague had been humiliated, if not insulted, by the Dutch deputies Buys and Vanderdussen; and when the Dutch ministers resumed their former tone the abbé told them disdainfully that circumstances were changed, and that they ought to change their language accordingly—that, if they persisted in their obstinacy, the rest of the diplomatists there assembled would treat without them, and about them, and that, too, in their own city of Utrecht. This abbé, who distinguished himself much more than the marshal, declared that the propositions made at Gertruydenberg were not to be considered, but that the propositions signed by Ménager at London were to be the basis of the treaty. In a *project* of peace delivered on the 11th of February, Louis agreed to recognise the title of the Queen of Great Britain, and the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; to demolish Dunkirk, upon condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede the island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay, and all Newfoundland, except the town of Placentia, to England; and to strengthen the present Dutch barrier with the fortified towns of Furnes, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Kenoq. But at the same time Louis demanded for himself, as a proper barrier for France, that Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douay, with their dependencies, should be delivered up; that his frontier on the side of the empire and of Italy should be the same as it was before the war; and he further required that the Spanish Low Countries should be given to the Elector of Bavaria; and that Lille and Tournay should be considered as the proper equivalent for Dunkirk. As for the Spanish succession, Louis only engaged that his grandson Philip should relinquish all pretensions to Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, in favour of the emperor. The ministers of the Emperor, of Holland, and of the other confederates that still clung to the great principle that a Bourbon should not reign in Spain, offered a counter project, requiring the restitution of the Spanish crown to the House of Austria; and, notwithstanding that Anne had renounced this pretension in the separate articles signed with Ménager, her plenipotentiaries made a show of agreeing with the allies. A specific answer was demanded *in writing*, but the French abbé and marshal hesitated, and at last refused, proposing to enter into a verbal conference on the subject. The demand was made by the ministers of the allies on the 5th of March, and on the 15th of April, when nearly six weeks had been wasted in *pour-parlers*, the Bishop of Bristol informed his employers that he did not find the French "much convinced of the necessity of dispatch;" that they took delays, and hints about breaking off the conferences, "with a great air of indifference, *well knowing their business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a negotiation carried on directly between London and Versailles.*"*

In the mean time Marshal Villars, drawn up behind his formidable lines, which he had strengthened since Marlborough broke through them the preceding campaign, covered Arras and Cambray, disciplined his numerous recruits, and gathered reinforcements and materials of war from nearly every part of France. The truce which usually precedes or accompanies negotiations for peace was not bargained for on the present occasion; and the French had never been more active in their warlike preparations than they were now, while the congress was sitting at Utrecht. They were, in fact, in a position, where defeat seemed almost impossible, and they were favoured by circumstances that seemed to give an assurance of victory. The English army were discontented and discouraged by the removal of the general who had led them so often to conquest and triumph,

* Mémoires de Torcy. — Prior's Negotiations. — Du Clos. — Voltaire.

and never to defeat; and the Duke of Ormond, to whom Anne and the Tories had given Marlborough's military appointments, was distinguished more as a decided Jacobite* than as a good soldier. Moreover, the Dutch having no confidence either in the sincerity of the queen or in the ability of her new general, refused to entrust their troops to Ormond, and appointed Prince Eugene to command them. There were thus two commanders-in-chief, and Eugene despised Ormond as much as he had revered Marlborough in the field. The States-General, however, not knowing but that they might be attacked by Villars, hastened to act on the offensive, and King William's old friend, the Dutch Earl of Albemarle, opened the campaign in the month of April, by burning and destroying some French magazines near Arras. In the month of May, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ormond assembled the allied army near Douay; and upon a review it was found to amount to upwards of 120,000 fighting men. Eugene proposed that with this imposing force they should immediately attack Villars in his lines, or invest Quesnoy, if the lines were found too strong. Ormond gave his consent. On his arrival at the Hague, that nobleman had declared to the States-General that his mistress intended a cordial co-operation with her allies, and especially with the Dutch;† and from his own letters it should appear that he was duped, and that he really believed he was to fight. But in a few days, when he was preparing to move with Eugene, Ormond received secret and positive orders from Secretary St. John to avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding any battle. The secretary further told him, that he must disguise and conceal the receipt of this order, which had been communicated to the court of France; and that if Marshal Villars should take any private notice of it Ormond was to answer him accordingly. And shortly after, Ormond received a very polite note from Villars, felicitating himself *on their being* no longer enemies. Ormond, though a Jacobite, a bad patriot, and a man of intrigue, was not without sentiments of honour, and he felt deeply the embarrassment of his situation. He represented to St. John the extreme difficulty of disguising the true reason of his conduct, having nothing to offer as an excuse for not marching upon the French with Prince Eugene: and, a little later (on the 8th of June), when he was harassed by the allies, who insisted upon knowing why he was ruining the hopes of the campaign by refusing to move, he again addressed the insidious secretary, stating "the extreme uneasiness of his situation"—that many of the allies "*scrupled not openly to say, they were betrayed.*" Yet in the end of this dispatch Ormond professed his willingness to submit in all things to her majesty's will and pleasure; and, as he submitted to continue to play a delusive and treacherous part, his honour, after all, could not have been very delicate. Before this letter was written the States-General had remonstrated with the lord-treasurer or prime minister Oxford, who had amused their ambassador with a flow of fair words, "as his manner was." But on the 7th of June the Whigs took up the subject in the House of Lords, having been incited by letters from Prince Eugene; and Lord Halifax moved an address to the throne, requesting a copy of the secret orders transmitted to Ormond, and beseeching that that commander might be ordered to act in concert with the allies. The lord-treasurer declared that the orders asked for were not proper to be divulged; but he assured the House he could be positive in saying the duke would not decline joining the allies *in a siege*. The Duke of Marlborough here rose and said that a siege of necessity implied the eventual risk of a battle, in case an attempt were made by the enemy to raise it.* To this military reasoning the very unwarlike lord-treasurer said not a word; but he thought it necessary to reply to accusations, now publicly made on all sides, that the queen intended to make a separate peace, and leave her allies in the lurch; and he solemnly declared that nothing of that nature was ever intended; that such a peace would be "so base, so knavish, and so villanous a thing, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation." Upon Halifax's motion being put, it was negatived by a majority of 68 to 40. The defeated Whigs thereupon drew up a protest, which was signed by 25 of them, and which declared the order sent to the Duke of Ormond to be derogatory to her majesty's honour, to public faith, and to that justice which was due to the allies. This protest was printed and sent to the continent, translated into French and other languages. Oxford, St. John, and the rest of the cabinet, were highly incensed and offered a high reward; but they could never discover who had given the paper to the printers, or who had printed and published it. In the House of Commons the Whigs were equally indignant at Ormond's proceedings, and equally unsuccessful. Mr. Pulteney proposed a vote of censure upon ministers for the orders they had sent to the duke; but he

* "At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the small-pox: he recovered of them; but his sister, who was taken with the same disease, died of it. She was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects; insomuch that a very great character was spread of her by those who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himself: thus he lost a great strength which she procured to him, from all who saw or conversed with her."—*Burnet.*

† But shortly before Ormond went to the Low Countries, Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the lord-treasurer, arrived at Utrecht accompanied by the Abbé Gaultier; and these two secret agents told the English plenipotentiaries that the English government was determined to be at peace, and not to take part in the campaign. They also communicated the scheme of a treaty, which was kept carefully concealed from the Dutch.

* Voltaire says that, when he was in England, such was the violence of party that he heard people call Marlborough a coward, and Pope a blockhead. In the course of the present debate, Lord Paulet, a member of the Tory cabinet, hinted that Marlborough never exposed himself in battle, while he exposed his officers in order to benefit by their deaths. "No one," said Paulet, "can doubt the *courage* of the Duke of Ormond: he is not like a certain general who led troops to the slaughter, and got officers knocked on the head, in order to fill his pockets by the sale of their commissions." For this gross attack, Marlborough sent Paulet a challenge; and Paulet, who could talk of a courage that he did not possess himself, let his wife know that he was going to fight a duel. The consequence was, Lord Dartmouth placed two sentries at his door, and told his lordship he was under arrest; and the queen laid her orders upon Marlborough not to fight—and so the affair ended.

was defeated by a majority of 203 to 73. During the debate, St. John behaved with exceeding arrogance; telling some of the Whigs that men had been sent to the Tower for saying less against the sovereign than they had said, but that some members who were ambitious of that honour should be disappointed of it. A letter sent over by the States-General, and represented as being calculated chiefly to raise the passions of the mob and give them ill impressions of her majesty and the treaty she was carrying on, was printed and dispersed throughout England, and was the cause of fresh ministerial execrations of the press. The letter itself contained statements of facts difficult to answer or to excuse. The Dutch reminded her majesty of the assurances she had given them, that her army should act with its usual vigour, and that if she broke her engagements there could be for the future no faith put in any alliances or treaties. While Mr. Thomas Harley and the Abbé Gaultier intrigued and corresponded with the French ministers and their agents in Holland, Secretary St. John kept up a close correspondence, begun several months before, with the Marquis de Torcy. In St. John's earlier letters he talks about a renunciation by Philip of the French crown; but de Torcy shows him that any such renunciation would be null and invalid according to the laws of France; that there, when the king died, the next of the blood royal succeeded him on the throne, which he did not hold of the former king, nor of the people, nor of his own will, but by the right of blood as sovereign lord of the kingdom; that these laws could be abolished by God alone, and could not be overruled by any renunciation, abdication, or edict whatsoever; and that, though Philip, as King of Spain, should, for the sake of peace, give up his right to France, his cession would be invalid, and he would still be King of France, if no nearer heir stood before him, by the law of nature or the law of God. In reply to this the English secretary had stated—"It matters not much to us, what opinion is entertained in France as to the right of succession, so long as we in Britain believe that any one may give up his own right, and that the sureties of that cession may maintain the validity of it by force of arms. In short it is her majesty's resolution to have it done." The necessity, indeed, seemed imperative. By succeeding to the empire and the hereditary dominions of Austria, Charles had arrayed against his Spanish claims a host of politicians, who had formerly preferred him to Philip; but death had been still busier in the house of Bourbon than in the house of Hapsburg: the Dauphin, Louis XIV.'s son, had gone to the grave the preceding year, the Dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy, had followed in the spring of the present year, and Burgundy again had been followed by his eldest son, a child of six years; so that there now remained nothing but a sickly child, two years old,* between Philip King of Spain and the throne of France. Hence the Union of the two crowns—the Hydra of Europe—seemed almost certain, and, if not prevented, a ten years' war had been useless. If it was dangerous to see the Spanish crown re-united with Austria as it had been in the time of Charles V., it was still more dangerous to the independence of Europe to see it joined with France, the neighbour country—the country in itself so square and compact, and so powerful as to have been able, even by itself, to face the whole might of the Emperor Charles V.! This was the reasoning of every statesman in Europe, not a Frenchman. In England old national prejudices and jealousies were thrown into the same scale, and Anne's ministers were compelled to insist upon the renunciation, though they seem to have cared little about the fact, that it was and would be considered of no effect by the French, and that, if the infant nephew of Philip should die—and there was every prospect of that—Philip would step into his place. Louis XIV. was so aged that it was scarcely safe to count upon his life for three months. St. John therefore pressed de Torcy, and the French court finally complied. On the 18th of May de Torcy assured the English secretary that the king, his master, had sent King Philip positive orders either to renounce his right to the kingdom of France, or to give up the kingdom of Spain. At this point the Bishop of Bristol had intimated to the Dutch that, unless they coincided with his mistress, her majesty would consider herself disengaged from any treaty or alliance with them; and nothing was done to soften this declaration, except talking about the concession of some fortified places, in which the Dutch had their own garrisons.

On the 5th of June Anne went down to the House of Lords; and in a long speech announced to both Houses the terms upon which an honourable and profitable peace might be made with France. These terms or conditions were, that Louis XIV. should remove the Pretender out of his dominions, acknowledge the Protestant succession, &c.; that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one head; that King Philip should renounce the succession of France if it should devolve on him, and put the next heir to himself in that succession; that the respective kings of France and Spain should make solemn renunciations for themselves and their heirs for ever; that England should have Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, Port Mahon, &c., and also the Assiento, or the right of furnishing Spanish America with slaves from Africa; that Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Milan, should be separated from Spain; that the allies should be satisfied in a reasonable manner, and that proper barriers should be established for the Dutch, the emperor, and the Duke of Savoy. The House of Commons hailed the speech with rapture, and, having voted an address of confidence and thanks, they went up in a body to present it. But in the House of Lords the address encountered violent opposition. Lord Wharton proposed a clause directed against a separate

* This great-grandson of Louis XIV. was afterwards Louis XV. of France.

peace, and the Duke of Marlborough supported his lordship, declaring that the late proceedings of ministers had sullied the glories of the queen's reign, and converted her victories and triumphs into shame and disgrace. Lord Strafford, who had returned from Utrecht to defend the still unfinished negotiations in which he had been himself engaged, charged Marlborough with labouring to prevent this blessed peace by corresponding with her majesty's allies, and promising them the support of his party. Lord Cowper retaliated upon the illiterate Strafford. "The noble lord," said the accomplished exchancellor, "has been so long abroad, that he has forgotten, not only the language, but the constitution of his country. According to our laws, it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of this august assembly, to hold correspondence with our allies: but it would be a hard matter to justify, and reconcile either with our laws or the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons in treating clandestinely with the common enemy without the participation of our allies." Wharton's clause, however, was rejected by a majority of 81 to 36. On this defeat the Whig lords entered a strong protest. And thereupon the Tories moved that the protest, as too violent and indecorous, should be expunged; and they carried their vote by 90 to 64. The protest, signed by nineteen lay lords and four bishops, was struck out of the journals accordingly; but the press again lent its efficient aid to the weaker party,—the protest was printed and widely circulated. The ministers were again in a fume; but, as they could not discover the printers and publishers, they left off thinking about the effects the paper would have on the public mind, and proceeded boldly with their treaty, having secured, before signing and sealing, the parliamentary protection of a vote of confidence and thanks. Yet the Whig protest, and still more the queen's speech, had the effect of sinking the funds, which had begun to rise at the near prospect of peace, but which fell again immediately that the conditions were known. The court, however, got up a new set of addresses, full of flattery and congratulation. "Some of these addresses," says Burnet, "mentioned the Protestant succession and the House of Hanover with zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it: and it was universally believed that no addresses were so acceptable to the ministers as those of the last sort."

In the course of this session, the Tories in the House of Commons retaliated upon a Whig bishop something of the trial and treatment of Dr. Sacheverell. Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph, in a preface to a small volume of sermons, cast some reflections upon her majesty's change of ministers and upon the proceedings of the present cabinet. The Commons, by a large majority, voted—1. That the said preface was malicious and factious, highly reflecting upon the present administration, and tending to create discord and sedition; 2. That the said preface should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the Palace Yard, Westminster, and that the sheriffs of London and Middlesex should assist the serjeant-at-arms in the execution of this sentence. The bishop's preface was burnt accordingly. On the 21st of June the parliament adjourned to the 8th of July, after hearing a speech from the throne, in which it was openly implied that the queen considered her scheme of peace to be fully approved by both Houses, though neither of them had, in fact, gone further than an indefinite vote of confidence. The Earl of Strafford was again sent over to induce the States-General to accept the offers the French were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms. From this moment the Dutch, seeing that nothing could be done in conjunction with the English, and that Anne was ready to sacrifice their interests, began to think and to act for themselves, and commenced, or rather renewed, underhand negotiations with the court of Versailles. Secretary St. John soon discovered these manœuvres, which encouraged him to declare that steps must be hastened, and that the conditions of peace and war were no longer the matter in question, but, *whether her majesty should have the management of the negotiations, or the Dutch.* The situation of the Duke of Ormond was far more embarrassing than ever. His employers had been obliged to declare in parliament, that the English army might assist at a siege, and afterwards to send orders to Ormond to co-operate with Prince Eugene, who, by the 8th of June, had invested Quesnoy. It appears that Ormond at first only sent, and that very reluctantly, sixteen battalions of foreign mercenaries, that were in the joint pay of England and Holland; but he forthwith assumed an attitude as if he would cover the siege with the whole English army, while Eugene prosecuted it with the Dutch and the imperial troops. Marshal Villars, who had written to Ormond as a friend, and who had received assurances from his court that the English were no longer to be considered as enemies, was mortified and irritated, and, being a plain-speaking man, he expressed to Ormond in very uncourtly terms his sense of this perfidy, or the perfidy of his sovereign and her ministers. At the same time Prince Eugene, who wanted more active assistance, and who apprehended that the English troops would soon cease even to cover his siege, complained and remonstrated with Ormond, who knew not what to say in defence or excuse, except that, with regard to his own conduct, he knew no other difference between what was shameful and what honourable than obedience to the orders of his queen. But Secretary St. John soon relieved Ormond from part of his difficulties, by letting him know that he must demand from Villars the town and port of Dunkirk as the previous condition of a cessation of hostilities or an unqualified truce on the side of the English. Dunkirk, it was said, was only to be held by the queen of England as a pledge that France should perform all that she had promised

in the still incomplete negotiations at Utrecht; and Villars and the other French officers were instructed to put the English troops in possession. Then Ormond personally communicated to Prince Eugene and the Dutch field deputies that he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy or do anything whatever against the armies of Louis XIV. Eugene was indignant, and his choler was further increased by Ormond's endeavouring to carry off with him not merely the English troops, but also the foreign mercenaries, who had been in the pay of England, but who were ready to take pay from any one of the allied powers, war being their trade, and their hatred to the French, provoked by past injuries, an enduring passion. Ormond treated clandestinely with the commanders of these troops, who were for the most part Germans, and who, though they had accepted English pay, had engaged in the war at the instance of the emperor and for the objects laid down in the Grand Alliance. It seemed to these men the height of dishonour to desert the old cause, and they one and all refused to march off with the English troops, or to abandon Prince Eugene, who, by himself, would be too weak to cope with Villars. Even as matters went, Eugene, as we shall see, suffered severely; but if these troops had left him, it is difficult to calculate what would have been the extent of his reverses. Secretary St. John, writing to Ormond, stormed like a madman at the obstinate Germans. "We are much at a loss," said he, "to imagine what the princes can mean or propose to themselves, to whom these troops belong. A beggarly German general commands the troops which have been so many years paid by her majesty, and which are actually so at this time, to desert from the queen, and to leave her subject forces, for aught they know, exposed to be attacked by the enemy." But Eugene, on the other side, represented that the sudden withdrawing of the English troops left him open to the attack of the French; and other persons, less closely concerned, applauded the conduct of the foreign mercenaries. "Up to this time these mercenaries had punctually obeyed orders; but now, when they were required to separate from the allied army, the men made answer to their own officers, that they would obey the Duke of Ormond in everything else but in this single point, in which the common safety and their own honour were in the utmost danger;—that in this particular point they could not be prevailed with, by any promises or threatenings, to follow him, without the commands of their respective sovereigns; and they would rather perish than desert their allies."* Nearly all of the little princes of Germany, who had furnished these auxiliaries, approved of the conduct of their soldiers, calling God and man to witness that they had not hired out their troops for the sake of the pay only, but also out of regard to the common safety of Europe and in observance of the duty they owed to the German empire. Hereupon Ormond declared that these poor Germans should never get the arrears of pay due to them; and he proclaimed in his camp a truce for two months, according to her majesty's commands, as signified to him by Secretary St. John, who was by this time raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke. But Ormond was pledged to make the auxiliaries in British pay observe this truce as well as the native troops of Great Britain; and, as these Germans would not obey him, Villars objected to the giving up of Dunkirk; and an English detachment, which had been sent thither, found the gates of Dunkirk shut in their faces. Hereupon, the British troops cursed the Duke of Ormond "as a stupid tool, and a general of straw." The officers, it is said, and all the veterans, were overwhelmed with shame and vexation; and whenever they recollected Marlborough and the late glorious times, tears gushed to their eyes. But the allied army being now divided into two parts, and the pontons, baggage-waggons, and military stores shared between them, Ormond, seeing no prospect of drawing off the auxiliaries, packed up his baggage and decamped on the 17th of July. "This," says Cunningham, "was the inauspicious day which caused so much sorrow and disgust to the allies, and branded the British name with infamy and disgrace." Nor, in the course of the hundred and twenty-eight years which have rolled away since that inglorious day, has all the argument urged in its defence done aught to prove that the transaction was not base, treacherous, and detestable. Louis had sent orders that, notwithstanding the conduct of the German auxiliaries, Dunkirk should be given up, and Sir John Leake had already arrived off that port with an English fleet. As Ormond advanced in that direction he was refused admittance into Douay and other towns occupied by Dutch garrisons, and Villars thought fit to give him notice that, in case he should find himself under any difficulties, he would be *welcome to a retreat in France*. Ormond halted at Ghent loaded with vexation and disgrace; while Admiral Leake landed a detachment commanded by that great soldier, Brigadier Hill, and took formal possession of Dunkirk and all its forts, the French garrison marching out to a man. Ormond lay some time at Ghent; but he detached six battalions to reinforce Brigadier Hill in Dunkirk, whither he also sent a portion of his artillery and ammunition. He soon followed himself with the main body of the English army, which (at the end of October) embarked and returned to England. Ormond was received in a kind of triumph by the Tory ministers, who pretended to consider that he had acted more gloriously in shuffling out of the war than Marlborough had ever done in conducting it.* Quesnoy had fallen

* Cunningham.

* Ormond, who will soon re-appear on the stage, is thus described (in 1706) by Macky:—"He is certainly one of the most generous, princely, brave men that ever was, but good-natured to a fault; loves glory, and consequently is crowded with flatterers: never knew how to refuse anybody, which was the reason why he obtained so little from King William, asking for everybody. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business;

before he declared himself, and from that capture Eugene, with the imperialists, the Dutch, and the German auxiliaries, marched to lay siege to Landrecy. The Bishop of Bristol and Lord Strafford strenuously recommended to the allies the example of the queen of England, and a general truce; but Eugene thought he might yet cope with Villars, and the Dutch joined him in rejecting this advice and in reprobating the withdrawing the forces of England. For a time fortune seemed to smile on the brave prince, who made incursions by detachments far into the interior of France, and threw the gloomy court of Versailles into fresh agonies of alarm. But Eugene was not strong enough to cover properly his far-extending lines, and the want of the steady veteran British infantry, who stood then, as they have so often done since, better under *fire* than any other troops in the world, was soon grievously felt. On the 24th of July Marshal Villars crossed the Scheldt with great secrecy and dispatch, and with a far superior force fell upon Albemarle, who was posted with a division of the allied army at Denain. Eugene, who was attending to the siege of Landrecy, and who was as rapid as Villars, came in sight, but he was detained by the breaking down of a bridge, and Albemarle was defeated and taken prisoner almost under his eye. The French then pushed along the scarp to Marchiennes, where the allies had made a central depôt of arms, ammunition, and provisions, but where the people favoured the French, and furnished them with intelligence. Indeed, in all this part of the country the stoppage of the secret service money, which Marlborough had been accustomed to distribute, had a prodigious effect upon the political disposition of the inhabitants, who, instead of giving intelligence to the allies, now carried all that they considered valuable or marketable to the French. Marchiennes was taken and plundered by Villars with surprising facility, considering that the place was garrisoned by 4000 men. When the news of this disaster reached the Hague, the States-General were as much alarmed and perplexed as had recently been the French court at Versailles, and they recommended the immediate raising of the siege of Landrecy. Eugene accordingly raised that siege; but, even with his army disengaged, he could not prevent Villars from investing Douay. The garrison there scarcely behaved better than the troops in Marchiennes had done; and they surrendered after a short siege. Quesnoy, which Eugene had so recently taken, made a better resistance, but it too fell before Villars. The States-General checked Eugene, who would have risked a battle to save these places, representing to him that, in their present circumstances, it would be unwise and unsafe to risk their army. "In this scandalous disjunction of the confederates, not only the cities and provinces taken in the war, but even the fidelity and constancy, and other virtues of the allies, which had shone forth in such splendour in the midst of arms, were now all lost; while the courage of the French, which was before so low, began now to revive at Utrecht, where they behaved with such insolence, that even their lackeys were not afraid to insult the Count Van Richteren, one of the plenipotentiaries, and were protected in their insolence by the French king."* Indeed, by this time the *grand monarque* was singing Te Deums in the cathedral of Notre Dame, and happy in the conviction that, without the English, the allies could never prevail against him. He challenged the recent successes obtained by Villars as visible marks of the protection of God, who, he said, knew the rectitude of his intentions and his sincere desire of peace. It was natural that an old man of seventy-four should wish for peace, and it was just and proper to grant it him: the question is only about the terms granted and the manner in which the business was managed. Upon the return of the army of the Duke of Ormond, the troops were mostly disbanded, and a general disarming was begun in England. At the same time Secretary Bolingbroke, who had told de Torcy that his queen "had taken steps beyond ordinary rules," was sent over as ambassador to Paris to facilitate the conclusion of the peace begun to be negotiated at Utrecht, which he went prepared to do, by playing into the hands of France and the Pretender. He was accompanied by Prior, the poet. Shortly after his arrival a cessation of hostilities was agreed to for Italy; together with a safe passage for all the Austrians from Spain back to Italy. It was also agreed that the Pretender should retire to Lorraine, and that security for his person during his residence in that country should be demanded from the Duke of Lorraine and the emperor. De Torcy presented the draft of Philip's act of renunciation, which Bolingbroke knew to be worth nothing, and which he sent to the lord treasurer. Bolingbroke further agreed to a truce with France by land and sea for four months longer, and invited the allies to join in it. He then returned to England elate with the flattering distinctions he had received at Paris, the atmosphere of which place seemed native to him; for, in head and heart, in his good qualities, as well as in his evil ones, in his style and in his thoughts, Bolingbroke was more French than English. He left Matthew Prior behind him to finish

loves and is beloved by the ladies; of a low stature, but well-shaped; a good mien and address; a fair complexion, and very beautiful face." These characters were drawn in the year 1706, for the particular information of Princess Sophia, the Electress of Hanover. During a tour on the continent Macky took Hanover in his way, waited upon the princess, who was very anxious to know something about the English court, and, at her desire, he gave her "the characters of the great men of England and Scotland." The portraits themselves seem to show that they were drawn for a lady. Macky never forgets externals and personal appearances: he makes as much of the stature, the complexion, or good looks of a man, as of his virtues or vices, his Jacobitism or Hanoverianism. He was rather a coarse painter. In many instances he describes noble lords and statesmen much after the fashion in which a groom describes a horse. One is described as a "black man," another as a "very black man," another as a "brown man," another as "fat and round," another as "very thin and lean;" and wherever small-pox has been busy upon a face Macky never omits setting it down for the princess's information. These traits, however, only render his characters the more amusing, and their general accuracy as likenesses seems to have been admitted.

* Cunningham.

the negotiations. On the 10th of September the Secretary wrote from London to tell the poet that it had been determined to send Lord Lexington to Madrid to compliment Philip, King of Spain, as such, and to be a witness of the several renunciations, and other acts requisite to complete the execution of the article agreed upon as necessary to prevent the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain; after which he (Lexington) was to proceed to settle such matters of commerce and other affairs as were for the mutual interest of Spain and England. "For God's sake, dear Mat," adds Bolingbroke, "for God's sake hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets!" The secretary recommended "management," and "appearance." "The queen," he said, "can never do anything which shall look like a restraint on her allies from demanding what they judge necessary: but, as long as they act the part which they now do, she can very justly be passive and neuter as to their interests; and, if her peace be made before their's, which she will not delay for them, she can with the same justice leave them to make their own bargain." It was, therefore, high time for the Dutch to think for themselves: and early in October they most reluctantly yielded many of their pretensions, and declared "that, for the good of peace, the States were willing to yield Lille to France, and to recede from their claims to have Douay, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge, provided Condé and Tournay were included in their barrier, the tariffs or commercial duties with France restored to what they were in 1664, and the island of Sicily yielded to the emperor, and the city of Strasburg to the empire." But now the demands of the French rose as those of the Dutch declined, and they advanced claim upon claim till even Bolingbroke was obliged to exclaim, "By heaven, they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like attorneys."* But this mode of dealing was the inevitable consequence of the unwise and ungenerous measures which had been adopted by the English cabinet—the signing the separate truce, the withdrawing our army from Flanders, and the whole tone of our diplomacy—measures in which Bolingbroke himself had undeniably been a conspicuous counsellor and chief actor. If he went into these measures with a clear intellect, and with the conviction that they must neutralise or prostrate the Grand Alliance and raise the power of France, he must have done so because he preferred his interests or private ambition to the good of his country, and was resolved to retain place at all costs; if he favoured them, as is more than suspected, as a means likely to contribute to placing the Pretender on the British throne, he acted equally unpatriotically. If he did not foresee the consequences of those measures when they were adopted, he had no right to complain of the effects when they happened. We cannot help thinking that the brilliant qualities of this intriguing politician, his masterly pen, his ready and searching wit, aided by many amiable and engaging traits of personal character, have too much blinded the world to his political profligacy, and even occasioned far too high an estimate of his political knowledge and address. A few more such brilliant men as Bolingbroke would have given us something like a French despotism in government, together with a French code of morals.

In the mean while Lord Lexington had proceeded to Madrid, where, on the 5th of November, and in presence of the council of state and of the chief nobility, King Philip signed his renunciation of the French succession, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe it in all time, and under all temptations. Ever since the fatal blows inflicted upon the free old Spanish constitution by Charles V. and Philip II., the cortes of Spain had been little more than a piece of stage pageantry—seldom employed, because, weak and despicable as it had become, it served to revive recollections inimical to despotism. When the miserable Charles II. was disposing of his vast dominions by will and testament, it had been proposed that the representatives of the nation should be summoned to deliberate upon the momentous subject; but timid and corrupt ministers effectually opposed that project. Now, however, the Spanish cortes were summoned to meet at Madrid, to confirm and approve Philip's renunciation of the French crown. In a well penned speech Philip told them that the efforts the Spanish nation had made for him could never be forgotten; that, to show his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, and to be never separated from them, he had renounced all pretensions, which either he himself, or his issue, might have to the crown of France. The Spaniards at Madrid and in all parts of the kingdom, except in a corner of it, were contented and jubilant; but in that corner, which was the exception, the predominant feelings were a hatred of the Bourbon and a detestation of the English, who had given them up to his dominion. The Catalonians had been invited and incited to take up arms by the English, who had most solemnly engaged never to forsake them or betray them; yet all the British troops there had been recalled; the Imperialists, the troops and officers of the claimant Charles, had thus been obliged to withdraw for their own safety; and, forsaken by all, the poor Catalans were left to the vengeance of the king whom they had so long and so bravely opposed, and to the fierce retaliation of the neighbouring provinces. Our troops were also withdrawn from Portugal, but the sovereign of that country had been brought into the truce, and could depend upon being secured in the definitive treaty—the blackest of all the black spots in which was, the infamous abandonment of Catalonia.

Matthew Prior, after all, was only a poet;—it seemed necessary to the Tories to have a duke at Paris. And which of all the dukes of England and

* Prior's Negotiations.—Letters of Bolingbroke in Hardwicke State Papers.—De Torcy, Memoirs.

Scotland was the one appointed at this critical juncture to represent Queen Anne at the French court? It was that shuffling Jacobite, the Duke of Hamilton, who had continued in constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain, and with the numerous agents the Pretender kept scattered about in various parts of the continent and in England. Even before Mrs. Masham and Harley had undermined the Whig ministry, Hamilton had always been an acceptable visitor at the court of St. James's; but since the absolute prevalence there of the Tory party, he had been closeted far more frequently with the queen than before. It was impossible to avoid dark suspicions. Burnet says, "The Duke of Hamilton's being now appointed to go to the court of France gave melancholy speculation to those who thought him much in the Pretender's interest; he was considered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party: but a dismal accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy." His grace of Hamilton had been engaged in some law-suits, and had contracted a violent hatred against Lord Mohun, a man whose fierce passions were little short of madness.* At an accidental meeting, the duke, it is said, grossly insulted his lordship, who thereupon sent him a challenge. The spirit of party has so completely seized this subject as to make it difficult to ascertain the true story. It is said on one side that the duke was very reluctant to fight, and was with difficulty induced to accept the challenge; and this account seems to agree with Hamilton's general character and habits, which were marked with cunning and caution, but certainly not with bravery; but on the other side, the Tories, Jacobites, and all the anti-union Scots, whose idol he was, affirm that his grace behaved with the greatest gallantry on this occasion. On Saturday morning, the 15th of November, the keepers of Hyde Park heard a clashing of swords, and, running to the spot, which was in Kensington Gardens, they found both the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun weltering in their blood and dying. Colonel Hamilton, the duke's second, and near relative, remained on the field, and was taken prisoner; but General Macartney, Mohun's second, ran off and escaped. Colonel Hamilton, when brought before the council, deposed that the seconds, that is, himself and Macartney, had fought as well as the principals; and he hinted that his grace had had foul play at the hands of Macartney. The colonel's deposition is far from being entitled to implicit credit; it seems to have been rambling and inconclusive, and the relation in which he stood to the deceased duke, and his political and personal prejudices, render his testimony suspicious. It is true General Macartney fled to the continent, instead of staying to explain the duel and rebut his adversary's charges; but, in such a business, an innocent and a brave man may reasonably have dreaded the vengeance of the powerful Tory party and the violent excitement of the people, who had been assured by some about court that the duel was from beginning to end a most foul and premeditated murder, undertaken at the desire and instigation of a desperate Whig faction, that had posted other men of the same stamp as Macartney all round Hyde Park, to assassinate the duke in case he had escaped the swords of Lord Mohun and his second. Swift, in the 'Examiner,' held up Lord Mohun as a profligate, whose hands had been already dyed with three foul murders; and generally the writers on the Tory side maintained that both Mohun and Macartney had been "incited to undertake the quarrel, by a certain party of men who were no great friends to the government." The Whig writers, on the other side, maintain that the combat of principals and seconds had been savagely but fairly fought, and that there was no incitement to it beyond the old animosities existing between Hamilton and Mohun, and the recent insult offered by his grace to his lordship. Burnet says, "Both being hurried by false points of honour, fatally went out, and fought with so violent an animosity, that, neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the Lord Mohun was killed outright, and Duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after." Cunningham, though on the same side, says, that Hamilton, "being challenged to a duel by the Lord Mohun, killed his antagonist; but was himself also killed, as was supposed, by General Macartney, Mohun's second." But this does not imply that there was anything unfair in the proceeding; for the combat was general; Macartney, on the fall of his friend, was left single-handed to face two adversaries; and the instinct of self-preservation and the desire of avenging Mohun, would account for, and in such a business justify, his attacking Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton's story about disarming Macartney may or may not be true, but he becomes utterly incredible when he talks of throwing down both swords, and so giving Macartney an opportunity of arming himself again. But still better proof on the side of the general are, tha the (Macartney) afterwards returned, and submitted to a fair trial, on which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated, while several persons who had seen the combat at a distance directly contradicted some material parts of his testimony.

* This is Mohun's portrait as drawn by a not unfavourable hand:—"Charles, Lord Mohun, is the representative of a very ancient family, but had the misfortune to come to the title young, while the estate was in decay; his quality introduced him into the best company, but his wants very often led him into bad; so that he became one of the arrantest rakes in town, and indeed a scandal to the peerage; was generally a sharer in all riots; and before he was twenty years old was tried twice for murder by the House of Peers. On his being acquitted at the last trial, he expressed his confusion for the scandal he brought upon his degree as a peer by his behaviour, in very handsome terms, and promised to behave himself so, for the future, as not to give farther scandal; and he hath been as good as his word; for now he applies himself in good earnest to the knowledge of the constitution of his country, and to serve it; and having a great deal of fine and good sense, turned this way, makes him very considerable in the House: he is brave in his person, bold in his expressions, and rectifies, as fast as he can, the slips of his youth by acts of honesty, which he now glories in more than he was formerly extravagant: he was married, when very young, to a niece of my Lord Macclesfield; who, dying without issue, left him a considerable estate, which he well improves. The queen continues him colonel of a regiment of foot; he is of a middle stature, inclining to fat, not thirty years old."—*Macky's Characters.*

But though the Whigs exculpated themselves from the foul charge of promoting a murder, they scarcely pretended to conceal that they were glad at Hamilton's death; and they interpreted the rage of their opponents into a proof of the hopes they had entertained from that Jacobite nobleman's embassy to France, and his conferences there with the Pretender. In lieu of the deceased duke, the Duke of Shrewsbury was now nominated, and he proceeded forthwith to Paris, where Mathew Prior still remained to assist in the negotiations. The Tories, or the Jacobites, had not hesitated to accuse the Duke of Marlborough of being concerned in Hamilton's death; and, as the fallen and discontented lord-general left England shortly after to fix his residence on the continent, his departure was construed into a proof of his guilt and of his fear of the consequences. But Marlborough's silent and apparently secret departure out of England has been accounted for upon other grounds. Godolphin, his best ally, "the man of the clearest head and the calmest temper," had died in the preceding month of September, and since then the court fury against the Whig party and against the Marlboroughs in particular, had increased, as in due proportion had the audacity and unscrupulousness of the general's personal and political enemies. Burnet, after eulogising the late lord-treasurer's abilities, disinterestedness, and freedom from the all-prevailing corruption of the times, says—"Upon the Earl of Godolphin's death, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea; he executed it in the end of November; and his duchess followed him in the beginning of February. This was variously censured. Some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they represented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself: others were glad he was safe out of ill hands; whereby, if we should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to assist the Elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had stayed in England, it was not to be doubted but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it. There were two suits begun against him: the one was for the two and a half per cent. that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs it was said the queen built the house for him: yet, now that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000*l.*, the queen refused to pay any more; and set them upon suing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were stayed, which gave occasion to people to imagine that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put on a man whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot, only to render his stay in England uneasy to him." The departure of Marlborough has, however, been accounted for in other ways far less honourable to his character, but yet consistent with it. It is said, for example, that Lord Oxford had got possession of the treasonable and infamous letter he wrote in King William's time, to betray the expedition intended against Brest. "I was told," (says a writer industrious and successful in discovering in France materials for the secret history of England, but who was not distinguished by sagacity or critical acumen, and who is little to be relied upon except when he takes his stand upon a real document) "by the late Principal Gordon, of the Scots college, at Paris, that, during the hostilities between the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Oxford, near the end of the queen's reign, Lord Oxford, who had got intelligence of the duke's letter, and pretended, at that time, to be in the interests of the exiled family, applied for, and got an order for the original; and that his making the duke know that his life was in his hands, was the cause of the duke's going into a voluntary exile to Brussels, in the year 1712; and, indeed, so extraordinary a step as that exile must have had an extraordinary cause. It is known, too, from the history of the times, that there was a private meeting between the duke and Lord Oxford, at Mr. Thomas Harley's house, to which the duke came by a back-door, immediately after which he left England. I have also heard from the late Archbishop of York, grandson to the earl of Oxford, that he had been informed that the Duchess of Marlborough, after the death of those two persons, had contrived to get the letter from Lord Oxford's papers, and destroyed it."* But whatever was the motive for his going, Marlborough, who was followed a few weeks after by his duchess,† never returned to England until Anne was safely deposited in Westminster Abbey. Another fact, which is equally certain, is, that from his foreign retirement Marlborough, notwithstanding his frequent correspondence with the house of Hanover, continued also to correspond with the court of St. Germain, and to express his unalterable attachment to the Pretender. In one of his letters, written before his final overthrow, he says, "As for myself, I take God to witness that what I have

* Dalrymple, Memoirs.

† If the duchess hated Swift as the maligner of her husband and all her family, and as the tool of Harley Lord Oxford, there was certainly no love lost between them, and the churchman could hate with a virulence at least equal to that of her grace. In his Journal, under the date of January 17th of the following year, 1713, he mentions dining with the lord-treasurer Oxford and talking about the speech which the queen should make in parliament; and he says that the treasurer asked him how he would make the speech. "I was going to be serious," adds Swift, whose jests were always bitter as gall, "but I turned it to a jest; and, because they had been speaking of the Duchess of Marlborough going to Flanders after the duke, I said the speech should begin thus:—'My lords and gentlemen, in order to my own quiet and that of my subjects, I have thought fit to send the Duchess of Marlborough abroad after the duke.'"

done for many years was neither from spleen to the royal family, nor ill-will to their cause, but to humble the power of France; a service as useful to *the king* (as he styles the Pretender) as it is beneficial to his kingdom." He also says, "The French King and his ministers will sacrifice everything to their own views of peace. The Earl of Oxford, and his associates in office, to take, as usual, the ground of their adversaries, will probably insist upon the king's retiring to Italy; but he must never consent. He must neither yield to the French King, nor to the fallacious insinuations of the British ministry, in a point which must inevitably ruin his cause. To retire to Italy, by the living God, is the same thing as to stab himself to the heart. Let him take refuge in Germany, or in some country on this side of the Alps. He wants no security for his person; no one will touch a hair of his head. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it impossible but he must succeed. But when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect toward the past; all that has been done since the Revolution must be confirmed."* It is clear that nobody more needed or would be more benefited by this confirmation than the wealthy and selfish Marlborough, whose chief anxiety had ever been to keep what he had gotten, and to maintain a good correspondence with both parties, so that he should be secure under either of them that should eventually prevail. It was, therefore, no new process with him to assure the Electress Sophia, her son, and her grandson, and the ministers of the house of Hanover, that no Englishman was now half so anxious as himself for their interest and succession to the British throne. As, however, no one can accuse this extraordinary personage of a want of political information and political foresight, it must be admitted that at this moment the chances of the house of Hanover and the chances of the house of Stuart were pretty equally balanced, and that England ran a near hazard of a second Restoration. But Marlborough played this game too long to escape suspicion; and it should appear that by this time his professions imposed upon neither party, but were regarded with a feeling nearly allied to contempt by both—by Stuarts as well as Guelphs. Yet he sent a secret agent to Bar-le-duc, in Lorraine, with fresh letters to the Pretender, and with others to the Duke of Berwick, containing the most solemn protestations of loyalty to the Stuart, whom he assured, with an oath, that he would rather cut off his own right hand than oppose the views he had on the throne. He declared that, provided the king would render him secure, he would no longer hesitate to lose all his credit, both privately and publicly, for his service; and he added that the Duke of Berwick, his nephew, was instructed more largely as to his loyal intentions. But even before this it was a principle of the court of St. Germain, that extreme caution must be used "in trafficking with Marlborough," and nothing came of the correspondence.*

A. D. 1713.—To allow time for the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht and the arrival of Lord Bolingbroke, who had returned to the continent to hasten it, the meeting of parliament had been put off by seven prorogations. At length, however, on the 3rd of April, Bolingbroke arrived, and the session opened on the 9th of the same month.† When the treaty was submitted to the council at Whitehall for ratification, Lord Cholmondely made several objections to it, and was removed from his office of treasurer of the household. The Duke of Atholl and one or two other thorough-going Tories had just been admitted into the council; and the ratification passed as a matter of course. The queen, who attended in person, declared in her opening speech that the treaty of peace was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged; and she added that, as the negotiations had been drawn into so great a length, all her allies had had sufficient opportunity to adjust their several interests. It was indispensable to reply to the insinuations and even open declarations of the Whigs, that there was a coldness between her majesty and the House of Hanover, and an intention on this side of the water of playing into the hands of the Pretender. The queen, therefore, said—"What I have done for securing the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship there is between me and the House of Hanover, may convince such who wish well to both, and desire the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts are to divide us; and those who would make a merit by separating our interests will never attain their ill end." The war of pens had been more fierce than ever since the cessation of the war of bullets and cannon-balls; and the Tories either felt that they had the worst of it, or, with their old susceptibility, writhed under the blows they had received. As Swift, the foulest of calumniators, had been consulted in the composition of this opening speech, and had revised it, we must give him some of the credit due to the following clause:—"I cannot," said the queen, "but express my displeasure at the unparalleled licentiousness in publishing seditious and scandalous libels. The impunity such practices have met with has encouraged the blaspheming everything sacred, and the propagating opinions tending to the overthrow of all religion and government. Prosecutions have been ordered, but it will require some new law to put a stop to this growing evil, and your best endeavours, in your respective stations, to discourage it."‡ The addresses of the two Houses were little

* With respect to Queen Anne, Marlborough says—"I know perfectly his sister's disposition of mind. She is a very honest person, easily won, and without difficulty swayed. She is extremely cautious, as she is to the last degree subject to fear. At bottom she has no aversion to her brother's interests; but she is one that must not be frightened. An external force would terrify her, and alienate the mind of the nation. Leave us to ourselves, and all our hopes will be crowned with success."

* Macpherson, Stuart Papers.

† As early as the 5th of December, the Marquess of Monte Leone, one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht for Philip, king of Spain, arrived on a special embassy at London, where he returned her majesty infinite thanks for the great pains she had taken to restore peace to Europe. In the course of the same month the Duke d'Aumont was received as ambassador from Louis XIV.

‡ The speech also mentioned that "the impious practice of duelling required some speedy and effectual remedy." This was, no doubt, called forth by the catastrophe of the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun. But, if there had been any grounds to go upon, more

more than an echo to the royal speech; but the Commons took particular care to dwell upon her majesty's concern and laudable care for the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover.*

On the 4th of May, exactly eleven years after the proclamation of this costly war, peace was proclaimed in London. Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy had reluctantly signed the treaty of Utrecht; but the Emperor, both in his hereditary capacity of sovereign of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, &c., and as head of the German empire, persisted in refusing to be a party to it, and in proclaiming in protests and manifestos that he, a principal in the Grand Alliance, had been abandoned and betrayed. As finally settled, this famous or infamous treaty left, or seemed to leave, France more powerful than she was at the commencement of the war. Its main articles were — 1. That the French king recognised the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover, and engaged for himself, his heirs, and successors, not to suffer the Pretender to return into his dominions, nor in any way to succour or assist him. 2. That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. 3. That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. 4. Hudson's Bay and straits were to remain to Great Britain, and satisfaction was to be made by France to the Hudson's Bay Company for damages received; the whole island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and the island of Newfoundland were to belong of right to Great Britain, the French having huts there to dry their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bonavista to the northern point of Newfoundland. 5. The French in Canada were not to molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great Britain. 6. All letters of reprisal, mark, and countermark, were to be annulled. 7. England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar, as provided in a separate treaty with Philip, as King of Spain. (This was all of the treaty that directly regarded the interests of Great Britain.) 8. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands were to be ceded to the emperor, in lieu of his claim to the Spanish crown. 9. Sicily was to be disjoined from Naples, and transferred to the Duke of Savoy with the regal title; and the eventual succession to the crown of Spain was, in default of descendants from the Bourbon Philip, to be vested in the House of Savoy.† 10. In addition to the places anciently possessed by the Dutch, to strengthen their frontier, Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Newport, were to be assigned as a perpetual barrier, as had been previously stipulated by the new barrier-treaty signed by the ministers of Great Britain and the States-General on the 30th of January. The emperor was to be allowed to the 1st of June to declare his acceptance or non-acceptance of the terms proposed.*

Volumes have been written in reprobation of the treaty of Utrecht; but we can do no more than cite a short and powerful passage, in which a great living writer has condensed his sense of its impropriieties. "Whatever judgment we may be disposed to form as to the political necessity of leaving Spain and America in the possession of Philip, it is impossible to justify the course of that negotiation which ended in the peace of Utrecht. It was at best a dangerous and inauspicious concession, demanding every compensation that could be devised, and which the circumstances of the war entitled us to require. France was still our formidable enemy; the ambition of Louis was still to be dreaded, his intrigues to be suspected. That an English minister should have thrown himself into the arms of this enemy at the first overture of negotiation; that he should have renounced advantages upon which he might have insisted; that he should have restored Lille, and almost attempted to procure the sacrifice of Tournay; that throughout the whole correspondence, and in all personal interviews with de Torcy, he should have shown the triumphant queen of Great Britain more eager for peace than her vanquished adversary; that the two courts should have been virtually conspiring against those allies without whom we had bound ourselves to enter on no treaty; that we should have withdrawn our troops in the midst of a campaign, and even seized upon the towns of our confederates, while we left them exposed to be overcome by a superior force; that we should have thus deceived those confederates by the most direct falsehood in denying our clandestine treaty, and then dictated to them its acceptance,—are facts so

would have been made of this matter against the Whigs and the now absent Marlborough.

* Clinch, one of the numerous agents of the Pretender in London, writes at this moment—"Our addresses all make mention of the succession in the House of Hanover, except one or two Scotch ones; but this I look upon to be no more than matter of form, mixed with a little politics. The king's pictures I have brought over I have given away; and I wish I had brought over more, since I found them so very acceptable here, and so little trouble in getting them over. I gave one to the Earl of Winchelsea, who took it very kindly, and said—which I am sure he wishes very heartily—he hoped to see the original here." In the same letter the secret agent says—"I scarce know what to make of Harley. I don't think that he means to serve you out of point of conscience, or love, *but only as he knows that he hath no other way of serving himself.*"—*Macpherson. Stuart Papers.*

† That the Duke of Savoy, comparatively an insignificant power, gained so much by the treaty of Utrecht, was attributed to the partiality and to the strenuous exertions of Queen Anne, who considered him, on account of his descent, as a prince of the blood-royal of England. "That prince," says de Torcy, "was the cherished ally of England, and the one the ministry had most at heart." The Savoyard was, in fact, after the Pretender, the nearest, in the *legitimate* order of succession, to the English crown; Bolingbroke bore this in mind. "I know," said he to the ambassador from the court of Turin, "that, in exciting the lords plenipotentiaries to espouse the interests of the House of Savoy, I make my court to the queen my mistress." According to a letter of the hair-brained Earl of Peterborough, who was displaying his wit and eccentricities at Venice, the Duke of Savoy was not satisfied with what he got, but pretended that he ought to have had the Spanish crown!—*Bolingbroke's Correspondence.—Somerville's Queen Anne, Appendix—De Torcy.*

* Many of the princes of his empire seemed determined to support the emperor in resisting the treaty. This was particularly the case with Hanover. In the debates in parliament some of the Whigs objected that this peace could not be called a general peace, since the emperor, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes and states of the empire, were not yet come into it. But ministers replied that, indeed, the peace was not universal, but still might be called general, since the major part of the allies had signed it.—*Royer Coke, Detection.* Hanover and others of the associated states of Germany continued, however, to complain that they had performed all the conditions to which the Grand Alliance obliged them; that they had stood the brunt and suffered the worst of the inconveniences of a bloody and ruinous war; that they had been encouraged to hope they should reap some fruit in a future security; but that no amends, no barrier or security whatsoever, was stipulated for them by this treaty.

disgraceful to Bolingbroke, and, in somewhat a less degree, to Oxford, that they can hardly be palliated by establishing the expediency of the treaty itself."*

Fortune, or the better power that regulates human events, nullified in the end the fears which Europe had entertained of a Bourbon reign in Spain; but at the time when those fears originated, and even when the treaty of Utrecht was signed, they were neither unfounded nor unimportant; they were, on the contrary, of the highest importance to every power in Europe, and we believe that, under similar circumstances, Europe would again contract a grand alliance like that framed by William III., and again prosecute as long a war, if needful, to curb the ambition of France. It happened that the sickly boy that stood between Philip and the French throne lived to be king, and to beget and leave heirs behind him, so that neither Philip nor his successor was tempted to break the solemn engagement and renunciation made; but if the boy Louis (afterwards the fifteenth of that name) had died, can it be believed for a moment that Philip would not have grasped at the succession? As for the solemn act of renunciation and the swearing upon the Evangelists—these ceremonies were repeated in France by the princes of the blood swearing on their side never to pretend to the Spanish crown, as Philip had sworn not to pretend to the French one—they would, of themselves, have signified next to nothing. They were held to be illegal and unbinding by the French jurists; and similar oaths had been broken over and over again. In fact, but for the breach of a solemn act of renunciation made by the Infanta Maria Theresa at the time of her marriage with the French king, the Bourbons could not have had any claim to the Spanish succession, which had caused these long years of bloody strife.† Yet this long war, so ingloriously terminated, had *not been without its effects*; all the blood and treasure spent had not been absolutely thrown away. The haughtiest, the most arrogant, overbearing, and ambitious sovereign of Europe, had been checked, humiliated, and brought to reason; the spell of the French name,—the belief that they were all but invincible in the field,—had been thoroughly broken, and this mainly through the valour of British troops and the military genius of an English general; our military reputation had been raised to the highest pitch—a thing insignificant only in the eyes of a few dreaming theorists and impracticable humanists; France had been so weakened and exhausted as not to be in a condition to give any serious alarm to the world for some generations; and Holland, for the present, was comparatively secured from attack. At home this long war had given fresh vigour and impulses to the mind of the people, and rubbed off the rust which had been contracted under the two last princes of the House of Stuart.

Such as it was, the treaty of Utrecht was easily swallowed by the sitting parliament, who, however, raised strong objections to the commercial treaty with France by which it was accompanied. Bolingbroke, and those who acted with him or under him, had agreed that all the goods and commodities of France should be received in England on the footing of the most favoured nations; and that the goods and commodities of England should be received in France on the like terms. This appears like a dawning of the reciprocity system of our own day; and the merit of it is attributed to the bright intellect of Bolingbroke. It should appear, however, that the merit was really due to Mr. Arthur Moore, who had risen from the humble condition of a livery-servant to be a merchant of great wealth and influence, and a political economist far in advance of his time. If, as it is reported, Bolingbroke had adopted this commercial treaty in a hurry, and without examination, he would have been guilty of criminal negligence; but it appears, from his own correspondence, that when the treaty was negotiating he was not only attentive to it, but also fully awake to the immense advantages of free trade, or at least of reciprocity.* But the parliament and people of England had very little of this illumination, and presently a tremendous storm was brewed. The English manufacturers, particularly of woollen and silk goods, complained loudly against the commercial treaty; and many arguments were used to prove that, labour being cheap and the currency debased in France, she could afford to undersell the English manufacturers and dealers. Nearly every possible bad argument in political economy was brought into play; and every prejudice—we can scarcely call them antiquated, as they still continue to form a part of the trading creed of several European nations, and are still advocated even in England by sundry public men and orators—was raised with porcupine quills against the reciprocity will of France. Sir Charles Cooke, Sir Theodore Janson, and other eminent merchants of London, launched a periodical paper to make war on the project.† Among other things, these wiseacres asserted that a free trade with France would be a greater calamity than the fire of London; that country gentlemen and landholders would be brought to poverty by the rapid decay of their rents, and that the working people would be reduced to the cruel alternative of starvation or emi-

* Hallam, Const. Hist.

† Cardinal Mazarin had urged on the marriage of Louis XIV. with the Spanish Infanta, because he hoped eventually to secure for the Bourbon line the sovereignty of Spain; for Philip IV., though the reputed father of at least thirty-two illegitimate children, had only one legitimate child, the sickly and wretched Charles II. The Spanish grandees, however, took the alarm, and, in order to prevent their country from becoming a dependence of France, they proposed that the young bride, the Infanta Maria Theresa, should renounce for ever for herself and her children all right or pretension to the crown of Spain or to any part of the Spanish dominions. The renunciation was made accordingly, and it was inserted in the contract of marriage, which was an integral part of the famed treaty of the Pyrennees. The grandees and the ministers of Spain seemed to be perfectly satisfied with the act; but Philip IV. had sagacity enough to foresee that it would not be of the least effect; and he is said to *have called the renunciation a patarata—in plain English*, a humbug!—*Dunlop, Memoirs of Spain.*

* See letter to Prior, Hardwicke State Papers.

† The British Merchant—afterwards collected and republished in 3 vols.

gration. General Stanhope, one of the wisest and best of the Whigs in parliament, took this view of the treaty, and applauded in the House of Commons the rancorous and stupid act passed in the time of Charles II. absolutely prohibiting the importation of French wines, silk, and every other commodity of the growth, product, or manufacture of the territories and dominions of the French king. Numerous petitions and remonstrances were presented all in the same spirit. The entire Whig opposition resolved to annul the treaty, and hoped, in the contest, to cripple the Tory ministry, who on this point were abandoned by many of their stanchest adherents in the Commons. The resolute stand was made on the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty, which went to provide that all acts passed since the year 1664 for prohibiting the importation of French goods should be forthwith repealed; and that within two months a law should be made that, for the time to come, our duties should be on the same scale as those of France. This, it was said, would be a direct violation of the Methuen Treaty, according to which the duties on the Portuguese wines were always to be one-third less than the duties on French wines; and it was argued that, by thus violating the Methuen Treaty, England would lose her trade with Portugal, which was the most thriving and advantageous she possessed.

On the 14th of May, when it was moved that a bill should be brought in to make good the said 8th and 9th articles, the ministers had a majority of 252 to 130. On the 9th of June the House resolved itself into committee on the bill, and heard several merchants at their bar, who all argued and protested against it. For several successive days other petitioners were heard, and new arguments were propounded against the reciprocity. Sir Thomas Hanmer, a Tory in his general politics, sided with the Whigs, and moved the rejection of the bill; and on the 18th of June the bill was lost by a majority of 194 to 185.* But Hanmer, a few days afterwards, proposed and carried an address thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the honour and security of the kingdom in the treaty of peace, and likewise for having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade; but praying at the same time that she would appoint commissioners to explain and perfect those articles which related to commerce. It is not determined whether this address proceeded from the Tory qualms of Sir Thomas, or from a mere blunder: the baronet's edition of Shakspeare will at least justify a suspicion that his head was none of the clearest. But the use to be made of the thing was obvious: the queen, in her answer, considered the address as an approbation of all the arrangements of the treaty, the commercial as well as the political;—"and the opposition, by a manœuvre which is not uncommon, thus found their victory explained away by those who had helped to gain it."* But an equivocal sentence or a forced meaning were ineffectual, as opposed to the sense or the nonsense of the nation. The commercial treaty fell to the ground, and helped to destroy the ministry, who also soon began to find that the popular joy for the peace was a very evanescent feeling, and that all classes were beginning to criticise even the main treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty the Pretender had been obliged to withdraw from St. Germain: Louis, indeed, was bound to send him out of France; but he allowed him to take up his residence at Bar-le-duc in Lorraine, which, though nominally a separate country, was as entirely a portion of France as its geographical position and the insignificance of its rulers could make it. Concluding that it would be as easy for the Pretender to carry on his intrigues with Scotland and England from Bar-le-duc as from St. Germain, Lord Wharton, on the 29th of June, without notice given, moved in the Upper House for an address entreating the queen "to use her most pressing instances for removing the Pretender from the Duke of Lorraine's dominions." Not one of the court party ventured to oppose the motion—so powerful was the dread of any suspicion of Jacobitism, and even with those who fondly fancied that at the queen's demise it would be an easy thing to restore the outcast Stuart; but at length Lord North timidly observed, that to carry the motion would show a distrust of her majesty; and he asked where they would have the Pretender live, if they insisted upon driving him from all the states that were then in friendship with England?† The motion, however, was unanimously carried; and, two days after, General Stanhope made precisely the same motion in the Commons. Here was the same timidity also. Only Sir William Whitelock said, drily, that he remembered how the like address was formerly made to Oliver Cromwell for having Charles Stuart removed out of France;

* If we are to believe Bolingbroke, who was now openly quarrelling with Lord Oxford, and endeavouring to supplant him as head of the ministry, "the reason of the majority was, that there had been, during two or three days' uncertainty, an opinion spread that the lord treasurer (Oxford) gave up the point."—*Letter to Lord Strafford, dated June* 20, 1713. There are, however, some other indications that Oxford was lukewarm about the bill, if not anxious to discredit it and ruin his rival Bolingbroke, who had managed the Commercial Treaty, by the rejection of it. The hatred of these two plotting politicians seems only to have been mitigated on Bolingbroke's side by a sovereign contempt.

* Lord John Russell, Hist. of the Principal States of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.—Lord Mahon, Hist. of England from the Peace of Utrecht.—Tindal.—Bolingbroke.—Burnet.—Nobody, perhaps, has been more decidedly against the commercial treaty than the famous Whig bishop, if we except the noble Tory historian of our own day. Burnet says, "If even we had been as often beat by the French as they have been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty:" and Lord Mahon thinks that we may fully agree with the bishop. His lordship, moreover, takes occasion to sneer at "theorists and speculators," in which class he includes the masterminds that have endeavoured to liberate commerce from the shackles that confined it, and kept masses of mankind starving in the midst of plenty. He says (as something of great weight) that "the merchants and practical men of business" were opposed to the treaty. And but for the men he calls theorists, his merchants and practical men of business,—the men of routine, that were content to do as their fathers did before them,—would have kept the same narrow notions still prevalent everywhere, and the trade and good of mankind would have been everywhere impeded and dwarfed ten times more than they are. What has been said in particular of the Austrian government may be repeated of persons of his lordship's way of thinking—they would always sell, and never buy.

† Lord Peterborough said, with more wit than feeling, that, as the Pretender had begun his studies at Paris, he had better go and finish them at Rome.

and yet Charles had been brought back to the throne. It is surmised that the Jacobites in the House remained so quiet from having the fear of the approaching elections before their eyes.* The two addresses were carried up to the queen, who, probably without doing much violence to her feelings, pretended to be satisfied with them, and promised to act accordingly, or to use her best endeavours to get the Pretender removed out of Lorraine. ["It was generally believed," says Burnet, "that the Duke of Lorraine did not consent to receive him till he sent one over to know the queen's pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that."] The negotiation for the removal was intrusted to Bolingbroke and Prior, who both, together with the French minister de Torcy, treated it as a jest. It appears, indeed, that Bolingbroke himself privately furnished the Duke of Lorraine with pretexts for eluding the very demands which he (Bolingbroke) was making publicly.†

When the House of Commons—pressed for large supplies notwithstanding the peace—were proceeding to renew the malt-tax for another year, it was proposed, and eventually carried, that this tax should be extended to Scotland, which had hitherto been free from it. The Scottish members and the Scottish peers, who had many other grievances, some imaginary, but others real and serious, held a meeting, and deputed two lords and two commoners to remonstrate with the queen against "such a breach of the articles of Union as prompted them to declare it dissolved." Anne reproved them for their precipitation, and thought the threat would end there. But, on the 14th of June, Lord Findlater moved in the Upper House for leave to bring in a bill to dissolve the Union. His lordship gave the following as the principal reasons which induced the Scots to demand this disseverance:—1. Their being deprived of a privy council. 2. The laws of England in cases of treason being extended to Scotland. 3. The Scotch peers being incapable of being made peers of Great Britain, as it had been adjudged and declared in the case of the late Duke of Hamilton. 4. The Scots being subjected to the malt-tax. What followed upon this motion is one of the most atrocious instances upon record of the rancour and recklessness of party or faction. The Whigs, whose brightest work had been the carrying of the Union in the teeth of the all but unanimous Tory opposition, now changed sides, and, like foul infanticides, endeavoured to destroy the best of their progeny, that they might step over its bleeding body into the cabinet. Perhaps it may be said that the Whigs did not intend the disseverance to be lasting; but, if it had happened only for a day, the advancing clock of British civilization would have been put back a whole century. And yet, what with Whig lords that were scheming, and Scottish lords that were furious, or sold body and soul to the Pretender, the motion was rejected only by a majority of *four*. Some good, however, seems to have come out of this madness. Several injuries inflicted upon Scotland were exposed, and English legislators were reminded of the necessity of proceeding more gently with a high-spirited and resolute people. Peterborough confessed to the contention and strife; but, said his lordship, with his customary wit, "though sometimes there happens a difference between man and wife, yet it does not presently break the marriage; so, in the like manner, though England, who in this national marriage must be supposed to be the husband, may in some instances have been unkind to the lady, yet she ought not presently to sue for a divorce, and the rather because she has very much mended her fortune by this match."

On the 16th of July, Anne, after giving her assent to several bills, closed the session with an energetic speech, in which she took honour to herself for having concluded a war which she found prepared for her on her accession by a safe and honourable peace. With relation to the commercial treaty, she said, in a tone which resembles reproach, that she hoped that, at their next meeting, the affairs of commerce would be so well understood that the advantageous conditions she had obtained from France might be made effectual for the benefit of our trade. There was not a word about either the Pretender or the House of Hanover; and this may justify the assertion of Burnet, that the speech was more severely reflected on than any other similar discourse. As its three years had expired, the prorogation of this parliament was followed, on the 8th of August, by its dissolution by proclamation. It obtained the designation of the "pacific parliament;" but Burnet, who concludes his history at its dissolution, calls it the worst parliament he ever saw. "No assembly," says he, "but one composed as this was could have sat quiet under such a peace."*

Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal and one of the negotiators of the peace, was promoted to the see of London, become vacant at last by the death of the turbulent Compton. The learned and accomplished Doctor Atterbury, who had assisted Sacheverell at his trial, and who is believed to have composed the speech that mountebank delivered on the occasion, was made Bishop of Rochester on the death of that voluminous scribbler Spratt. Atterbury was a decided and honest Tory, with a strong leaning to Jacobitism—Spratt had been a mean time-server, with no decided bias except to his own interests and to the power that was. Sacheverell himself expected to get a mitre, but in this he was disappointed. He, however, was not without his reward. The sentence of the Lords, forbidding him to preach during the space of three years, had expired in the month of March; and on the first Sunday of his taking re-possession of his

* Lord Mahon. † Letter of the Abbé Gaultier to de Torcy.

* On the day of the prorogation gold medals, with the effigy of the queen, and a Latin motto in praise of the peace, were distributed among the members of both Houses; and, as this parliament assumed to itself the merit of effecting the pacification of Europe, and procuring a peace *advantageous* and *glorious* to the country, it was hoped that this would procure the re-election of the Tories in the Commons.

church in the Borough, he had taken for his text—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"—and had compared his own sufferings to those of Christ. Sacheverell told Swift that a bookseller had given him a hundred pounds for this sermon, and intended to print 30,000 copies; but Swift thought that the bookseller had been "confoundedly bit, and would hardly sell above half."* The popular frenzy indeed had subsided, and when people got into their senses they said that the doctor was a blockhead. Still, however, the Tory House of Commons, to mark their disapprobation of the Whig proceedings against him, or their own zeal for the high church principle, had appointed him to preach before them on the anniversary of the Restoration, and he had been rewarded with the rich rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

Some important changes were made in court and cabinet. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been negotiating at Paris in conjunction with Matthew Prior, was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Ormond, one of the most resolute of the Jacobites, was appointed governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, as if to facilitate the landing of the Pretender in England; Lord Lansdowne became treasurer of the household, and Lord Dartmouth privy seal; Bromley, the Tory leader in the Commons, was made joint-secretary with Lord Bolingbroke; Benson was created Lord Bingley, and sent on an embassy to Spain, being succeeded in his post of chancellor of the exchequer by Sir William Wyndham, then a friend of Bolingbroke. In these changes the ascendancy of Bolingbroke was made visible: and, indeed, by means of Lady Masham, the intriguing secretary seemed to be getting the treasurer's staff within his grasp. Emboldened by success, Bolingbroke now gave a freer scope to the evil genius by which he was possessed; and the suspicion he excited in the House of Hanover, and the mortal offence he gave them, made his case hopeless if they should ascend the English throne, and therefore urged him forward in his by-paths and intrigues, as offering his only chance of self-security in after-time. The frequent illnesses of the queen must have forced these considerations upon him incessantly; and we believe that in them, and in the pride of the man's heart—in the satisfaction of overcoming difficulties which seemed insuperable to every other statesman,—may be found the motives of Bolingbroke's proceedings to bring in the Pretender. Perhaps, also, part of Oxford's timidity on this subject may have arisen out of the circumstance that he enjoyed less of the queen's confidence than his rival, and had infinitely less art than Bolingbroke in detecting secret and studiously-concealed inclinations. The secretary had been for some time convinced that Anne, more out of her hatred to the House of Hanover than out of any family affection, would gladly contribute to placing the crown on the Pretender's head after her own death, if she could be certain that she could do it without danger to herself, and also certain that the Pretender would enter the pale of the Church of England, out of which she seems conscientiously to have believed that there was no salvation, and no possibility of ruling the English people. The genius of Bolingbroke, overlooking these ifs and hypotheses, and the startling array of national feeling and parliamentary authority, presumed that, through the partialities of a weak woman and the energies and resources of his own mind, he could set aside the Act of Succession, and bring in the Stuart. At this time the diplomatic intercourse between England and Hanover was anything rather than smooth: the queen considered herself highly insulted by the elector's adhering to his liege lord the emperor, and by the obstacles he had raised to the treaty of Utrecht. Anne, in her own court, spoke most disrespectfully both of George and of his aged mother, and encouraged the jests and satires that were made upon their serene highnesses by her familiars. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian resident, knew not how to act or what to think—except that there was a design on foot against his master. The Lord Treasurer Oxford, who was most anxious to commit himself with neither party too openly, was a complete riddle to the bewildered German. "One is at a loss," says the baron, in a letter to Bothmar, "what character to give of this man. He told a stranger, who wanted to put him upon his guard against some one, I never trusted any one; I am determined not to trust any one for the future; consequently, no one has deceived or can deceive me." Galke, the secretary to the Hanoverian embassy, was equally perplexed by Oxford, and affirmed that, in transacting business with him, it was impossible to understand the answers he gave.

Letters were brought over from the Pretender and his chief advisers (as they had been before) to entreat all the friends of the good cause to vote for the Tories, and to exert themselves strenuously in the elections for the new parliament. [Yet Oxford, according to a Jacobite letter, had "lately put in some of the most violent Whigs to be high sheriffs in some counties, on purpose to influence the next elections in favour of the Whigs."]* The

* Swift's Journal.

* Extract of a letter from Father Innes, in Macpherson, Stuart Papers. The very next letter in this strange repository of intrigue and baseness is from a Mrs. White in England to the Pretender's minister in France. After speaking about a considerable sum "for him that was of the best quality"—meaning Secretary Bolingbroke, Mrs. White says that she cannot change her opinion about the trimming and shuffling Harley (Oxford). "He would," she says, "engage all; but keeps the balance in his own power, to give a turn the way he thinks will prove most suitable to continue for his own private interest. He makes himself many enemies, and secures but few friends; for those that are in the king's interest abominate the trimming way he takes; and he will not be able to go on much longer without giving some other demonstration than he yet has." In another letter in the same collection, in which Lord Newcastle gives an account to the Pretender's chief adviser, the Earl of Middleton, of a conversation he had held with a Jacobite agent, it is said, on the authority of the said agent, "that, when one examined nearly several things that he (Oxford) does, a body might believe he had no good intentions; but that he was so cunning and close a man, that one should not despair of him, though he does things that seem very opposite to our master's interest."—"I told him," adds Lord Newcastle, "that since their queen could not live for ever, that methought Mr. Harley would do very prudently to strike up with the king, to have all confirmed upon him and continued to him by the king, after the death of their queen. He answered that, if the king were master of his three kingdoms to-morrow, he would not be able to do for Mr. Harley what the Elector of Hanover had done already."

Tories stood upon the peace and upon the broad basis of the high-church interest, and so despondent were the friends of the Protestant succession, that General Stanhope told Schutz that the majority of *country gentlemen* would surely be against them; and that, if things continued on their present footing, the elector would not come to the crown unless he came with an army. Still, however, the Whigs made extraordinary exertions, taking *their* stand upon the treaty of commerce and the old jealousies of the nation against everything French. This last was their best card; and, to show their concern for trade and the staple commodity, they wore pieces of wool in their hats, while the Tories wore green boughs, to recall the memory of the oak of Boscabel and the Restoration of King Charles II. After the two parties had tried their strength in all the counties and boroughs, it was found that the Whigs were a trifle more successful in this election than at the last: they still, however, continued a weak minority in the Commons; and the hopes of the party rested with the Lords.

The foreign transactions of the year 1713 heaped fresh disgrace upon the flag of the government of England. Philip, as King of Spain, had renewed the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1667, which granted to England the monopoly of a detestable traffic—"the Assiento," or the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with African slaves. He had also, on the representations of the English government, engaged to grant their lives, estates, and honours to the steady and unfortunate adherents of the Austrian claimant, the brave Catalans, for all that had been done by them during this war. There were to be exceptions, as a matter of course; but as many of the Catalans as pleased were to be allowed liberty to remove to Italy with their effects. But the people of that province, who before now had braved for years the whole power of Spain, distrusted and refused the conditions offered to them, and prepared once more to defend themselves against the armies of Philip. If the Bourbon had had only Spanish troops, the struggle might again have lasted twelve years; but Philip got veteran troops from France, and the Duke of Berwick for his active and able general; and the "rebellion," as it was now styled even by some of the powers that had landed the Austrian Charles there, and put arms in the hands of the natives, was quenched in a sea of blood—leaving the Catalans good cause to curse the name of England and of Austria. As for the emperor, he would have assisted them, or at least for his own interest he would have prolonged the struggle in Spain, if he had been able; but, left to carry on the war single-handed, it was with extreme difficulty he could defend himself upon the Rhine, where the French re-took Landau, and gained other decided advantages, which made him listen to pacific proposals, that led, in the autumn, to a conference at Rastadt between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars. Eugene endeavoured to recover by negotiation provinces which had long been wrested from the empire; Villars demanded huge sums of money for the expenses of the war; Louis was resolved to keep all that he had got; and the emperor had no money to give. The negotiations were broken off, but each party soon saw the propriety of yielding something; Eugene and Villars met again at Rastadt, where it was finally agreed that France should continue in possession of the whole of Alsace, with Landau, Strasburg, and the fortresses of Huninghen and New Brisac, in their integrity, and not dismantled as proposed in the treaty of Utrecht; and that the allies of France, the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, should be relieved from the ban of the empire, and reinstated in their respective dominions. It was further agreed, however, that there should be a kind of congress held at Baden in the spring of the following year, to regulate other matters so as to perpetuate the peace between the French king and the emperor. We may mention here, that when that meeting took place the pope's nuncio was present as one of the congress, and that when the emperor desired that ministers of England and Holland should also be admitted it was resolutely refused by France. When Anne complained of this the French king replied that he would do her majesty all good offices, and take all possible care of the interests of Great Britain. "This," adds Cunningham, "was looked upon as a most dangerous juncture to the Protestant succession. The Pretender to the British crowns, residing in Lorraine, sent expresses to Baden and everywhere; and, by the advice of the pope, demanded in marriage the daughter of the Emperor Joseph. He also solicited all the Popish princes, and the pope himself, by all the motives of religion, not to have anything more at heart, in this critical juncture, than the Popish religion and his cause, which were always united. About this time his favourers in England propagated a rumour that there were good grounds to hope that he would renounce the Popish religion and conform himself to the church of England. The Lord Bolingbroke came rashly into their sentiments, and even treated with the Earl of Oxford about paying the dowry of the queen dowager, widow of King James, then in exile in France. But the Earl of Oxford hesitated on this point, till it should appear on what grounds it might be done. The widowed queen herself had given occasion to this scruple, by claiming that money under the title of queen mother instead of queen dowager. And this, the Earl of Oxford said, could not be lawfully admitted after her son was attainted by law." The Emperor Charles was solicited, like the other Catholic princes, by the court of Rome and by the Pretender; and it was feared that, to avenge the faithless defection of Queen Anne, which had cost him so dear, his imperial majesty might make com-

It is believed, however, that George had done, and as yet could do, nothing but give promises of future reward to the double-faced lord-treasurer, who was certainly, at the moment, promising all his interest to the House of Hanover, who did not trust him, but who may have thought it worth their while to delude him, and meet cunning with cunning.

Plymouth, during the present period. From a Print.

mon cause with France and Rome in abetting the outcast Stuart, and forcing him back upon the English nation. It was even rumoured that the emperor had expressly stipulated to support the cause of the exiled family, and to give one of his nieces in marriage to the Pretender. Oxford, in a conversation with the Whig ex-chancellor Lord Cowper, accused the Duke of Marlborough of promoting this marriage.* The conferences both at Rastadt and Baden were therefore watched with the greatest anxiety in England; and so low had the real victrix in the war now fallen, that she was grateful for an assurance that the emperor would not interfere in the internal concerns of England. Her name, in fact, was not mentioned in the treaty.

In the mean time the government of England had fallen into contempt at home, and the intrigues of the court had thickened, and continued still to thicken, with every new attack of the gout or other illness of her majesty. Anne's own mind was divided and agitated by different partialities and conflicting passions; and the two women whom she chiefly consulted, and upon whose advice she relied, as she had done in former times upon that of the Duchess of Marlborough, entertained notions diametrically opposite. The Duchess of Somerset was favourable to the house of Hanover, and wrought upon the weak mind of Anne through her dread of Popery and her high Church-of-Englandism, not hesitating to hint that she would risk her soul's eternal welfare, if she exposed her people to the dangers of Popery by contributing to the succession of a prince who had been nurtured in the Roman creed, who had lived all his life in Roman Catholic countries, and who had rejected every overture made to him about changing his religion or conforming, even in outward appearances, to the Anglican church. Lady Masham, on the other side, was enthusiastic for the Pretender. As early as the year 1710 that bedchamber-woman had put herself at the head of schemes and projects for changing the destiny of her country: according to the Duke of Berwick, the Abbé Gaultier, when charged with the secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon him at St. Germain to communicate secret messages and overtures from Lord-Treasurer Oxford, and told him of the designs of the English minister in favour of the Pretender, stating, however, that Oxford insisted on three conditions:—1. That no one at St. Germain, not even the Pretender's mother, should be let into the secret; 2. That Anne should enjoy the crown during her life; 3. That security should be given for the church and constitution of England. Berwick informs us that he willingly agreed to all this, and that the Pretender did the same; but when he tried to bring the abbé to a clearer explanation he was told that the peace on the *tapis* must be concluded before such details could be safely entered upon.

In consequence of the clandestine expedition to Paris of Gaultier and Matthew Prior, M. Ménager, it will be remembered, came over to England.

* *Lord Cowper's Diary*, in Coxe's Life of Marlborough.

An important part of the mission with which Ménager was charged was, to ascertain what could be done for the Pretender, and what was the real state of Anne's feeling towards him. Lord Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, introduced Ménager to the she favourite, saying, that he did not choose to meddle further in the matter himself, but that her majesty had allowed him to introduce Ménager to Mrs. Masham. When the Frenchman and the bedchamber-woman came together they presently agreed upon two points;—1. That, for the satisfaction of the people at home, the King of France should be required in Anne's name to abandon her brother and his interest, *on pretence of adhering to the succession as it was now established;* 2. That, nevertheless, the seeming to abandon the said interest was to be so understood, that the king should not be obliged, in case of her majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for the placing the said prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right. "Mrs. Masham further told me," says Ménager, "that it was the present unhappiness of the queen to possess the throne of her brother, which she had no other claim to than what the political measures of the state had made legal, and, in a sort, necessary; which, however, she believed, gave her majesty oftentimes secret uneasiness; that this was not all the misfortune, but that, by the same necessity of state, she was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to further and promote the continuance of the usurpation, not only beyond her own life, but for ever: that I might be sure, under such circumstance, it would be an inexpressible satisfaction to her majesty, to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so much wrong, and if it could be possible, with safety to the religion and liberties of her subjects, to have her brother restored to his right, at least after her decease, if it could not be done before: that it was true the queen did not see through this; and it seemed next to impossible, 'the rage and irreconcilable aversion of the greatest part of the common people to her brother being grown to such a height;'—nay, she said, the queen found it would be impossible to enter upon any treaty of peace, or so much as to let the people hear of putting an end to the war, without entering into the strongest engagements possible for the confirming the succession in the House of Hanover; 'a thing that I am sure,' says she, '*is all our aversion;*' and we have no retreat but to his most Christian majesty, in hopes of his ordering things so at this treaty, that he may be at liberty to support and assist in the work, whenever an opportunity should present itself: that, to this end, the plenipotentiaries from hence, 'though there was no communicating anything to them by way of confidence,' should be instructed not to insist upon things more than necessity obliged; and 'some reserves, sure,' says she, 'may be made, to leave room for justice to take place in time to come.'" With the perfect understanding that the renunciation of the Pretender and the recognition of the Hanoverian succession was a mere show—a thing to be said and written, but not observed by his master Louis, Ménager repaired to Utrecht, where he was a principal negotiator, and where he found that the English plenipotentiaries had not received any such private instructions as Lady Masham had given him reason to expect would be sent to them: and he afterwards discovered that the agents of the court of St. Germain had made the interests of the chevalier or Pretender the subject of a private negotiation with the ministry in England. When Oxford had amused these agents as long as was thought necessary, he began to start numerous objections and difficulties, and to urge the necessity of time and patience in working out so great and perilous a scheme. And the Jacobite agents were at last obliged to represent to the court of Versailles, "that the ministry in England were men of no honour; that they had held them in suspense for a long time; and that now, they not only did not come to the point with them, but declined any conversation on the subject; only said in general, that a person would be sent over to Utrecht, who should discourse *by word of mouth* freely, and should settle that affair so as to be agreeable to all parties." Lady Masham, who had wished the Pretender to depend upon, and to owe his fortunes to, Bolingbroke, afterwards wrote to Ménager to express her disappointment and vexation. "I take it for granted," says the bedchamber-woman, "that they (the court of St. Germain) are fallen into the hands of my lord treasurer (Oxford): he loves a secret, and is famous for making intricacies, where there is a sterility of intrigues; and no less renowned for causing everything of such a nature to miscarry. If their assurances are from him, I doubt not, he values himself upon having deceived them."* It appears that the Duke of Berwick began to suspect Oxford's duplicity at rather an early stage of these intrigues, but that he was not thoroughly convinced that that minister was only serving his own turn by strengthening himself with the support of the Jacobites in court, parliament, and country, till some time after the peace of Utrecht was signed.† "In this manner," says the duke, in his Memoirs, when treating of the year 1714, "did Oxford amuse us, and it was difficult to prevent it; for to break with him would have been the destruction of everything, because he had the power in his hands, and governed Queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced *to pretend to trust to him;* but, at the same time, we neg-

* Minutes of Ménager's Negotiations, in Macpherson, Stuart Papers.—Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.

† Berwick says, that when he saw Gaultier again in France he expected him to be more explicit; but that the abbé only told him they must still have patience till the peace of Utrecht should be entirely finished; that the least hint of Queen Anne's intentions in favour of her brother would rouse the Whigs, and might not only destroy the necessary business of the peace, but perhaps even occasion the overthrow of the ministry and a revolution in the state; that it was, moreover, essential to make sure of the British army, which could not be done till after the peace was signed, when they "*would proceed to a reduction of it, and care would then be taken to keep only such officers as could be depended upon.*" We shall presently see Anne and her ministers carrying into effect this last-mentioned design, and re-officering the army with determined Jacobites!

lected not to concert measures privately with the Duke of Ormond, *and many other persons*, in order that we might bring about this matter by their means, if Oxford should fail us." Among the *many other persons* thus alluded to as trusty Jacobites, was the Duke of Buckingham, who, it is said, had once been the lover of Anne, in whose good graces his grace personally stood higher than any other man about the court. Under the name of Mr. Matthews, the Duke of Buckingham (who had taken to himself, as his third wife, the Lady Catherine Darnley, a natural daughter of King James II., by Catherine Sedley) wrote to the Pretender's minister, the Earl of Middleton, to assure him how truly he loved the king, and how earnestly he desired to have him back on the English throne, "notwithstanding the difference of religion." Under the cloak of nicknames and ciphers his grace went on to say, that the Pretender ought to think of the steps he had best take to please his aunt Anne, and get the good will of the English people; that he thought, for his own part, the people would be better inclined to him than to the Hanoverian; and that the only difficulty with the queen seemed to be the Pretender's religion. According to his grace, the queen had complained of his obstinate adherence to the faith in which he had been bred, and had said to him, "What would you have me do? You know, as the law stands, a papist cannot inherit the crown; and, therefore, should I alter my will, it would be to no purpose; the law would give all to Hanover, and therefore I had better do that with a good grace that I cannot help. . . . . I do not see how I can undo what I myself have done, and done in such a manner. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than Hanover." Buckingham also relates with some humour in this letter a recent journey he had made into the country, where he had been caressed by many loyal noblemen on account of his known Jacobitism. Lord Mulgrave, he says, had told him a thousand stories about the House of Hanover, and had said that *if* the king was not a papist they would soon give the elector his belly-full of law. [But it was precisely this great *if* that deterred, after all, the majority of the Tories.] To his grace it seemed perfectly natural and easy for the Pretender to change his religion—at least in appearance; and he reminded him that he was not the first of his family who had thought a crown worth changing an opinion for—alluding to Henry IV. of France, who had given up the Protestant religion, in which he had been bred, in order to gain possession of the French crown. This change of religion, he says, would be expected by the queen, "who is, and ever was, very obstinate in all her opinions."* To the honour of the Pretender, he was incapable of these compliances, which, in all probability, would, in the end, have been as useless as they were base. During the winter (1713-14) Anne was seized with a dangerous illness at Windsor; and for some time it was believed that the gout had mounted to her stomach. The nation was thrown into alarm—the intriguing ministry into an agonising panic. Oxford, the very last man that had a right to complain of indecision and procrastination, said to his penman and confidant Swift, "These people, when the queen's ill, think she has not an hour to live, and when she is better, they act as if she were immortal."* A run was made upon the Bank; it was reported that an armament was prepared in the ports of France to bring over the Pretender; and the funds, ever susceptible and ever timid, fell. To quiet these alarms, the suffering Anne was obliged by her ministers to write a letter to the lord mayor of London, to assure him, that, though an aguish indisposition, succeeded by a fit of the gout, had detained her longer than usual at Windsor, yet she intended soon to return to town, and open the session of parliament in person; and, in effect, her maladies yielding once more to the force of medicine, she returned to London; and, as it was ascertained that the Pretender continued quiet and helpless in Lorraine, the alarm vanished and the funds rose again.

* Macpherson.

A. D. 1714.—The new parliament, which had been originally summoned for the 12th of the preceding November, met on the 16th of February. Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker. Mr. Richard Steele, one of the most delightful writers of that or any other day, but who was new in the House, had risen to support the nomination. "I rise up," said the essayist, "to do him honour." He could get no further in his speech, for many members cried out "Tatler," "Tatler:" and as he went down the House several said aloud, "It is not so easy a thing to speak in the House! He fancies, because he can scribble, he can speak!" On the 2nd of March her majesty delivered the speech from the throne. She told the two Houses that she had great satisfaction in being able to assure them that the ratifications of the treaties of peace and of commerce with Spain had been exchanged; that, by the blessing of God, an honourable and advantageous peace had thus been secured for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she congratulated her subjects upon their deliverance "from a consuming *land war*, &c. She took to herself the merit of holding the balance of Europe, of promoting trade, and encouraging the right application of our naval force. After asking supplies for the current service of the year and for the discharge of debts, she reverted to the old sore subjects—the press and the House of Hanover. "I wish," she said, "that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered. There are some, also, arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my government. Those who go about thus to distract the

* Swift's Works, Inquiry.

minds of men with imaginary dangers can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us. After all I have done to secure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth; and I must hope you will all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the Protestant succession." We are not told that either Anne or her ministers blushed at the inevitable recollection of their recent schemes and correspondence with the Chevalier. But several members of both Houses must have known enough to be quite aware of the insincerity of her majesty's expressions. The repeated denunciations of the press from the throne had not been altogether idle thunder. Bolingbroke, who prided himself, and who had a right to pride himself, on his pen, had caused the arrest of eleven printers and publishers in one day;* and it had been perfectly well known to the trade that great risks must be run in printing anything displeasing to the ministry. The latter body, however, had not for this moderated their own attacks, slanders, and libels, and Swift was still retained by the lord treasurer, who flattered that evil-hearted and bright-headed priest with the hopes of promotion to some of the highest dignities in the church. Richard Steele had recently written a warm Whig pamphlet, called 'The Crisis,' to sound the alarm on the dangers that beset the Protestant succession. To this, Swift had replied in one of the bitterest of his productions, entitled 'The Public Spirit of the Whigs,' containing, among other offensive passages, a most scurrilous abuse of the Scottish peers and of the whole Scottish nation. It appears that the style betrayed the man, that Swift was known to be the author, and, as it was suspected that his intimate associate Bolingbroke had assisted him in the composition, the Whig House of Lords were provoked, and were urged by Lord Wharton to prosecute. The printer and publisher were both brought in custody to the bar. "We have nothing to do with the printer and publisher," exclaimed Wharton; "but it highly concerns the honour of this august assembly to find out the villain who is the author of this false and scandalous libel, in order to do the Scottish nation justice." Oxford protested that he knew nothing of the pamphlet or of its author; and, on going out of the House, he wrote a letter to his creature Swift, enclosing a 100*l.* note, and promising "to do more." Lord Wharton, however, pressed to have Barber, the printer, closely examined, but this was defeated by Oxford's having directed a prosecution against that person, which rendered his evidence as to the author inadmissible. The Scottish peers, headed by the Duke of Argyll, went up to the queen, and demanded satisfaction. Anne, by proclamation, offered 300*l.* for the discovery of the author; but Swift was, of course, perfectly safe, and in the end, printer and publisher were dismissed, and the business was let drop. The Whigs, in the Lords, had thus taken the initiative, and had miserably failed: the Tories in the Commons followed the example, but with far more success. Steele, who had put his name to his pamphlet, and who was obnoxious on account of many former witticisms in the 'Tatler,' was singled out for a surer vengeance, and was hit by the shaft which the anonymous and protected Swift had escaped. Hungerford, a lawyer who had been expelled the House in the time of King William, for accepting a bribe for his vote, called attention to certain scandalous and seditious papers, published by Richard Steele, esquire, a member of that House. Harley, brother to the lord-treasurer, auditor Foley, a kinsman of the same minister, and Sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer, followed the branded lawyer, and fell without mercy upon the poor author, whom they charged more particularly with his late pamphlet, the 'Crisis,' and with two numbers of his periodical paper, called 'The Englishman.' So violent were they, that they proposed proceeding immediately to extremities, without allowing Steele to answer at all. Next they were for allowing him only till the following Monday, or three days, to prepare his defence. Steele asked for a week. Putting on a sanctified countenance, and adopting the whining tone of the conventicle, the witty essayist said—"I own in the meekness and contrition of my heart, that I am a very great sinner, and hope those members who spoke last, and who are so justly renowned for their exemplary piety and devotion, will not be accessary to accumulating the number of my transgressions, in obliging me to break the Sabbath of the Lord, by perusing such profane writings as shall serve for my defence." The members who spoke last were Harley and Foley, who had both been Puritans, and who had both deserted the conventicle for the church. The humorist's attack was effectual; Steele was allowed his week for preparation. On the appointed day he stood up to deliver his defence, and the sneering members found, that though a writer, he *could* speak. He spoke, in fact, for three hours, and with great ability; being assisted by his friend Joseph Addison, who was no orator himself, but who sat beside him, and "prompted him on occasion." Steele was charged with insinuating that the Hanover succession was in danger under Queen Anne and her majesty's present ministers. He was also accused by recent converts or renegades of being no true Church-of-England-man. Here the wit and humorist again made use of his best weapons. "I cannot tell," said Steele, "what they would have me do to prove myself a churchman; but I think I have appeared one even in so trifling

* The attacks on the ministry generally appeared in short pamphlets, newspapers, and loose sheets, which were sold at a penny a piece. Oxford and Bolingbroke laid a tax of a halfpenny on these cheap productions; but they failed in their intention of suppressing them. Swift complains, that while the Tories were discouraged by the additional halfpenny, and left off buying the loose sheets of their party, the Whig papers continued to flourish under all the disadvantages of the tax: "a proof," says Lord John Russell, "of the superior wealth, popularity, or wit of the opposition."—*Hist. Europe.*

a thing as a comedy; considering that as a comic poet I have been a martyr and confessor for the church, for my play was damned for its piety."* It was expected that the *ci-devant* puritan, auditor Foley, would reply in detail to Steele's defence; but Foley, sure of his Tory majority, and having no wit to throw away, thought this would be an unnecessary trouble, and merely said—"Without amusing the House with long speeches, it is plain that the writings that have been complained of are seditious and scandalous, injurious to her majesty's government, the church, and the universities; and I move that the question be put thereupon." Robert Walpole rose and threw his shield between Mr. Auditor and the Essayist. In a forcible speech, full of liberal sentiments and clever home-thrusts, Walpole said, "Why is the author answerable in parliament for a book which he wrote in his private capacity? And if he is punishable by law, why is he not left to the law? By this mode of proceeding, parliament, which used to be the scourge only of evil ministers, is made by ministers the scourge of the subject. . . . . From what fatality does it arise, that what is written in favour of the Protestant succession, and what was countenanced by the late ministry, is deemed a libel by the present administration? General invectives in the pulpit against any particular sin have never been deemed a reflection on individuals, unless the darling sin of those persons happens to be the vice against which the preacher inveighs. It becomes then a fair inference, from the irritability and resentment of the present administration against its defender, that their darling sin is to obstruct and prevent the Protestant succession."† In other particulars the debate in favour of the man of genius was singularly interesting. Steele, in one of his papers in the Guardian, had, to his honour, refuted a scandalous libel on Lady Charlotte Finch, afterwards Duchess of Somerset, which appeared in the Examiner, where Swift frequently wrote. Lady Charlotte was daughter to the Tory leader, the Earl of Nottingham, and sister to Lord Finch, then a young member of the House of Commons. Lord Finch remembered the obligation, and was eager to show his gratitude to his sister's defender. Like Steele, he was unpractised in public speaking; his ideas quitted his head as he got upon his legs, he hesitated, and at last floundered into a hopeless silence. But, as he sat down, his lordship said, loud enough to be heard, "It is strange, I cannot speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him." The generous words excited universally a generous feeling in the House, which resounded with cries of "Hear him, hear him." Lord Finch rose again; and, as if a floodgate had been opened, he poured forth a copious, flowing, and eloquent speech. His lordship particularly justified what Steele had said about the disgraceful peace of Utrecht; and adopting that writer's language, he exclaimed—"We may, if we please, give it fine epithets, but epithets do not change the nature of things: we may, if we please, call it here honourable; but I am sure it is accounted scandalous in Holland, Germany, Portugal, and over all Europe, except France and Spain. We may call it advantageous; but all the trading part of the nation find it to be otherwise: and if it be really advantageous, it must be so to the ministry that made it." Sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer, here rose to insist that it could not be said that the peace was advantageous to ministers. "Then," retorted Lord Finch, "it is plain it is advantageous to no one but our late enemies." But this was all irritating language—this was not a course likely to serve Steele:—the generous feeling passed off in a moment; and the Tories, by the overwhelming majority of 245 against 152, voted that Steele was guilty of a scandalous libel, and should be expelled the House.*

Nevertheless the Whigs remaining in parliament resolved to prove the truth of the essayist's position, that the Protestant succession *was* in danger. They began in the Lords, where Sunderland, Cowper, Halifax, and Wharton urged the perils arising from the Pretender's continuing in Lorraine, and carried an address praying for an account of what steps had been taken by government to procure his removal. Lord Oxford had recourse to one of his tricks; and he moved for a bill "for the further security of the Protestant Succession, to make it high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom." He thought that this would have the outward appearance of zeal and patriotism; but his real intention was to prevent the landing of the Electoral Prince of Hanover with an armed force, a desperate expedient which now began to be talked of, and which had been recommended—among others by the Duke of Marlborough!—to the house of Hanover as the only likely means of making sure of the succession. But the lord-treasurer's device was transparent: he was called upon to explain his meaning, and, upon being compelled to say that he meant the bill to apply only to foreign troops introduced by the Pretender, he was told that then it must be altogether unnecessary, for by all laws such troops, if foreigners, would be public enemies, and if natives, rebels. The bill was accordingly lost, and Oxford greatly disconcerted. The Whig lords continued their attack; and Lord Wharton moved, in direct terms, that the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration. The debate was exceedingly hot. Lord Anglesea said, that, "as the honour of his sovereign and the good of his country were the rule of his actions, so he had no respect of persons; and, if he found himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold." Several peers who had hitherto figured as warm Tories and supporters of the administration—as

* He probably alludes to his Comedy of the Lying Lovers, which was produced with little success at Drury-Lane in 1704.

† Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

* Parl. Hist.—Steele's Apology.

the Archbishop of York and several bishops, the Earls of Abingdon, Jersey, and Anglesea himself, and the Lords Ashburnham and Carteret—turned round on this critical occasion and voted with the Whigs. Yet, in the end, the vote that the succession was *not* in danger was carried by a majority of twelve—exactly the number of the recently created peers. The House of Commons, however, on the motion of Sir Edward Knatchbull, resolved itself into committee on the same question. In that House also many Tories, of the class generally styled the Hanoverian Tories, quitted the ministerial ranks and voted with the Whigs. The speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, was one of these seceders; and he delivered a speech which was considered powerful and effective by many who were Tories without any taint of Jacobitism. Hanmer said that so much had been advanced to prove the succession in danger, and so little said on the other side, that he should vote against ministers. A minority of 208 voted with him against 256—a diminution in the majority which spread consternation in part of the cabinet, and gave joy to the rest, for Bolingbroke's main endeavour was at the moment to overthrow the lord-treasurer. The Tories too—Jacobites and all—were obliged, for the sake of appearances, to agree with the Whigs in a resolution that the queen should be desired to renew her instances for the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine. This address was also carried in the Upper House, where Lord Wharton further moved that her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive. Notwithstanding their desire and their interest in keeping up the popular excitement, and notwithstanding the risk they incurred of being denounced as Jacobites, several of the Whigs opposed this motion. Lord North and Grey said that such a proclamation, with the words dead or alive, would look like an encouragement to assassination, and he implored the House not to take a step so inconsistent with its high character, and with the character of a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency. Lord Trevor declared that no man had more respect and affection for the house of Hanover, but that they must excuse him if he would not venture his soul's perdition for them:—and he proposed as an amendment, "that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land either in Great Britain or Ireland." This was carried; the time of issuing the proclamation was left to the queen's own discretion; and Anne was thus relieved from the necessity of putting a price upon her brother's head. But in the strife of parties, and in the well-founded apprehensions of the time, the merciful alteration was carried by a majority of no more than ten. When the address was carried up to Anne she said, "It would be a real strengthening to the succession of the House of Hanover that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it necessary I shall give my orders to have it issued." At this moment Anne was in the worst of humours; irritated on the one side by the almost total defection of the bench of bishops, and the open hostility of many formerly deemed the most submissive of Tories; and scared on the other side by endeavours made and making by the Whigs to bring over the Electoral Prince of Hanover. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, had standing instructions to adhere to, and constantly consult with, the Whig leaders, Somers, Halifax, and Cowper, and with other lords and members of the Commons that were the undoubted and zealous friends of that succession. The envoy's house had thus become a place of constant resort and consultation; and, as they grew bolder with their growing strength in parliament, the Whigs proposed that Schutz should demand from the queen a writ of summons for the electoral prince, who, having been created a British peer by the title of Duke of Cambridge, only wanted the writ to be able to come over and take his seat in the House of Lords. The envoy, doing readily what he was asked to do, went at once to the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. "I told him," says Schutz himself in his dispatch to Robethon, "I had orders to thank him from the electress for the assurance he had given me, the first time I saw him, that he had her interests so much at heart, and made other compliments of the same kind; to which he answered as I could wish, protesting his profound respect and duty to her royal highness, of which he would be happy to give proofs on all occasions. I then told him that the electress ordered me to ask of him the electoral prince's writ, as Duke of Cambridge. He changed colour upon this, and looked down and told me that he would speak of it to the queen, not daring to give it me without her orders; but added, after being silent for some time, he did not recollect that a writ was demanded of him since he was in her majesty's service (to this I might have easily answered that the reason was he never retained any), nor that any was sent beyond sea. On which I answered that, by delivering it to me, he did not send it out of the kingdom; entreating him to give me his answer before this evening, in order that I might acquaint the electress by this day's post with what I had done to execute her orders. To this he answered simply that he intended to go to the queen to speak to her about it: so that I waited for the result of what was deliberated in the council, which I hear was called yesterday evening, and continued sitting until after midnight. Upon leaving him, he told me, at the door of his room, that he hoped I did not think that he refused me the writ, as he wanted only to know the queen's orders first."* Schutz expected the chancellor's answer on the morrow, and as it came not he wrote his lordship a pressing note on the subject. This

* Macpherson, Hanover Papers.

drew forth an immediate reply, which was to this effect:—"When you came to me yesterday, and told me that, by orders of the Princess Sophia, you demanded a writ of summons for the Duke of Cambridge, I let you know that I thought it my duty to acquaint her majesty therewith. I have accordingly laid this matter before the queen, who was pleased to say, that, not having received the least information of this demand from you, or in any other manner whatsoever from the court of Hanover, she could hardly persuade herself that you acted by direction from thence; that she, therefore, did not think fit to give me any other answer than this. The writ for the Duke of Cambridge was sealed of course when the writs of summons to all the other peers were sealed, and lies ready to be delivered to you, whenever you call for it." In a letter written on the same day to Bothmar, Schutz says that the coming of the electoral prince was absolutely necessary, as the fears of the Pretender's coming were but too well founded. [Probably the Whig party had by some means or other received intelligence of a bold design conceived by the Duke of Berwick, of which we shall speak presently.] Schutz also declared that the Whigs were delighted with the order which the electress Sophia had sent him to demand the writ—"and," says he, "before I did anything in that affair, I asked the advice of the following persons, and they were all of the same opinion:—Devonshire, Somerset, Nottingham, Argyll, Oxford, Somers, Cowper, Halifax, Wharton, and Townshend. Anglesea being in the country, I could not consult him before last night, when I saw him at Sir Thomas Hanmer's. He said that you could not do anything more to the purpose, and that this is the last opportunity of saving your succession; being very sure that, unless you apply a speedy remedy, it will be too late before the end of six months, as everything will be then ruined. Therefore he, as well as all our other friends, conjure the elector to send over the prince immediately, *although the writ should be refused*, as his presence alone can re-establish everything yet; and as everything will be lost after taking such a step (that is, the demanding the writ) if we go no further. Sir Thomas Hanmer is of the same opinion, and promised, as well as Lord Anglesea, to employ his influence with all those who depend upon him in the House of Commons to make them declare themselves, assuring me he is fully convinced the court will not be in a condition to hinder them." The lord treasurer Oxford had taken the alarm. The refusal of the writ, or any coldness or anger on the part of the queen, would, he knew, he imputed in part to himself; and, on the very day after the lord chancellor had sent Schutz his ambiguous answer, Oxford wrote a letter of solemn protestations to the Hanoverian court, and dispatched it by an express messenger. "I do, in the most solemn manner," said the lord treasurer, "assure you that, next to the queen, I am entirely and unalterably devoted to the interests of his electoral highness. This is not only from the conscience of my oaths, but out of profound respect to the elector's great virtues. I may, without vanity, say that I had the greatest hand in settling the succession. I have ever preserved the same opinion; and it is owing to the declarations the queen has so often made in their favour, that the generality of the people are come to be for that House." Not satisfied with protesting and lying for himself, Oxford proceeded to lie for the bedchamber-woman, whose great influence over the concerns of the government was as notorious as it was disgraceful, and also to lie for the pious queen, whose aversion to the Guelphs amounted to a downright loathing. "I am sure," he adds, "that Lady Masham, the queen's favourite, is entirely for their succession. I am also sure that the queen is so; and you may do me the justice to assure his electoral highness, that I am ready to give him proofs of my attachment to his interest, and to set in a true light the state of this country; for it will be very unfortunate for so great a prince to be only prince over a party, which can never last long in England." And after this he laboured to show that the coming over of the electoral prince would be far more fatal to the interests of his family than it would be unpleasant to her majesty. "Let me, in confidence, tell you," said he, "that there is but one thing that can be any way of prejudice to the succession, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the queen's consent. Two courts in this country have been so fatal, and the factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the queen and to the serene House, to have any such thing enterprised, that may create a difference between the queen and that family: *that* will change the dispute to the crown and the succession; whereas now it is between the House of Hanover and a popish pretender. I will add but this one word, that I will assure you that, upon any advances of kindness from the House of Hanover, I will pawn my life for it, they shall receive most essential proofs of the queen's friendship; and I am sure *that* is the best confirmation of their succession." Even thus lightly could the prime minister of England speak of the solemn and repeated acts of parliament, which alone were competent to decide the question, putting before them and above them the will or caprice, the sympathies and antipathies, of the weak yet headstrong occupant of the throne. On the following day Baron Schutz went to the lord chancellor's, to take up the writ for the Duke of Cambridge; "but," says he, "the Chancellor and all his clerks had gone out, so that I returned empty-handed." From the chancellor's the envoy went to Lord Oxford's, where the treasurer drew him aside and asked him if he had not got the writ. "I told him," says Schutz, "that I had not. He inquired if the chancellor had not written to me, and I acquainted him how I had missed him. He then said to me, that the queen was very much

surprised I had never said anything to her about it; adding that she had never been treated in that manner. I answered that, my orders having been addressed to the lord chancellor, I went to him; that I was surprised he did not warn me of my mistake if it was necessary to address myself to the queen, which he might and should have known better than I. He appeared to be in very bad humour and much embarrassed."* The envoy, however, was assured by Lord Anglesea and all the rest of his friends that he had taken the proper way of asking for the writ, and the only way to obtain it, that, if he had addressed himself first to the queen, their enemies would have endeavoured to divert the thing, with as much warmth as they were now employing to hinder the coming of the prince. These noblemen also told Schutz that the embassy to Hanover of Lord Paget which was hastily preparing,† had no other object than to hinder the electoral prince's journey. "There have been, however," says Schutz, "great rejoicings over all the city, since it was made public that I had asked the writ for the prince; and some have no doubts of his coming speedily, as others most certainly fear it. The bells were ringing for some days past, and healths drunk to his good journey." The envoy, from all that he saw, was convinced more and more of the needfulness of the journey; and he was further urged and impelled by the Whig leaders, who seem scarcely ever to have left him. "The report," says he, "which our enemies spread everywhere, and which found credit with a great number, that we are very indifferent about the succession, will be considered perfectly true if, after having demanded the writ, the electoral prince does not come over immediately." On the next day the Hanoverian envoy went again to the lord chancellor's; but, although it was only nine o'clock in the morning, he was assured that his lordship had been gone out an hour—"which," adds Schutz, with some reason, "I considered as if they had a mind to amuse me, and not to give me the writ." Still, however, he insisted on the prince's coming, and declared that good effects had already been produced by the steps he had taken. Some time before this Oxford had dispatched his brother, Mr. Harley, to keep matters smooth at Hanover; and he now sent an express to his relative, "who, no doubt," says Schutz, "will do all he can to intimidate our court, and particularly the electress, with complaints of our demand." The Hanoverian adds, "But, in the name of God, do not hesitate at anything which Mr. Harley can say to you. It ought rather to determine you speedily. This is the general opinion of all our friends here, who deserve, on account of the danger to which they expose themselves, that you should not lose a moment in coming to their relief." Lord Townshend joined the envoy in making these representations. In a remarkable letter, in which his lordship briefly reviews the disadvantages and dangers of Queen Anne's recent and present foreign policy, he tells the Hanoverian court that they are far too secure as to the Pretender. "You seem," says his lordship, "to think it impossible for the Pretender to make any attempt during the queen's life. In this *we* are absolutely of another opinion, for reasons, as we think, so very obvious to those who observe with the least attention the present conduct here, that there is no need of entering into particulars on this head; and, this being the settled notion of all your friends here, you will easily imagine into how great a degree of despair we were all thrown by that part of your letter, where you mention the elector's resolution of not sending the electoral prince without a previous invitation. For it is but a small comfort to us to see how diligent and careful you are in taking remote precautions abroad, whilst we are convinced that the danger is so imminent here that we shall in all probability be totally ruined before any of those supports can possibly come to our relief. But now I must congratulate with you upon M. le Baron de Schutz's last orders for demanding the electoral prince's writ of summons. This I can assure you is thought by everybody, both friends as well as enemies, to be the first step that your court has made that looks as if you were in earnest about the succession. Nothing can be more effectual if it be supported by the immediate sending the prince, nor more seasonable than it was at this time; for the queen had just then given a most unkind answer, to give it no worse term, to an address for the support of the succession; and, when the House of Lords came to consider of this answer, the effect of the electoral prince's having demanded his writ appeared most plainly by the behaviour of a great number of lords upon that occasion, though that news was not then publicly known. Monsieur Schutz will acquaint you with the consternation our ministers were under upon this occasion, and the fright the chancellor was in lest it should be thought *he* had denied the writ. They are so sensible that this step, if it be followed by the immediate coming of the prince, will so effectually ruin their designs, and tend so directly to the securing the succession from all future danger, that you may depend upon their making use of all arts and contrivances imaginable to prevent his coming. Neither threats nor flattery will be spared. They are so intent and so bent upon prevailing with you to stop the prince, that they will not rely upon Mr. Harley's dexterity, but have determined to send to you my Lord Paget. You must therefore prepare to be very vigorously attacked by way of message; they see the spirit of the people here runs so high in your favour, that they have no hopes of bringing either them or parliament up to anything that may discourage the prince's coming. They are, therefore, forced to

* Letter to Robethon.

† According to a note from Lord Townshend to the Hanoverian minister (in *Macpherson*), "some one asked Lord Paget, as he congratulated him upon being named to go to Hanover, whether he believed he could persuade that family *to renounce* the crown of England?"

turn all their views towards you, and are reduced to the miserable necessity of trying whether they can persuade your court to betray itself. I shall trouble you no further than only to give you the unanimous opinion of all our friends upon this occasion. They are persuaded that you must be convinced, by the manner in which this writ was granted, that you have opened a most unexceptionable way for the coming of the prince. It is plain the writ would not have been granted, could they, by law, have justified the refusing of it; and the uneasiness they expressed, both when it was granted and since, shows plainly they would not have failed to have attempted something in parliament, in order to have discouraged him from coming, could they have had the least hopes of carrying it."* On the 16th of April, or four days after his first demanding the writ, Schutz informs Robethon of an interview he has had with Oxford. "The lord-treasurer," he says, "told me that he never saw the queen in a greater passion. All the reason he alleges to me for this is, that she had no notice from me of the demand which I was to make of the writ, and although he could not deny but the chancellor prepared and delivered writs. From whence I wanted to prove to him that it was therefore to the chancellor I was to address myself, as he was the minister to whose department such things belonged; besides that my orders imported to go to him, and that he did not discover to me that I addressed myself improperly; yet he said that I ought to have addressed myself to the secretary of state, or to him, who would not have failed to advise very properly in the affair; protesting that he had no service more at heart, after the queen's, than that of the electoral family, and that he was vexed at what had happened, the queen taking it as the greatest mark of contempt that could be given to her; telling me, that had it not been for this incident, her majesty would have invited the electoral prince to come to pay her a visit next summer; without recollecting that he had told me but a moment before that she was two much afraid to see any of the electoral family here; and that, this alone excepted, she would willingly grant everything else that could be demanded of her. He heaped together several very unintelligible things in this discourse, to which I made no other answer than that, having addressed myself to the proper officer for a thing which the law determined in our favour I could not imagine that the queen was angry at it, nor that she would interpret wrongly a measure of that kind." Schutz pleaded the custom of the country in peers' writs, and the orders he had received from the electress; but Oxford advised him not to appear any more at court. The Hanoverian envoy not being disposed to take this advice, Sir Charles Cotterell, master of the ceremonies, waited upon him, and read him a letter from Bromley, one of the secretaries of state, in which it was intimated that the queen commanded Bromley to tell Schutz, in plain terms, not to appear again at her court, as her majesty looked upon it as an affront done to her to have asked the chancellor for the writ to the Duke of Cambridge, a prince of her blood, and that for that reason she had ordered Mr. Harley to solicit the elector and electress to recall their envoy immediately. Lord Strafford, who was at the Hague, wrote to the Electress Sophia to advise her and her son the elector to disapprove of Baron Schutz's conduct, and to vindicate the ministry from entertaining any designs in favour of the Pretender. Strafford assured the aged princess that the embassy of Lord Paget was meant "to explain matters, and set them in so true a light that no artifice of a faction or party, for private views and interests, might be able for the future to cause any inquietude between the queen and that illustrious family." His lordship said that he was sorry to find her ministers in England had lately acted as *if he*, at least, was governed by the party that was against the court, because the chief amongst them have no longer the chief employments in the government. He said that Schutz's behaviour was resented as irregular and disrespectful to the queen, adding, "for though, by strict law, a peer, though absent, may demand his writ of the lord chancellor, yet it is never done; but the lord chancellor keeps it by him till such time as the absent peer returns and demands it himself to sit in parliament. I know this better than any man, it having been my case under several lord chancellors, as I have been abroad ever since the first year her majesty came to the crown, and, having often had leave to take turns into England, the chancellors have always kept my writ till I came and demanded it to sit in parliament, which they immediately were obliged to send me; and so it would have been with the Duke of Cambridge whenever he should come into England to sit in parliament." His lordship then, at great length, followed out the royal lie, that it was only because the writ had been improperly demanded that she objected to it—that both her majesty and her cabinet entertained the most perfect affection for the Protestant succession,—and that the danger of the Pretender was all a foolish and malicious outcry. As to obliging the Duke of Lorraine to send the Pretender out of his dominions, it was a thing not to be thought of, for he had engaged with France not to do it; and the French king, when spoken to on the subject, represented that he had fulfilled the treaty, having removed the chevalier out of his dominions. On the other side, Schutz, being forbid the court, made haste back to Hanover to justify himself, and the

* *Macpherson, Hanover Papers.*—Lord Townshend says in conclusion, "From this we cannot think but that you must be satisfied that the inclinations of the people here are so strongly in favour of the house of Hanover, that the prince may come, not only with great security as to his person, but also that he will be received with all the respect and honour that is due to him. But if, after you have raised these expectations through the whole kingdom to the highest degree by the step you have made, you should be prevailed upon to abandon the thoughts of sending the prince, or be persuaded even to delay it, such a proceeding will be so fatal, that no man can be answerable for the consequences of it. I cannot conclude this without doing justice to Mons. le Baron de Schutz, who has upon this and all other occasions behaved himself with so much zeal and prudence, that he has deservedly got the entire esteem and consideration of all, both Whigs and *Tories, who are well affected to the house of Hanover.*"

Duke of Marlborough wrote to recommend that the electoral prince should set out for London before Lord Paget arrived at Hanover. "By this remedy," says Marlborough, "the succession will be secured without risk, without expense, and without war; and likewise it is very probable that France, seeing herself anticipated in that manner, will abandon her design of assisting the Pretender."* General Cadogan and other leading Whigs wrote pressing letters to the same effect. Lord Townshend announced that the Tories had changed their tone, and were so far from exclaiming against the coming of the electoral prince, that they were now applauding it, and advancing pretensions to have the principal share in his highness's good graces. "This," adds Townshend, "we will not envy them, providing they attach themselves to him, as they appear resolved to do; and it is not to be doubted but, as soon as he appears, the lord treasurer will seek his protection, and both parties pay their court to him. There is no question, therefore, of sending the prince to be the head of a party, but to have the glory of uniting the two parties, who will concur together in parliament to settle a revenue of thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling upon him; but, for this purpose, he must come before the end of the session." The Archbishop of York also sent professions of attachment, having previously been written to by the court of Hanover as a personage worth securing. "I hope," said the archbishop, "your royal highness will every day more and more have the satisfaction of seeing, not only I myself, but the whole body of our clergy, are faithful and zealous, as becomes us, in this respect; and that the same good spirit is still among us, which so laudably, and, through the blessing of God, successfully, opposed and got the better of the attempts of France and popery in King James's reign." A day or two after writing this letter, the Archbishop of York was sent for by Queen Anne, who was now greatly alarmed at the nation's apparent conviction that she and her ministers were betraying them to France and the Pretender. Kreyenberg, an Hanoverian secretary, who had remained in London after Schutz's departure, says, "The queen made the archbishop the greatest protestations, founded on conscience and sentiments of religion, that she was sincerely for the Protestant succession. This prelate cannot reconcile all this with what he himself and every one sees. She said nothing at all of the coming of the electoral prince, but only of the disobliging manner in which the writ was demanded." The secretary was convinced that the queen would agree to everything that could be asked of her, and perhaps sacrifice Bolingbroke, and turn others out of the ministry, if the prince would only give up his journey and not come into England at all. In the mean while, Harley, at Hanover, continued to show cause why the prince should not come, and to deluge that court with protestations of her majesty's attachment. Upon his asking what they wanted to be done for the greater security of the Protestant succession established in their family, the electoress and her son, the elector, gave him a memorial, in which they represented the necessity of her majesty obliging the Pretender to remove to Italy without loss of time, as the Pretender's adherents were then publicly boasting, with the utmost assurance, that he was actually preparing to make a descent in the north of Great Britain, while the kingdom was unfurnished with troops.* They also represented that it was necessary for the kingdom and for the Protestant religion, that a member of the electoral family should be settled in Great Britain; and that a pension and establishment should be fixed by act of parliament on the electoress, as the nearest heir to the crown. "Their electoral highnesses," said the memorial, "did not choose to form any pretensions in this respect, while the nation was burdened with the expenses of the war; but these expenses being discontinued, they hope, that during this very session of parliament her majesty will be so good as to procure them a thing which is so just, and which is but a natural consequence of all that she has done already in their favour." And the last demand or request of the memorial was, that her majesty would be pleased to grant titles belonging to the princes of the blood of Great Britain, to such of the Protestant princes of the electoral family as were not yet invested with them. All these demands and proceedings vexed and alarmed Anne, and brought back her old sickness. This indisposition was a fresh cause for excitement to both courts. Her majesty, however, took great pains to make known the conversation she had had with the Archbishop of York and the assurances she had given that prelate. She, moreover—at least in outward appearance—withdrew her confidence from Bolingbroke, and put herself again in the hands of the cautious Oxford. "The lord treasurer," says the Hanoverian agent Galke, "is more than ever in credit with the queen, and appears disposed to attach himself to the Electoral Prince, as soon as he appears, in order to gain him her majesty's

* In this letter, dated Antwerp, May 5, Marlborough, who had been so recently engaged in the same intrigues himself, says, "It is so evident that the queen's ministers are determined to place the Pretender on the throne, that it would be losing one's time to produce proofs of it. . . . . A more proper time for demanding the writ for the electoral prince could not have been chosen; for you see how many of the richest and most considerable among the Tories declare for you, and acknowledge that they were deceived by the ministry, who lose so much ground in both Houses, that you may depend upon it, they will take care not to call the second session in this parliament before they have executed their design in favour of the Pretender. . . . . Luckily, this session is to continue for two months longer, so that the electoral prince will have time enough to arrive and take his seat in parliament; in which case the balance will incline entirely to your side, as it begins to do already, upon the mere rumour of his coming: so that you may judge what effect his presence would produce. Accordingly, our friends write to me that, in that case, the parliament will not rise before they have settled a pension of 40,000*l.* sterling, for a subsistence to the prince, *who will have nothing to do but to make his court to the queen, and caress the ministers, without meddling in anything.* . . . . . I may add further, that, the prince being but the third in the order of succession, and coming alone without troops, the queen cannot be justly offended." —*Macpherson.*

* This intelligence they said was confirmed by different advices from persons who had been lately at Bar-le-duc, in Lorraine, and who asserted that he would begin very soon to execute his enterprise, and that he depended upon a powerful foreign assistance.

good graces, and to overturn Bolingbroke. . . . . Bolingbroke is enraged at this, and it is not doubted but he will take his measures upon it in a manner suitable to his humour."* Yet, on the other hand, Lord Breadalbane, a declared Jacobite, was sent down to Scotland; and letters from that country stated that the Jacobites were giving out that the Pretender would be there before the end of May; and that one Mackintosh, of Bolan or Borlum, had arrived lately from Bar-le-duc with a great number of commissions from the Chevalier. Cadogan wrote again to the Hanoverian court, stating in the strongest manner that, if Prince George's journey was put off, the succession would be inevitably lost. "You would see by the Gazettes," he adds, "that the stocks rose very high when the prince's journey was spoken of; an undoubted sign of the good disposition of this nation." After assuring the Hanoverians that all the Tories who were not downright Jacobites would declare against the present ministry as soon as ever the prince should arrive, Cadogan speaks of the two conflicting heads of the cabinet, and of the queen's favourite, who appears in all these transactions the most important of personages. Oxford and Bolingbroke, he said, were more exasperated than ever against one another: the lord treasurer had found means of reconciling himself with Lady Masham, and was boasting that he would very soon turn out both Lord Bolingbroke and the Lord Chancellor Harcourt: the treasurer's friends, moreover, were beginning, by private rumours, to charge Bolingbroke and Harcourt with the design of bringing in the Pretender. In consequence of these changes the court of Hanover made a show of being satisfied with Oxford's intentions, and set some of their ministers to renew a friendly correspondence with him. The Baron de Wassenaer Duvennserde, however, represented on the 7th of May, that, with regard to the electoral prince's journey, he was charged to tell my lord treasurer that it was considered essential by his court; and that, in making use of his writ of summons, the prince would only make use of what was his indisputable right, intending, however, if he went to England, to continue inviolably attached to the queen and to her ministers, and to his lordship (Oxford) in particular. The baron continues,—"I hope, my lord, that you will have no difficulty of conceiving the elector's views; and I pray God, with all my heart, that the measures taken to secure the Protestant succession to the crown of Great Britain may succeed, persuaded, as I am, that the preservation of our holy religion and the safety of Europe depend upon it. Your lordship is in a situation which enables you to procure so great a benefit, by uniting still more clearly the queen with the family of Hanover. In the name of God, my lord, employ your influence and your prudence to promote this salutary end. You will gain the blessing of heaven, and the applause of all honest men."

But a week after the date of this letter the electoral house received fresh warnings from an "unknown friend," who stated that the Jacobites in London were inventing lies of every kind to destroy all hopes of the prince's coming, producing letters from Hanover to show that Schutz had been disavowed and very ill received there, and that it was quite certain that the elector would not send his son to England. Mr. Bromley, one of the secretaries of state, in particular, had spoken in this manner; and the effect was, that the Pretender's faction were in transports of joy, and the friends of Hanover, both Whigs and Tories, in the utmost despair. The Duke of Argyll had been heard to exclaim that if the elector abandoned them in this manner, and refused to embrace an opportunity so favourable, so easy, and so conformable to English laws, sacrificing them and abandoning them to the rage of their enemies, after all they had done for him, the Whigs could have no other resource, but to go to the other extremity, and invite the Pretender to come over on tolerable terms, and without a French army. Insults were still openly offered to the acts of succession and to the right of the House of Hanover; and the queen had granted a pardon to Dr. Bedford, the author of a book on hereditary right, which attempted to disprove the claim of the electress to the British crown. All this was very significant; and the "unknown friend" conveyed another piece of information which was equally so. This was, that, while the queen seemed to be dying, or at least in extreme danger, ministers were remodelling the army. "They continue," he says, "to dismiss all the officers, civil and military, who presume to show any attachment to the Hanoverian succession; and yet they give out that they have the greatest zeal and attachment to your court. It would be very curious if they should succeed to persuade you of this." The Jacobites, he says, were now laughing everywhere at the Whigs and the other friends of Hanover, and asking, "Where, then, is your Duke of Cambridge? Where is your succession? Is it not more than a month since the writ was demanded?" "But," says the unknown friend, in conclusion, "a proper resolution on the part of his electoral highness would make them change their language soon." Lord Anglesea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and other Hanoverian Tories, wrote letters equally urgent, and pledged themselves to preserve the right of the electoral house as fixed by parliament; and Galke informed the Hanoverian ministers that their friends expected that Prince George would set out on his journey immediately, thinking this "absolutely necessary, and that without it the Pretender would be soon at

* In the same dispatch Galke speaks of another powerful and determined Jacobite. "L'Hermitage told me to-day (the 30th of April) that Lord Portmore employs all imaginable persuasions to inspire *the Duke of Ormond*, who is more firm than ever in the interests of the Pretender, with more favourable sentiments towards the succession; but that he has not been able yet to make great progress, his grace being constantly beset by three women, who are Lady Oglethorpe and two others, who will overturn to-morrow what he hath built to-day."

the English court, and be very well received there." Sir Richard Onslow, who had formerly been speaker of the House of Commons, wrote to Robethon, on the 11th of May: "We live here," said Onslow, "in the hope of seeing the electoral prince arrive, and of seeing him introduced to parliament, by virtue of the writ which *was given;* and this expectation is so strong, that a disappointment would discourage entirely his friends, and encourage his enemies; . . . . the presence of the Duke of Cambridge among us, being the surest means to curb the great and continued efforts of those who act for the Pretender, and give themselves out to be a very powerful party, with a view of gaining over many to their faction at home, and of encouraging France to send them the Pretender with French troops; for upon that assistance their greatest expectations are founded." As Anne grew worse, Cadogan wrote again to declare "the inexpressible impatience shown by every one here for news of the electoral prince's departure;" and his confirmed conviction, "that everything was irreparably lost if the resolution of sending him over were changed or delayed." "As to the queen," he says, "she continues much indisposed: the St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas), which broke out in her leg and thigh, has considerably diminished the violence of her fever; but it is believed, on the other hand, that a mortification may follow. She sleeps little, and eats nothing, and she is in such a dreadful anxiety, that her mind suffers no less than her body." This close and acute observer also intimated that the dissensions in the cabinet were increasing—that the quarrels between the lord treasurer and Bolingbroke were greater than ever. "It is true," he adds, "their common friends reconcile them for a day or two, but they quarrel more violently afterwards. The partisans of both the one and the other give out, that their leader possesses all the favour and confidence of the queen; but it is impossible to write anything positively on this subject, this scene at court having lately changed as frequently as the wind. The fact is, these two ministers exert themselves very openly to ruin one another, and, as this division among the leaders reigns also among their followers, it is very certain that, if the electoral prince comes over, both of them will be very soon overturned; to which I may add, that, at bottom, the treasurer would not be sorry that the electoral prince were here, although he is obliged to declare and to publish the contrary, for fear of losing entirely the queen, who cannot hear the prince's journey spoke of without putting herself in a passion, and the more so, that she perceives the nation desires it with ardour." Cadogan further says, the "real sentiments" of the treasurer had been made known to him by General Erle, who had them from Lord Oxford's own brother; that Oxford had likewise opened secret negotiations with the Whigs, and that that party had answered, that, if he would consent to the coming of the prince, and exert himself seriously to secure the Hanoverian succession, they would not only forget the past, but would also endeavour to support and maintain him in his authority and high office. It is clear that no such man as Oxford should ever have been trusted—that the Whigs, to gain him, were bargaining for far too much; but Cadogan takes this as a shining proof of the disinterestedness of his party.

While thus pressed on the one side by the Whigs, the House of Hanover was cajoled on the other by Mr. Harley, and by letters from England, assuring them of the steadiness and affection of the queen. In these circumstances it was natural that that little court, always slow and circumspect, should hesitate and procrastinate. To remove these delays, the Duke of Marlborough, who at this moment seems to have been sincerely earnest for their succession, sent an agent of his own to Hanover, in the person of Mr. Molyneux, recommended to that court by his grace as "being a man of quality, who had very large possessions in Ireland, but principally as a man of parts and of merit, with whose good principles he was well acquainted." Molyneux was exceedingly well received by all the members of the Electoral House, and helped to defeat the mission of Mr. Harley, and to prove that his brother, the lord treasurer, was not to be depended upon in the slightest degree. Molyneux, who maintained a constant correspondence with the duke, and occasionally wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough, was useful in other respects, and more particularly in exalting the merits of the illustrious general, and proclaiming his entire devotion to the old electoress and her family. But he soon saw some reasons to despond and to doubt whether that succession would ever be secured. His great hope, and the general hope of the party with which he acted, lay in the disagreement of Oxford and Bolingbroke; and he was thrown into a consternation by accounts of a sudden reconciliation between "the sorcerer and his familiar"—as he styles the lord treasurer and the chief secretary. His alarm was increased by seeing that the article in the elector's answer to the English court, stating that he thought it would be for the good of both parties that some one of his house should go to England, was carried with great difficulty in the Hanoverian council; and that this was the only step taken to support the demand of the prince's writ, while there was every ground for believing that it would remain the only step, and that nothing more would be done by these little potentates to make sure of three great kingdoms. On the 29th of May (N. S.) Molyneux writes to Marlborough—"I am more amazed at the difficulties the succession meets here, than at those it meets in London. I do believe the prince will not go over, and for this session it is almost despaired of by his best friends, and God knows what may happen before the next.* . . . . There

* Molyneux must really have been an accomplished and an amiable man. He writes with an air of perfect sincerity, and, whatever

are here such humours, such jealousies, and such villanies, as will one day undo us, if it be not done already."

On the very day next to the date of this letter, or on the 30th of May (N.S.), Anne, finding, or fearing that the electoral house was no longer to be cajoled by professions and promises, resorted to threats, and wrote, or rather signed, a most bitter and reproachful letter to the elector. This royal epistle, which was carefully suppressed at the time, while others, addressed by her majesty to the same personage, were as carefully published and distributed to prove her affection to the Guelphs, ran in these words:—"As the rumour increases, that my cousin, the electoral prince, has resolved to come over to settle, in my lifetime, in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments upon a subject of this importance. I then freely own to you, that I cannot imagine that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your electoral highness can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringement shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority: I am no less delicate in that respect; and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be. Your electoral highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness, that I give, on all occasions, proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crowns; which I always recommend to my people, as the most solid support of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attention, that nothing should efface those impressions from the hearts of my subjects; but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the prince who wears the crown, without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors; therefore, I doubt not but, with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking such a step; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most sincere friendship, with which I am, &c."*

This letter is said to have had among other effects the very serious one of killing the old Electress Sophia. It was delivered at Hanover on Wednesday the 6th of June (N. S.), together with a letter from Oxford, and by order of the electress a copy of both was immediately sent to the Duke of Marlborough by Mr. Molyneux, who in enclosing the paper said—"I have not time, or I had translated the queen's for you; but my lord will explain them to you, and let you know that there is no hand villanous enough to write them, but that one from whence they come. This court is so openly honest in their proceedings, that they would be glad to disperse these letters among their friends in England; whereas *their* correspondence is so false and hidden, as that the express declared,* till the moment the letters were read, that they were to invite the prince over, and I would lay my life the ministers declared the same in London." Only two days after writing this letter, Molyneux sate down to a longer and sadder one, to announce to Marlborough the sudden death of the electress. The old lady was 84 years old, and had been accustomed to say, that, if she could only live to have "Sophia, Queen of England," written on her tombstone, she should die content. Marlborough's correspondent states, that on the evening of the 28th of May (o. s.) he went to Herhenhausen, the country-house of the court, and that there the first thing he heard was, that the old electress was just dying in one of the public walks. What follows is written with much feeling—"I ran up there, and found her just expiring in the arms of the poor electoral princess, and amidst the tears of a great many of her servants, who endeavoured in vain to help her. I can give you no account of her illness, but that I believe the chagrin of those villanous letters I sent you last post has been in a great measure the cause of it. The Rheingravine, who has been with her these fifteen years, has told me she never knew anything make so deep an impression on her as the affair of the prince's journey, which, I am sure, she had to the last degree at heart; and she has done me the honour to tell me so twenty times. In the midst of this concern those letters arrived, and those I verily believe have broke her heart, and brought her with sorrow to the grave. The letters were delivered on Wednesday at noon. That evening when I came to court, she was at cards, but was so full of these letters, that she got up and ordered me to follow her into the garden, where she gave them to me to read, and walked and spoke a great deal in relation to them. I believe she walked three hours that night. The next morning, which was Thursday, I heard she was out of order; and on going immediately to court, she ordered me to be called into her bedchamber. She gave me the letters I sent you to copy; she bid me send them next post, and bring them afterwards to her to court. That was on Friday. In the morning, on Friday, they told me she was very well, but seemed very chagrined. She was dressed, and dined with the elector as usual. About four she did me the honour to send me to town, for some other copies of the same letters, and then she was still perfectly well. She worked and talked very heartily in the

was the duplicity or the shifting and changing of him who had sent him to Hanover (with Marlborough intrigue had become an incurable habit), he seems, like many other honest and enlightened men of the day—we believe the vast majority of that class—to have been thoroughly convinced that the succession of the House of Hanover was a thing to be despaired of, and that the re-elevation of the Stuarts would be fatal to the liberty and property of Englishmen. In this same letter to the duke he says, "For my part, I prepare myself for poverty and banishment, and I no more employ my thoughts on the happiness of England, but where to find the most easy retreat. This is a melancholy prospect."

* Macpherson, who first published this letter.

* It appears that the express messenger who carried over the letter reached the court of Hanover on the 5th of June, but that the dispatch was not delivered till the 6th, at noon.

orangery. After that, about six, she went out to walk in the gardens, and was still very well. A shower of rain came, and, as she was walking pretty fast to get to shelter, they told her she walked a little too fast. She answered, I believe I do; and dropped down in saying these words, which were her last. They raised her up, chafed her with spirits, tried to bleed her; but it was all in vain, and when I came up to her, she was as dead as if she had been four days so."* The journey of the electoral prince was now entirely given up. It appears that while he and his grandmother had been most eager for the expedition, his father, the elector, had been strongly opposed to it. By some the objections of the elector are attributed to caution and forethought, by others to mere constitutional irresolution; but there are others again who attribute them wholly and solely to his jealousy of his son, and to his fear that, if the young man got well established in England, he might, at the queen's death, keep the throne to himself, and get a parliamentary sanction for setting aside his senior and his parent. It is proved incontestably, that this jealousy of the next heir was a violent and unchanging passion in the breast of at least the *two* first Georges; and it is about equally certain that at this time the House of Hanover was divided against itself, and its court the scene of domestic quarrels and conflicting political intrigues. This was equally the case with the court of Berlin, the near ally of Hanover; and it may be said that in both, but particularly in the latter, there was as much looseness of manners as had ever prevailed at Versailles, with this difference, that there was no French polish spread over it.

On the side of the Pretender there had been no want of new intrigues and schemes. Every day, indeed, seems to have produced one. At the beginning of the year, the busy little Abbé Gaultier and the Duke of Berwick met again in France.† Berwick, disgusted, as he says, with the slowness, irresolution, and coldness of the lord treasurer, at last determined to bring him to the point, so as to leave him no opportunity of further shuffling; and, by means of the abbé, he recommended to Oxford the following project:—That the chevalier should go privately, and by himself, into England, and get access to the queen, his sister, who should then go down to the parliament, and there explain that her brother's right to her crown was incontestable; that she had taken a resolution to restore to him what belonged to him by all laws divine and human; that she nevertheless had taken proper measures with him to prevent any danger to the church of England; it having been settled between them, that she should enjoy the crown during life, and educate him in England as her son. After this the queen was to promise to pass all such acts as might be deemed necessary for the security of the religion and liberty of the kingdom; and then she was herself to introduce her brother in full parliament, and to say—"My lords and gentlemen, here he is, ready to promise you himself religiously to keep all I have engaged for him, and to swear to the observance of it: I therefore require of you instantly to repeal all the acts passed against him, and acknowledge him immediately as my heir, and your future sovereign, that he may owe you some good will for your concurring with me in that which your conscience, your duty, and your honour should already have prompted you to do." The Duke of Berwick was an excellent soldier, and a clever man in other respects; but his foreign education, habits, and associations had left him deplorably ignorant of the real condition of England, of the temper of the English people, and of the means of proceeding with them. He had, however, a strong paternal affection for this bold, but froward and unpromising, offspring of his brain, as projectors usually have. "An unexpected step of this sort," he says, "would have so astonished the factious, and delighted the well-affected, that there would not, certainly, have been the least opposition. There is no reason to doubt, but that everything would immediately have been executed agreeably to the queen's command; for no person would have doubted but that the queen had taken her measures to insure obedience; so that, on one hand, the fear of punishment, and, on the other, the hope of taking advantage of a new change would have determined the parliament immediately to restore all things to their natural order, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom." Though not so confident of success as Berwick was, several recent writers seem to be of opinion, that if the Pretender had had the courage to throw himself into London, and into the House of Lords, there would have been an end to all the hopes of the House of Hanover. But it appears to us that this opinion is ill grounded, and that such a step, if it had been practicable, would only have made the cause of the Stuarts still more hopeless. It would at once have convinced the parliament of the truth of all the rumours afloat about the ministers' treasonable correspondence with the chevalier and with France. The Hanoverian Tories would have coalesced entirely with the Whigs, and have turned the majority even of the House of Commons against the cabinet; nor does it seem at all unlikely that at this sudden surprise, and in the excitement of the nation, they would have sent the Pretender and the ministers to the Tower. View-

* "No princess," Molyneux adds, "ever died more regretted, and I infinitely pity those servants that have known her a long time, when I, that have had the honour to be known to her but a month, can scarce refrain from tears in relating this."

† The character the duke draws of the abbé is not very flattering—"I shall only say a word of the Abbé Gaultier, whose fortune has been very singular. He was of the meanest extraction, and very poor; being sexton of the parish of St. Germain, he was ambitious of becoming one of the clerks of the château, which may be worth about 300 or 400 livres a-year. L'Abbé du Vivier, master of the chapel, being displeased that he should solicit for this little employment through any channel but his own, did not speak favourably of him to the king, and, as other persons who were trying for the place exclaimed against him, Gaultier took the resolution of seeking his fortune elsewhere."

ing it under its most promising aspects, the project was fraught with danger, and this alone was enough to deter the timid queen, without whose consent, and active and public co-operation, nothing could be done. We fancy that Anne would just as soon have thought of walking up to the mouth of a loaded cannon, or of storming a breach, as of going down to the parliament with such a message and such a companion. But there were other reasons, besides her fears, to induce her to turn with horror from the proposal. Though she was so little capable of using it—though she shared it with a base-minded chamberwoman—Anne clung to her prerogative as a shipwrecked mariner does to his last plank; and her brother would have been as odious in her eyes as the Guelph, if he had been established in England with a court of his own, with a separate revenue, and with a party ready to rally round him and intrigue against herself. From the whole course of her conduct, it may be presumed that she fancied at times the chevalier ought to be, and would be restored, *after* her death; but as long as she lived she must have been anxious to keep him out of England. But even here again her thoroughly conscientious scruples about his religion, and her apprehensions as to her beloved church, were known to keep her often wavering. Continuing his relation on this important point, Berwick says, that the Lord Treasurer Oxford was thoroughly informed of the plan by the Abbé Gaultier, who went from his (the duke's) house in Picardy into England; "but," he adds, "although the abbé wrote regularly to me, I *could never get any answer from him upon this head.*" As no other plan was suggested by Oxford, as time was slipping away, and as the queen's health was daily on the decline, Berwick began to suspect more than ever that the lord treasurer was deceiving him. His suspicions were the stronger when he was informed that Oxford was writing friendly letters to the Elector of Hanover, and had sent his cousin, Mr. Harley, to that court. He then conferred with de Torcy, the French minister of foreign affairs, who must have been deeply engaged in the intrigue, as Berwick's correspondence with the Abbé Gaultier and the lord treasurer was carried on through him, and as he was himself corresponding with the Pretender on one side and with the English minister on the other. According to Berwick, de Torcy now agreed with him, "that the lord treasurer's conduct was very extraordinary;" and that a joint letter should be written to that lord to represent that, as Queen Anne's death might happen very shortly, it was necessary that he should inform them what measures he had taken to secure the interests of the Pretender, as also to suggest what steps that prince ought to take. Oxford, in reply, told them, "that if the queen were to die, the affairs of the prince, and the affairs of the cabinet, were ruined without resource." Berwick took this, the only answer they could ever obtain, as a clear proof that Oxford was imposing upon them. "For," says he, "if he had really entertained the intentions he had declared to us, he would not have been so long without thinking of the means of carrying them into execution; nor would he have neglected, for his own sake, and that of his party, to secure himself against the rage of the Whigs, who, he well knew, would never forgive him, if once they got the power in their hands. This lethargy could not proceed from his want of understanding or courage, for no man had more; it was therefore morally certain, that his sole motive, in the advances he had hitherto made to us, had been his own interest in joining the Jacobites with the Tories, and by that means securing the majority in parliament to approve of the peace of Utrecht. As soon as he had compassed this end, he thought of nothing but to be upon good terms with the House of Hanover; and as to *the king*—he amused him, from time to time, with some new proposal about changing his religion. The court of France, as well as we, were therefore persuaded that Oxford was playing double with us; but, as the French had concluded their principal business by his means, they were easily comforted."* From this moment the chief effort of the Jacobites was to obtain the dismissal of Oxford, and the promotion of Bolingbroke—an effort in which they were materially aided by the she-favourite Lady Masham, whose Jacobitism was made to throw out fresh and vigorous shoots by some cold water which the lord treasurer cast upon her greediness for money. Oxford felt himself tottering, and saw no prop at hand in any party. Berwick also wrote to the Duke of Ormond, and *many other persons*, urging them to awake from their lethargy, and take their precautions before the queen should die, and leave them and their schemes open to their enemies the Whigs. He represented that their private interest was inseparably linked with the interest of the Pretender; that the time for hesitation was past; and that they must now choose the alternative of ruin or a restoration. The Pretender at this moment was moving from place to place; and every movement seems to have been reported by secret agents both to the court of Hanover, and to the Whig leaders in England, who were equally suspicious and anxious as to its meaning. In the month of May, the Chevalier de St. George was reported to be at Plombiere, taking the mineral waters of that place. On the 1st of June (N.S.) it was announced, from Luneville, that a report was spread there that the Electoral Prince of Hanover had embarked for England, and that, in consequence of this report, the Chevalier had suddenly left Plombiere, and was hastening back to Bar-le-Duc. Four days after, another letter from Luneville conveyed still more alarming intelligence. "It is likely," says the anonymous agent, "that the Chevalier is preparing for some great design, which is kept very private. . . . . He sets out to-morrow very early for Bar; Lord Galmoy went before him, and set out this morning. Lord Talmo, who came lately from the French court, is with him, and some say

* Berwick's Memoirs.

that the Duke of Berwick is *incognito* in this neighbourhood. The Chevalier appears pensive: that, indeed, is his ordinary humour. Mr. Floyd, who has been these five days at the court of his royal highness, told a mistress he has here, that, when he leaves her now, he will take his leave of her perhaps for the last time. In short, it is certain that everything here seems to announce preparations for a journey: it is said likewise in private, that the Chevalier has had letters that the queen's very ill. I have done everything I could to discover something of his designs. I supped last night with several of his attendants, thinking to learn something; but they avoid to explain themselves."*

Up to the end of May, or beginning of June, the Whigs in England remained uncertain whether the electoral prince would come or not. Sir Thomas Hanmer, and others of the party called Hanoverian Tories, intimated that, as the affair had spun out to such a length, it might be better to wait for the next session of parliament, and to see, in the mean time, what might be done to secure that succession: but Halifax, Sunderland, Townshend, and the rest of the great Whig leaders, continued in their old opinion that there was no time to lose, and that the electoral prince ought either to come at once, or to declare the reasons of his not coming, in order that his friends might consider of something else, and concert the conduct best to follow to keep up the spirits of their party. These representations were made in a letter dated the 5th of June (N.S.); and thus urged, the elector, on the 11th of June, or twelve days after receiving the queen's threatening letter, sate down to reply to it. But he merely excused himself for his delay, and announced to her majesty the great loss and affliction he had sustained by the sudden death of his mother; and it was not till the 15th of June (N.S.) that he spoke of business. In a letter of that day he neither pressed the queen to consent to his son's journey into England, nor formally renounced that project; he merely said, that he had flattered himself he had given her majesty convincing proofs of his respect and gratitude; that he had always relied upon the justice and wisdom of her government, without taking the smallest concern in factions; and that he always wished her authority, and the royal prerogative, to be maintained in all their lustre; as no one, after her majesty, had more interest therein than he and his family. He added, however,—"It is so essential to me to cultivate the honour of your good graces, that it is natural to imagine the presence of one of the princes of my family in your kingdoms could never have any other design than to confirm a good understanding between the two courts, and to render to your majesty all possible service." And on the same day, his son, the electoral prince, the guest rejected by Anne, wrote a letter to her majesty to express his great grief at the endeavours which had been used to excite her majesty's suspicions against him, and to represent him as capable of exciting troubles and encouraging factions. "As these," said the prince, "are designs of which I would never forgive myself even the very idea, I should ardently wish to be within reach, to be able to undeceive your majesty, and to be more nearly known to you." As it became evident, however, that the prince would not come over without that hopeless condition,—the consent of the queen,—the Whigs insisted that new instruments of regency should be forwarded without loss of time, and that new credentials for the Hanoverian resident at London should be sent with them; as these things would be of the utmost importance in case of the queen's death. On the other side, Oxford was renewing his compliments to the Hanoverian diplomatists at London, at the Hague, and at Hanover, and was re-pledging himself to an entire friendship and a devotion to the cause of that House. "This," says Bothmar, who was at the Hague, "is a proof that Oxford finds himself falling. I shall make the most obliging answers to him, and will endeavour to make use of him, without giving my confidence to a man so double: perhaps we may draw some advantage from him, even though the other (Bolingbroke) should turn him out." Lord Paget, who had been appointed to proceed on the special embassy to Hanover, had been stopped when ready; and now the silly and incompetent Earl of Clarendon, with a "Jacobitish secretary," was sent in his stead. Bothmar describes this grandson of the renowned chancellor as "a selfish and presumptuous fool," —"a fool to such a degree, that, being appointed governor, by the queen, of the colony of Pennsylvania, he thought that it was necessary for him, in order to represent her majesty, to dress himself as a woman, which he actually did." This Hanoverian minister further adds, that the appointment of this "fool Clarendon" had been brought about by Bolingbroke, without the knowledge of Lord Oxford. But Anne herself, in a very brief note to the elector, says, that her experience of the Earl of Clarendon's capacity had determined her to send him to that court to declare the sentiments of her heart concerning everything which regarded the interests of the electoral family, and to maintain the friendship which she hoped would always subsist between herself and them. Clarendon's instructions were written out by Secretary Bromley, and the great gist of the whole was, that he should make the queen's mind easy, and prevent by all means the coming at any time of the prince. His lordship was instructed to satisfy the elector that the queen had no intention but to secure his succession; and that she was ready to do everything, consistent with the safe and quiet possession of the throne during her own time, that might contribute to that end: he was to make the elector speak freely on this subject, and to declare what foundation he had for his suspicions, assuring him that her majesty would not continue in her service any person against whom he could show reasonable

* Macpherson.

grounds of suspicion. His lordship was to repeat and enforce the declaration that nothing would be so injurious to the Protestant succession as the coming of the prince. "But," added the instructions, "if you find the resolution has been taken, that the prince shall not come, your lordship will let the elector know that this deference and respect for her majesty will lay such an obligation upon her as will entitle him to all the good effects he can expect from it." The resolution which the elector had come to, or which he probably had all along entertained, was confirmed; but, not to trust too much to her majesty, or her ministers, he ordered Bothmar to repair from the Hague to London, and attend to the suggestion touching the instruments of regency.*

The session of parliament, in which the Whigs had hoped to welcome Prince George into England, still lasted; and that now disappointed party continued to exercise the greatest vigilance. They were still alarmed by letters from France, importing that the Pretender was, with the utmost diligence, making preparations for some secret expedition; that he would soon be again in Scotland, or would go to Ireland; and some went so far as to say that he had actually reviewed his troops, and that vessels were already privately prepared in different French ports. What was calculated to add materially to these alarms was the apprehension of several Jacobite agents that were impudently enlisting recruits for the Pretender's service in London and in different parts of the country. Lord Wharton waited upon the lord chief justice Parker with positive information that two Irish officers in particular, named Hugh and William Kelly, were enlisting men in the city and in Westminster, almost under the eye of parliament. Parker issued warrants, and the two Irish officers were arrested, the one at Gravesend, the other at Deal, having about them passes from the Pretender's minister, the Earl of Middleton. They had not been very fortunate as recruiters, or the recruits were fortunate enough to escape detection, for not more than half a dozen were seized. The daring attempt, however, called for some severity; and after some short debate in the Houses, where all the Hanoverian Tories joined the Whigs, ministers, on the 23rd of June, issued a proclamation for apprehending the Pretender whenever he should attempt to land, and promising a reward of 5000*l.* to any person or persons that should do that service, and bring him to justice. Both Lords and Commons expressed their approbation; but the latter were desirous that the promised reward should be raised to 100,000*l.*, and they passed a resolution to that effect. A bill was also rapidly passed making it high treason to enlist, or be enlisted, in the Pretender's service. Bolingbroke afterwards told the Abbé Gaultier that the proclamation had been proposed in council by the lord treasurer, and that he (Bolingbroke) had not thought it prudent or safe to oppose him. But the arch-plotter assured Iberville, a French agent, that "in fact this would make no difference." There is, however, something like consolation in seeing that this man's peace of mind was completely destroyed, and that the bed of intrigue he had made for himself was a bed of thorns. In a letter to Swift, Bolingbroke says, "If my grooms did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service."

This session of parliament was made infamous by the passing of an act as intolerant and as tyrannical as anything that was ever done or attempted in the worst days of the House of Stuart. With party feelings all on the other side, but with perfect justice, and with a moderation of censure, Lord John Russell says:—"This bill may serve to show the principles, the views, and the intentions of the Tory party, and thereby give a notion of what might have been expected from them had they succeeded in keeping the government of the state in their own hands during the succeeding reign."* The Hanoverian Tories were at least as ayerse to the dissenters as to the Pretender; the surest way to conciliate them was to give a bonus to the high party in the church; and the high-churchism of the queen naturally grew higher with sickness and danger, and thoughts of another world. Bolingbroke, who could scoff and sneer at Christianity in all its branches and modifications, again put himself forward as a champion for the high-church party, trusting that whatever blows he dealt, and whatever wounds he inflicted, would tell against his rival Oxford, who, in his difficulties, was again attempting to effect a reconciliation with the low-churchmen; and who, moreover, at all times, was reluctant to adopt any decided measure. Bolingbroke, closeted with Atterbury, devised the infamous Schism Act: Bolingbroke drew it up in council, giving it the character of a government measure; and Bolingbroke, through the mouth of his friend Sir William Wyndham, brought it into parliament on the 12th day of May. The object of the bill was to prevent education by dissenters in any way; to vest the right of educating, as a monopoly, in the church of England, and to prevent dissenters from keeping schools even for their own children. In other words, it enacted that no person in Great Britain should keep any public or private school, or act as a tutor, unless he had previously subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England, and obtained a licence from the bishop of the diocese, which licence was not to be granted until the party produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: and any person acting in contravention of

* In a letter written to Hanover by Secretary Galke, about this time, is this curious passage:—"I am assured, from very good authority, that Bolingbroke, having heard that Oxford said of him that he could prove he was a Jacobite, told one of his friends that he had proofs in his hands to convict the other of being in the interests of the Pretender." —*Macpherson.*

* Hist. Europe.

these arbitrary enactments was to be committed to prison without bail. The Whigs stood up to a man, and opposed the bill with all their might. Mr. Hampden, Mr. Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and General Stanhope, particularly distinguished themselves in the debate. Stanhope, who had lived much in popish countries, and who recognised everywhere the necessity of a wider toleration than then existed anywhere,—"showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law, as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English popish seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those already in force against papists were mitigated, and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools." In the murky bigotry of the day this latter proposition must have been considered as blasphemy, not merely by the Tories, but even by a majority of the Whigs, whose doctrine of liberty of conscience did not as yet extend to papists. Bolingbroke had made no mistake in his calculations as to the strength of the high-churchmen: the third reading of the Schism Bill was carried in the Commons by the great majority of 237 to 126. In the Lords, Bolingbroke fostered his ill-favoured project, by moving the second reading. Lord Wharton, in opposing him, said,—"It is somewhat strange that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland; and, therefore, if the lords who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain are for the bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." After this sharp side-blow at the Scottish lords, who, it appears, were ready to do the bidding of the court, Wharton turned to the bench of bishops, and said,—"Precedents and authorities have been cited in favour of the present measure, but there is against it an authority of the highest weight which has not yet been mentioned. I acknowledge that it would have come with most force and propriety from that venerable bench; but, since their lordships have been wholly silent in this debate, I will myself tell them that it is the rule of the Gospel to do unto others as we would be done unto." Lord Halifax drew a striking contrast between the humane and enlightened toleration of some former periods and the return to intolerance and persecution now intended: he showed how Queen Elizabeth, by protecting the Protestant Walloons who were flying from the Spanish inquisition, had benefited the nation by settling an ingenious and industrious people, and establishing, by their means, our superiority in the woollen manufacture; and how the protection which the late King William had afforded the French Huguenots had done honour to our character, and produced other benefits to our trade. Halifax also entreated the House to be warned by the terrible example of Charles I., who, by indulging Laud and persecuting the dissenters, had brought ruin upon himself and the nation. Lord Townshend illustrated the blessings of toleration by his travels abroad: he said, that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had observed that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants; that he was convinced that, if the States-General should cause the schools of any one sect to be shut up, the United Provinces would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain. Lord Cowper remarked that, in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar schools were chiefly supported by the dissenters, so that, to put down those schools would be like suppressing the reading of the Holy Scriptures. That member of the church militant, Compton, was quiet at last, under the aisles of his cathedral; but Robinson, his successor, who had been translated from Bristol, was as intolerant as he. Forgetting that he thereby implied a lack of industry or ability on the part of his brethren, Robinson urged that the church was in danger, and ought to be fenced and guarded;—that the church was in danger from the growth of schismatics, and that the dissenters, by drawing the children of churchmen to their schools and academies, had made this bill necessary. Lord Nottingham, who had gone over to the Whigs, and who entirely overlooked his old affection for the high church faction in his hatred to Swift, who had lampooned him, and who to all appearance was very likely to be soon a bishop, said vehemently—"My lords, I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is suspected of being hardly a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those who shall be entrusted with the education of youth." All eyes were fixed upon the lord treasurer, who was known to have proposed in the cabinet that the bill should be softened: the Tories seem to have fancied that he would have declared against them in the House, the Whigs that he would speak and vote with them, even though it must cost him his office. That shuffling minister tried to please both, or, at least, to give to either as little offence as possible. He declared that he had not yet considered the whole bill,—that his mind was not made up; but he persuaded the opposition to allow the second reading without a division; and on the day when the bill was finally put to the vote he absented himself from the House. This conduct had its usual result; it incensed both parties, and was as favourable to the views of Bolingbroke as anything could be—more favourable, perhaps, than if Oxford had acted the bold and open part of declaring against the bill.

The Whigs, who could not negative the bill, attempted to soften its severities; but a clause they proposed, to allow the dissenters to have schools for children of their own persuasion, though for none others, was rejected upon a division. Other modifying clauses, however, were carried, the high-churchmen consenting that the dissenters should be allowed dames or schoolmistresses of their own persuasions, to teach their children to read; and that the conviction of offending schoolmasters and tutors should take place in the ordinary courts of justice, and not by summary process before a magistrate, as originally proposed. They also allowed a right of appeal to a higher court, and impudently added a clause to exempt from the act any tutor employed in the family of *a nobleman!* The Hanoverian Tories were, after all, unfit and unsympathising allies of the Whigs, whom they could only meet upon one ground, or the common preference of the Guelphs to the Stuarts: their conduct on this occasion proved that, in getting rid of their superstitions about hereditary and divine right, they had not freed themselves from the old concomitants of those superstitions. Not satisfied with the operation of the act in Protestant England, they proposed that it should be extended to Catholic Ireland, and they carried their clause by a majority of six, in spite of the representations of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the lord-lieutenant. The third reading of the bill was carried by 77 to 72—a weak majority, considering that the queen had so recently made twelve new peers to vote with ministers. Perhaps it would have been greater but for the schism between Oxford and Bolingbroke, and some compunctious visitings of the Presbyterian peers of Scotland. Thirty-three lords, of whom five were bishops, entered a strong protest against the whole bill. When the bill, as amended, was sent down to the Commons, General Stanhope proposed that the tutors in the families of members of the House might be put upon the same footing as those who taught in the families of noblemen; but Mr. Hungerford represented that any the least alteration would cause delays and might lead to the loss of the valuable bill; and, the whole ministerial pack joining the zealots in full cry, the bill was passed as it was, by 168 against 98. It was to come into operation upon the 31st of August; but on that very day Queen Anne died, and, under the opposite principles which rose to the ascendancy in the reign of her successor, it remained practically almost a dead letter, till it was a few years after formally repealed.

On the 9th of July Anne closed the session with a speech from the throne. "I hope," said she, "to meet you again early in the winter, and to find you in such a temper as is necessary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concern is, to preserve to you, and to your posterity, our holy religion, and the liberty of my subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of my kingdoms: but I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people." Upon the rising of parliament, Oxford looked around him for some plank to support him. Although he had given the Whigs abundant reason to despise him, he renewed an underhand intercourse with the chief of that party, and the Duke of Shrewsbury and other leaders seem to have considered that he was still worth securing, or that every possible means was to be adopted to defeat the schemes of the bold and able Bolingbroke. The Hanoverian secretary, who had been very uneasy, now says, "They flatter themselves especially that they will be in a condition to overturn Bolingbroke. . . . . I believe now it is God's will undoubtedly that we should have the succession." Oxford also had some friendly conferences with Cowper, Halifax, and other great Whigs, and he wrote letters or sent messages to the Duke of Marlborough, who was now intently watching events in England, and beginning to think that it was time for him to return home. But it was soon evident to the elector's envoy, the keen-sighted Bothmar, that nothing could save Oxford. Several days before the rising of parliament he assured his court that Bolingbroke would maintain himself, and that the lord treasurer must fall very soon. "Some of those," adds Bothmar, "who would have assisted him to bring down his rival say now, according to the maxim which prevails much here, that he does not deserve to be assisted, as he does not choose to assist himself."* Swift, the friend of both, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the treasurer and the secretary; but there were other influences at work which rendered the thing impossible, and Swift, despairing of his bishopric, and, probably fearing danger to himself, left his two patrons to play their own game, and withdrew into the country. On the 13th of July Bothmar says—"It is thought that a reconciliation is making by the mediation of their friends; but that Bolingbroke has always most credit with the queen. They say that not only the favourite, but the Duchess of Somerset, is secretly for him, by the persuasions of her daughter, who is married to (his friend) Sir William Wyndham. The two ministers have been for a long time on bad terms from the opposition of their tempers and manners. But what gave occasion to complete their diffidence

* Bothmar gives the following reasons for Oxford's timid vacillating conduct:—"1. His own humour, which does not allow him to keep himself entirely to one side. 2. The hopes of maintaining himself still in the queen's good graces, by the same means by which he introduced himself into her favour. 3. The hopes of entering again into favour, by degrees, although he should now lose his employment, providing he does not declare openly against the court party. 4. That he is engaged so deeply in certain projects with Lord Bolingbroke, that he dares not attack him openly, for fear of being involved in his ruin; probably all these reasons contribute to influence his conduct."—*Macpherson.*

of one another, and their disunion, was a project which had been formed of dividing in sixteen shares the profits which the queen was to have from the trade to the South Sea, of which five were designed for the treasurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for Lady Masham, and two for Arthur Moore. The treasurer, having had his reasons for refusing the share destined for him, was suspected on that account, and at last became odious to the other sharers. He afterwards furnished their enemies with means of discovering this mystery." Bothmar was not quite so confident as his secretary about the Hanoverian succession. In this same letter he says—"Lord Bolingbroke, they affirm, will be prosecuted vigorously in the next session; but, as he apprehends this himself, it is feared he will bring over the Pretender before that time, to save himself and to finish his grand scheme, from which he expects the completion of the fortune which his ambition promises him."* According to Bothmar, a reconciliation between the rivals was effected; but he saw through its hollowness and declared that it could not be durable. Lady Masham decided the point. Full of wrath against Oxford, for his having dared to oppose her will and disappoint her of money, she told this falling minister, and once loving cousin, to his face, that he had never done the queen any service, and was incapable of ever doing her any. Oxford retaliated: "I have been," said he, "abused by lies and misrepresentations; but I will leave some people as low as I found them." This passed in the queen's cabinet and in her majesty's presence, and the altercation between the titled waiting-woman and the lord treasurer is said to have lasted till two hours after midnight. The end of all this was, that Anne demanded his white staff, and Oxford was left low indeed.† The Jacobites, who had been for some time impatiently desiring his disgrace, seem to have taken credit to themselves for effecting it. The Duke of Berwick says, that it had been intimated to the queen, through Lady Masham, that his removal from office was indispensable. "Convinced," says Berwick, "by our continual representations, they (the Jacobites about court) exerted themselves; and, by means of Lady Masham, prevailed upon the queen to remove the lord high treasurer, as it was not possible to conduct the affair properly while he remained in office. She therefore dismissed Oxford on the 27th of July." Bolingbroke, of course, rose upon the fall of his rival. This man of intrigue, though he did not grasp the treasurer's staff, became, in fact, everything that he wished, and distributed offices among men who were bound to him, and who were all Jacobites. Nominally, he merely retained the seals of secretary with the sole management of foreign affairs; he put the treasury into commission, with William Wyndham at its head; the privy seal he allotted to Atterbury; Bromley, the other secretary of state, he allowed to remain; the third secretaryship, or that for Scotland, was put into the hands of that desperate half-mad Jacobite, the Earl of Mar; the Duke of Ormond was to be commander-in-chief; the Duke of Buckingham lord president; and Harcourt, as one upon whom he could entirely rely, was to remain lord chancellor. Many minor offices remained to be disposed of, and, in the words of one of the party, "the sterility of good and able men," to put in these places, was "incredible." The truth is, that, beyond a few personal friends, and a few determined Jacobites, there were none that Bolingbroke could or would trust. Before drawing up his scheme for the new cabinet, he made an attempt upon the principles of some of the old Whig placemen. On the day after Oxford's dismissal, he gave a dinner party at his house in Golden Square to General Stanhope, Robert Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, General Cadogan, and other chiefs of the party; but his cajoling overtures came to nothing, as those Whigs demanded, as a *sine quâ non*, that, for the better security of the Protestant succession, the Pretender should be compelled to remove to Rome, or, at the least, to some place much farther from the English coasts than Lorraine; and Bolingbroke declared that the queen would never consent to this persecution of her brother. To have a correct estimate of Bolingbroke's sincerity and singleness of dealing, we need only mention that, on the very same day on which he gave this famed dinner, he had an interview with Gaultier, and assured him that he entertained the same sentiments as ever for *the king*, provided only his majesty took such measures as would suit the good people of England. At this moment the Duke of Marlborough, who had sent his friend General Cadogan into England before him, was staying at Ostend, watching the game that was playing, with the evident intention of striking in at the decisive round. His real intentions were matters of anxious surmise and speculation to all parties; and such was his personal importance, or the high opinion entertained of his selfish sagacity, that it appears to have been considered as certain that whichever party he embraced and adhered to must in the end be the prevalent one:* according to Bothmar the Hanoverian ambassador, Marlborough, forgetting his old ani-

* Macpherson. A few days before this, Bothmar thus describes the state of the queen:—"I find her paler than formerly, but in other respects she looks well, and seems to be in health, *excepting that she cannot walk nor stand up.*"

† The lord treasurer was wanting to himself; and his habits of procrastinating and treating the most serious business as if it were a joke (a fatal and a disgusting quality in a minister of state) made even some of his best friends indifferent to his fall. "Lord Oxford," said Pope, "was not a very capable minister, and had a good deal of negligence into the bargain. He used to send trifling verses from court to the Scriblerus Club almost every day; and would come and talk idly with them almost every night, even when his all was at stake."—*Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men.*

* George Lockhart, of Carnwath, the author of the Memoirs, one of the most active and distinguished of the Scottish Jacobites, who was very constant in his attendance about court, says, that there was a report that the Duke of Marlborough had refused the loan of 100,000*l.*, which the Pretender had demanded from him as a proof and a pledge of his fidelity. If this demand were really made, it must have tended very materially to strengthen the lord general's *new* fidelity to the Protestant succession, to whose interests he won over or secured the affection of the British troops, at Dunkirk, and other places.

mosity against that man, had listened to overtures from Oxford before his fall. On the 16th of July, Bothmar says—"It is surprising that the Duke of Marlborough comes over at such a crisis, and does not rather wait until it is seen which of the two competitors (Oxford or Bolingbroke) will carry it with the queen; Lord Sunderland himself does not comprehend this. . . . . The impetuosity of the duchess has probably precipitated this journey. . . . . They are surprised that the duke should be in a hurry to come here at this juncture. If he adheres to his old friends, he will run a risk with the minister; and if he wants to please the latter, he will be abandoned by the former, without gaining much upon the court. It is thought that the lord treasurer has led him into this step by the means of Cadogan." On the 27th of July, Bothmar says—"The Duke of Marlborough is not arrived yet. It is probable he wants to remain beyond sea until he knows that there is a change in the ministry." Three days later the Hanoverian ambassador says, very significantly—"I am very curious to know if there is any foundation of a good understanding between the Duke of Marlborough and the Pretender. His electoral highness (Prince George, afterwards George II.) can himself give a great deal of light in this affair, as I am assured that the Lord Treasurer Oxford showed him, by his cousin, (the Mr. Harley who had been sent to Hanover) the originals of the letters between the duke and the Pretender." Bothmar adds, that this correspondence appeared to him incredible, and inconsistent with all that he had ever heard or seen of the duke: but *we* now know that the correspondence was real. In the same letter Bothmar speaks of the communication made by an unknown person to the Duke of Marlborough, touching the weak state of the Protestant succession, and the advantages which the duke might find in embracing the part of the Pretender without running any risk.* In a postscript to this letter, Bothmar says that the queen was so bad as not to be expected to live through that night. It seems certain that, notwithstanding an offer the money-loving duke had recently made to lend 20,000*l.*, to enable the Electoral Prince George to come over to England to look personally to the interests of his family, the whole court of Hanover looked upon Marlborough and his movements with distrust, fearing to confide in him, and yet fearing to offend him, hopeless of securing him unless he were convinced that their cause would triumph, and bring him more advantages than the other.

Bothmar had not exaggerated in speaking of the queen's dangerous state. On the 30th of July, only three days after the stormy scene at court, and the dismissal of Oxford, she was seized with an apoplectic fit. Ever since that tempestuous night she had been in a deplorable condition; agitated and shattered, and confident, as she told her physicians, that she should never recover; and after the fit she sunk into a stupor. There was a display of grief both real and affected; but the funds rose considerably, as soon as it was known in the city that she was dying. The most intelligent part of the nation had become convinced that nothing was so likely to endanger property, and the constitution, as a prolongation of the royal life and of the ministry of the plotting insidious men upon whom she had thrown herself. On the other side, Bolingbroke, Ormond, Harcourt, and the rest of that party who had been rather named to office than put in possession of it—so rapid was the course of events—were bewildered, and apparently all but stupified at this sudden blow. They met in council at Kensington, in a room not far from that where the queen lay dying; and they were presently thrown into consternation by the arrival of the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset, who said that, understanding her majesty's danger, they had hastened, though not summoned, to offer their assistance. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been for some time playing a very ambiguous part, but who had returned to his old Whig principles, and held private deliberations with some of the chiefs of that party, rose up and thanked Argyll and Somerset for their unexpected attendance and the offer of their services. Somerset and Argyll then took their seats at the council board, insisted on examining the physicians, and upon their report urged that it should be proposed to the queen that the post of lord treasurer should be instantly filled up, as at such a moment it was essential to have a recognised prime minister; and they further insisted that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be at once recommended to her majesty, as the nobleman most fit to manage affairs at that crisis, and to secure the succession as fixed by parliament. Bolingbroke thus saw his grand scheme vanish into thin air, like an unsubstantial palace at the touch of the enchanter; but he said nothing, did nothing, remaining in amaze like one under a spell; and he followed Shrewsbury and the other lords to the death-bed side, where the recommendation of the council was intimated in a discourse which the sufferer, in all probability, did not understand. A sign or a nod from Anne was, however, interpreted as a sufficient assent, and as a sufficient warrant for a most momentous change

* Pope, no incompetent judge, who knew the man well and intimately, says—"As inconsistent as the Duke of Marlborough's character may appear to you, yet may it be accounted for, if you gauge his actions by his reigning passion, which was the love of money. He endeavoured at the same time to be well both at Hanover and St. Germains: this surprised you a good deal when I first told you of it, but the plain meaning of it was only this—that he wanted to secure the vast riches he had amassed together whichever should succeed. He was calm in the heat of battle; and when he was so near being taken prisoner, in his first campaign in Flanders, he was quite unmoved. He was like to lose his life in the one and his liberty in the other, but there was none of his money at stake in either. This mean passion of that great man operated very strongly in him in the very beginning of his life, and continued to the very end of it. One day as he was looking over some papers in his scrutoire with Lord Cadogan, he opened one of the little drawers, took out a green purse, and turned some broad pieces out of it, and after viewing them for some time with a satisfaction that appeared very visible in his face, 'Cadogan,' says he, 'observe these pieces well; they deserve to be observed. There are just forty of them; 'tis the very first sum I ever got in my life, and I have kept it always unbroken from that very time to this day.' This shows how early and how strong this passion must have been upon him."—*Spence.*

—a change which involved the interests of millions. Thus was Shrewsbury, already lord-lieutenant of Ireland and lord chamberlain, made lord treasurer and prime minister, and from this moment the deciding card was in his hand, rather than in that of Marlborough, who, when the critical moment came, found himself detained at Ostend by contrary winds. The Duke of Argyll, a man of action and a man of ability, and who had carried the somewhat incompetent Somerset along with him to Kensington, was the real evil genius before which Bolingbroke stood rebuked; and now in conjunction with Somerset and the new *Whig* prime minister, Shrewsbury, Argyll moved that every privy counsellor whatsoever, that happened to be in London or in the neighbourhood, should be immediately summoned to attend. The Ex-Chancellor Somers, whose character and influence stood highest, forgot his own infirmities, and hastened to the place where the queen was expiring; and he was accompanied or followed by many other Whigs, who had not seen the interior of the court for a long time. If Bolingbroke and his co-adjutors were bewildered before, they were now crushed and ridden over by the Whig party, who, without losing time, ordered four regiments up to London, recalled seven battalions from Dunkirk, laid an embargo on all the sea-ports, sent out orders for the immediate equipment of a good strong fleet, and took other measures to secure the throne to the House of Hanover, and defeat any attempt that might be made by France and the Pretender. Indeed, before the result of the visit of Argyll to the council-chamber was known, the Whigs, principally guided by the active and able General Stanhope, had concerted measures calculated to lead to the same result: Bolingbroke, who knew everything, must have known this. Knowing the course that had been taken with the army and the numerous commissions which had been given to determined Jacobites, they had entered into an association, and had even collected some arms and ammunition. They had also badges or tokens in brass, silver, and gold, to distribute among their followers; and Stanhope had formed a plan for seizing the Tower, and securing in it, at the moment of trial, the persons of the principal Jacobites. On the day after the appointment of Shrewsbury, while Anne was in a lethargy, and the physicians expecting every moment to be her last, the council sent their orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness every moment to proclaim the rightful successor George I.; and they hurried off Mr. Craggs to Hanover to hasten the journey of the elector, who was requested to repair to the coast of Holland, where the English fleet would be ready to receive him. The council also sent letters to their high mightinesses the States General, who for some time past had received nothing from England but cold or insulting language, to call their attention to the important fact that Holland had by treaty guaranteed the succession of the House of Hanover. Well knowing how hotly the Jacobite fever was raging in many parts of Scotland, they determined that an able general should be sent down to that country to take the command of the troops. All this was decided on the 31st of July, and on the following morning Anne, who had not recovered sufficiently from her stupor either to sign her will or to take the sacrament, expired in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign. "The Earl of Oxford," says the still bewildered Bolingbroke, in a letter to Swift, "was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" Nearly at the same moment the same plotting statesman assured an agent of the French king that measures had been so well taken, that in six weeks' time things would have been put in such a state as to have left him nothing to fear from the queen's demise. On the evening of the 1st of August the Duke of Marlborough approached the English coast: near Dover his vessel was boarded by a messenger from Sir Thomas Franklin, the post-master-general, who told his grace that the queen had died that morning, and that the Elector of Hanover had been joyfully proclaimed. And, in fact, George was proclaimed with acclamations in London, in York,* and in the other principal cities, where no Jacobite had courage to raise his voice, or even to show himself in public. In the capital, only one man, and that man a Protestant clergyman of the high-church school, had the courage to propose proclaiming the Pretender. It was Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.†

* It was not without a meaning and motive that the court of Hanover had opened a correspondence with Dawes, Archbishop of York. That prelate looked after their interest in the north of England, and gave importance to the procession of proclamation in the city of York. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was on the spot, thus describes the scene, in a letter to her husband:—"I went to-day to see the king proclaimed, which was done, the archbishop walking next the lord mayor, and all the country gentry following, with greater crowds of people than I believed to be in York; vast acclamations and the appearance of a general satisfaction; the Pretender afterwards dragged about the streets and burned; ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations; the mob crying Liberty and Property! and Long live King George! . . . . All the Protestants here seem unanimous for the Hanover succession."

† "Upon the death of the queen, Ormond, Atterbury, and Lord Mareshal, held a private conversation together, in which Atterbury desired the latter to go out immediately and proclaim the Pretender in form. Ormond, who was more afraid of consequences, desired to communicate it first to the council. 'Damn it,' says Atterbury, in a great heat (for he did not value swearing); 'you very well know that things have not been concerted enough for that yet, and that we have not a moment to lose.' Indeed it was the only thing they could have done; such a bold step would have made people believe that they were stronger than they really were, and might have taken strangely. The late king, I am fully persuaded, would not have stirred a foot, if there had been a strong opposition: indeed, the family did not expect this crown; at least nobody in it but the old Princess Sophia."—*Lockier in Spence.*—The mayor of *Oxford* received an anonymous note desiring him to proclaim the Pretender; but the mayor was too wise, and both the city and university remained perfectly quiet.

Great Seal of George I.

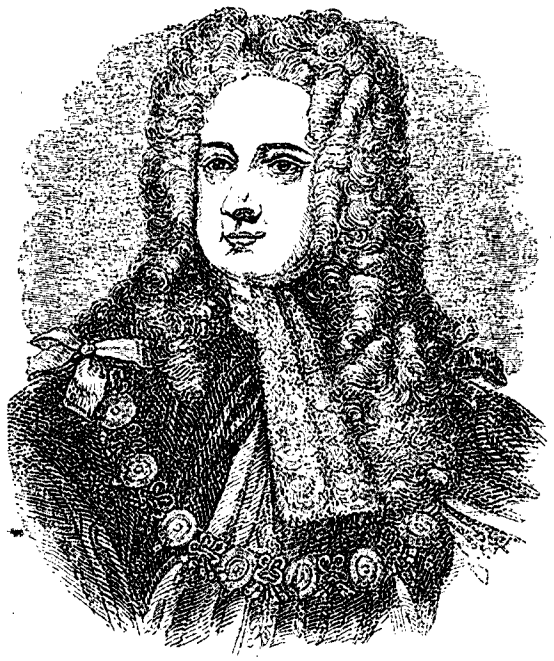
GEORGE I.

A.D. 1714.—The Regency Bill passed in 1705 had provided for the government on the demise of Anne; and the seven great officers of state, together with eighteen peers, named in an instrument signed by the Elector of Hanover, took upon themselves the temporary administration. Of the eighteen peers named by George the greater number were determined Whigs; and Argyll, Cowper, Halifax, Townshend, and Devonshire were among them. Marlborough was not named, nor was his son-in-law, Sunderland: this was not extraordinary, but it excites some surprise to see the illustrious Somers excluded also. The great general, on landing at Dover, received an enthusiastic welcome, and his entry into London was like a triumph. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback met him on the road, and the procession was joined by a long train of horses and carriages. Marlborough went straight to the House of Lords and took the oaths to King George; but then, mortified at his exclusion from the regency, he retired into the country.* The lords justices appointed Joseph Addison to be their secretary, and ordered that all dispatches addressed to Bolingbroke should be delivered to Addison.† In the Scottish capital King George was proclaimed without opposition; but for some days there prevailed great doubt and anxiety as to Ireland; and the lords of the regency, or lords justices, thought at one moment of dispatching thither General Stanhope as commander-in-chief, and Marlborough's son-in-law, Sunderland, as lord-lieutenant, without losing time in waiting for the king's instructions; but they soon received intelligence that all was quiet, and that King George had been peaceably proclaimed at Dublin by the lords justices of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Constantine Phipps, whose Toryism had formerly been suspected to be of the Jacobite bias. The Hanoverian ambassador felt convinced that the Jacobites would not stir anywhere, unless they were assisted by France; and the French ambassador declared that the king, his master, was determined to observe religiously the treaty of Utrecht, which recognised the succession of the Elector of Hanover.

Not a moment was lost by the Whigs in England in putting forth claims to the honours and emoluments of office, and in scheming what should be the new cabinet. The bishopric of Ely, and every good thing that happened to be vacant in the church, was asked for, and every place at court, such as the captaincy of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the groomship of the bedchamber, &c., was grasped at by several competitors. Baron Bothmar, who was made the medium of these applications to Hanover, recommended Lord Halifax to be first lord of the Treasury, with Mr. Boyle and Mr. Walpole for his colleagues, and Lord Orford, the double-sided Admiral Russell of former times, to be first lord of the Admiralty. He afterwards recommended strongly that the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had received the treasurer's staff from the hand of the dying Anne, should be *allowed* to retire; that Marlborough and Sunderland should be *satisfied*, Stanhope and Cadogan *provided for*, and that then they should think "of

* Bothmar, writing to the court of Hanover on the 5th of August, says, "The Duke of Marlborough came to town yesterday amidst the acclamations of the people, as if he had gained another battle of Hochstet. He will be of great service if the Pretender makes any attempt. He is not pleased that he is not of the regency, and that there is any man but the king higher than him in this country."—*Macpherson.*

† In the letter referred to in the last note Bothmar mentions the services which Addison's friend Steele had rendered to the House of Hanover, as if to procure that admirable writer some good appointment in the new government.



George I. From a Portrait by Sir Peter Lely.

doing something for Lord Somers." On the 10th of August Bothmar, continuing his recommendations, proposed General Erle for the government of Portsmouth, and pointed out Brigadiers Honeywood and Dormer as proper men to be made grooms of the bedchamber, "the last being recommended by the Duke of Marlborough." He also forwarded a letter to King George from the Earl of Manchester, who had been ambassador in France and at Venice, and secretary of state at home, and who yet only begged now to be made a lord of the king's bedchamber; a favour which he (Bothmar) thought might be granted, though he proposed that no answer should be given to Manchester's lady, who wanted to be of the princess's bedchamber. As for the rest, Bothmar suggested that "it would be sufficient now to give general promises to all such as asked favours, and to fulfil them when the king had formed his plan." "He may then," adds the ambassador, "turn out in general all the late queen's court and council." Cadogan told Bothmar that Lord Sunderland wanted to be secretary of state; and the Hanoverian, who, whatever he might think of Marlborough, had good reasons to think highly of the ability and patriotism of his son-in-law, suggests that, in case the king should be disposed to gratify him, Lord Townshend might be provided for in another way. Bishop Burnet recommended his own son for one of the grooms of the bedchamber; but Bothmar thought it would be better to give him some employment in the law. To pass over numerous other claims advanced by Tories* as well as by Whigs, and ranging from places at court to places in the excise, Lord Hertford, the Duke of Somerset's eldest son, wanted to be a lord-in-waiting either to the king or to Prince George; the Duke of Buckingham requested that his duchess might be made lady of the bedchamber to the princess. "She is handsome," says Bothmar, "and appears to me fit for such a place; but she could not obtain it from the late queen, although she was her *natural sister*.† I do not know if it was for that reason she did not choose to have her so near her, but preferred rather to give her a pension." The Duke of Grafton, one of the natural sons of Charles II., whose mother had married the speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, also desired earnestly to be of the king's bedchamber, and Bothmar gave him a good character, and recommended him.

But we may turn from these pettinesses, which were the inevitable consequences of a demise and a new succession, to matters of greater weight, in which the interests of three nations were concerned, and in which they were but too often sacrificed to private ambition and the interests of worthless in-

* "We are as full in the House of Commons," says a Tory, "as at any time. We are gaping and staring to see who is to rule us. The Whigs think they shall engross all. We think we shall have our share."—*Erasmus Lewis to Swift, August* 7. This Lewis was a ready penman, who had done work both for Bolingbroke and for Oxford. That lord treasurer was accustomed to call Matthew Prior his verse man, and Lewis his prose-man.

† Catherine Darnley (as she was named by royal mandate), the third wife of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, whom she married after her divorce from her first husband, James Annesly, Earl of Anglesea, was the daughter of James II., by Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley.

dividuals. According to a very important provision in the act of regency, the Houses of Parliament met on the day of the queen's death, though it was a Sunday, and all such members as were in or near to town hastened to their seats. The Tories attempted to procure an adjournment till the following Wednesday; but Sir Richard Onslow represented that the state of the nation was too critical to allow of delay; and the Houses met again on Monday. Three days were spent in administering and taking oaths to the new sovereign. On the 5th of August the lords justices recommended to the Commons to provide for the dignity and honour of the crown by voting the continuance of several branches of the revenue which had expired with the late queen. "We forbear," said these lords, "laying before you anything that does not require your immediate consideration, not having as yet received his majesty's pleasure. We only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity and a firm adherence to our sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity." The Commons instantly returned a very loyal and an unanimous address—for, though the Tories were the more numerous, the Jacobite Tories were comparatively few, and in no humour to provoke a committal to the Tower. In the same breath and with the same drop of ink they expressed their deep grief at the death of their late sovereign lady Queen Anne of blessed memory, and their lively pleasure at the accession of King George, whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely. The most that the Hanoverian agents hoped or expected was, that the House of Commons would grant the king the same civil list enjoyed by the late queen, and that a new parliament would augment it on account of Prince George and his family; but the Tories, either to secure favour at court, or to produce in the beginning an extravagant notion of the avaricious and grasping disposition of the new sovereign, had the face to propose that the civil list should be raised to 1,000,000*l.*, or to 300,000*l.* more than had been granted to Anne; but the Whigs wisely discouraged this very suspicious liberality, and the sum voted was 700,000*l.* A clause was inserted in the bill for the payment of 65,000*l.* due to the Hanoverian troops in the pay of England, but hitherto withheld by the court because those troops had refused to join the Duke of Ormond in 1712 in his base desertion from the allies. A reward of 100,000*l.*, to be paid by the treasury, was offered to any person that should apprehend the Pretender in case of his landing; and, after the passing of some other money-bills, this short session was closed by prorogation.

A report was spread that they were arming and preparing transports in France; and some suspicions fell upon the wit and poet who had been left as secretary of embassy at Paris. "It is surprising," writes Bothmar, "that Mr. Prior sends no intelligence of these things from France, and that he writes in ciphers things which he might very safely write plain. Some members of the regency suspect that letters are concealed from them." But at this moment Lord Peterborough, whose delight it was to fly from country to country more rapidly than any one living, and to boast that he knew personally more potentates and postboys than any one, came posting from Paris with an assurance from the aged Louis XIV. that he wished to live in peace, and had no intention of abetting the Pretender. In effect, when the Pretender, upon the news of Anne's death, had quitted Lorraine, and repaired *incognito* to Paris, to consult with the queen, his mother, and his other friends, being, according to the Duke of Berwick, "fully resolved to go over afterwards into Great Britain, to lay claim to his right," the French court sent M. de Torcy to persuade him to return whence he came; and, if fair reasons should not prevail, de Torcy had orders to declare that they should be indispensably obliged to use compulsion. "And, therefore," adds Berwick, "receiving no comfortable intelligence from his friend in England, where a universal consternation prevailed, and not knowing where he could land in safety, *the king* determined to go back to Bar-le-duc." The assurances brought over by Peterborough, added to those previously and subsequently given by Louis's ambassadors, and to intelligence received from France touching the Pretender's movements and his visible despondency, quieted alarm; and it was confidently hoped that the Guelphs would be firmly settled on the throne without the curse of a civil war waged for the Stuarts. But yet all those who wished well to the Protestant succession were impatient for the arrival of the new king, whose delay on the continent excited universal surprise. Other princes had shown the extreme of eagerness for a far less glittering prize, but the phlegmatic George I. seemed to look almost with indifference to the crown of three great and rising kingdoms; and it was not till six o'clock in the evening of the 18th of September, or nearly seven weeks after the death of Anne, that he landed at Greenwich with his eldest son, Prince George. His subjects of Hanover had witnessed his departure with regret and tears—his English subjects received him with joy and acclamations, although on a near view they saw little to admire in his personal appearance or in his bearing, which were plain and undignified. He showed marked attentions to the leading Whigs, to Marlborough, to Sunderland, to Somers, and others; but looked coldly on the Tories, who had equally run to welcome him, and abruptly dismissed the Chancellor Harcourt, who had hurried with a patent in his pocket for the peerage of the Prince of Wales. That other pledged Jacobite, the Duke of Ormond, was stopped on his road to Greenwich by the unwelcome intelligence that his majesty would not admit him to his presence; and the late Lord Treasurer Oxford was barely admitted in the crowd to kiss the royal hand, though, in order to efface former ill impressions, he had made a display of

infinite joy and satisfaction in proclaiming the new king. As for Bolingbroke, he did not run down to Greenwich, for his fate had been sealed before, the king having sent from the Hague an order that he should be removed from his office of secretary of state, and that Lord Townshend should be put in his place; and in the grief of his soul Bolingbroke had exclaimed that the Tory party was gone! "The removal of the Lord Bolingbroke," says Addison, in a letter to the Hanoverian cabinet, "has put a seasonable check to an interest that was making in many places for members in the next parliament, and was very much relished by the people, who ascribe to him in a great measure the decay of trade and public credit."

His majesty presently proceeded to complete his ministerial arrangements: Lord Halifax was appointed first lord commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Cowper again chancellor; Nottingham president of the council; Marlborough commander-in-chief and master-general of the Ordnance; Wharton (who was made a marquess) lord privy seal; Oxford first lord of the Admiralty; Shrewsbury lord chamberlain and groom of the stole; the Duke of Devonshire lord steward of the household; the Duke of Somerset master of the horse; Sunderland lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Robert Walpole, whose ability in debate was worth a high price, paymaster of the forces. With the single exception of Nottingham, who, latterly, had been more than half a Whig, there was not a decided Tory in the whole batch. The arrangement, however, was far from giving universal satisfaction to the Whig party: Sunderland was disgusted at being relegated to Ireland instead of having the prime direction of affairs in the English cabinet; and Marlborough was scarcely more pleased with the share allotted to him, particularly when he found that his voice at the council-board was not heard with much deference, and that his command of the army was little more than nominal—nearly all commissions and promotions being put in other hands. As for Lord Somers, he was overlooked altogether. It was represented, with seeming truth, that his infirmities prevented him from taking any important department, and that an inferior office could not be offered to so great a man;* but others interpreted the omission of him, the sending of Sunderland into Ireland, and the little countenance shown to Marlborough, into a fear on the part of the new king of the old junta which, for a time, had monopolised the authority and the government under the late queen. On the other hand, the wholly excluded Tories complained as loudly as if, instead of being in a good part Jacobites or trimmers that had waited upon events, they had been the constant, consistent, and warmest friends of the Hanoverian succession. In Scotland the Jacobite Earl of Mar was turned out, and the Duke of Montrose put in his place; and the Duke of Argyll was intrusted with the supreme command of the forces there: in Ireland Sir Constantine Phipps was deprived of the seals, and Mr. Broderic made chancellor. These ministerial arrangements were all completed before the 20th of October, upon which day the coronation was performed at Westminster with the usual solemnities. The old abbey was thronged with nearly all the peers, whether Whig, Tory, or Jacobite; the indolent *insouciant*-looking Oxford was there, and so was his keen-eyed, animated rival, Bolingbroke. The usual promotions in the peerage followed the ceremony. The people in many parts disgraced their loyalty by insulting the Jacobites; and the Jacobites in some places, and especially at Norwich, Bristol, and Birmingham, cried up Sacheverell and the church, and damned all foreign governments, and, being drunk, committed serious riots. The learned University of Oxford did not riot, but it chose that very day of the coronation of King George to confer upon Sir Constantine Phipps, the late Jacobite chancellor of Ireland, an honorary degree in full convocation, thus giving a gentle indication of its political sympathies.

On the 29th of August (N.S.) the Pretender, who had gone from Bar-le-duc to drink the mineral waters of Plombiere, signed and sent forth a manifesto asserting his right to the throne of Great Britain, and explaining somewhat too clearly the causes of his inactivity up to "the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt: *and this was the reason we then sate still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death.*" This was at once a capital blunder and a glaring proof of the little attention the exiled prince paid to the safety of his friends in England. The Whigs instantly caught at the words as additional and incontrovertible evidence as to the intentions of the late ministry: the Tories insisted that the manifesto was a false document basely forged by the Whigs to throw discredit upon them and dishonour the late queen; but they were driven from this position by the thick-headed and thick-hearted Pretender, who openly acknowledged the authenticity of the manifesto. Both parties applied themselves to the press; and, together with some good writing and a little wit, Whigs and Tories poured out an amazing stream of malice, dulness, and abuse. The best hit was made by Addison, who exposed the absurdity of the revived Tory cry of the church in danger, and showed that it was rather more rational to hope the church would be safe under a Lutheran like George than under a Papist like James. The Tories, however, had scarcely fair play allowed them in this war of wet sheets and broadsides, for the lord mayor, with the approbation of Secretary Townshend, committed a number of their hawkers who cried their papers about the streets to Bridewell.

A.D. 1715.—Early in January two royal proclamations were issued, the one dissolving the parlia-

* Somers, however, was gratified with a further pension of 2000*l.* a-year.

ment, the other calling a new one. In the latter the late government was severely reflected upon, and the electors, in the choice of members, were advised to have a particular regard to such as showed a firmness to the Protestant succession when it was in danger. At the preceding election, only two years before, five sixths of the successful candidates were Tories; yet at the present election the Whigs were returned in triumphant majority. The new parliament met on the 19th of March, and Mr. Spencer Compton, the ministerial nominee, was chosen Speaker without opposition. A few days after the king went down in person, but, being unable to pronounce English, he gave his written speech to be read by Chancellor Cowper. After thanking all his loving subjects for their zeal in defence of his succession, he lamented that many conditions of the late peace had not been performed, and showed the necessity of defensive alliances in order to ensure their due execution: he regretted the injuries suffered by trade, and expressed his surprise at finding that the public debt had been increased since the treaty of Utrecht. He alluded frankly to the Pretender, and to his boasting of assistance he expected to derive from England; but, in conclusion, he declared that he would make the constitution in church and state the rule of his government, and devote his chief care to the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people. Both Houses joined in expressing their sense of the dishonour of the peace, and the delinquency of the late ministers.* The Commons, in their address, said, strongly, "We are sensibly touched, not only with the disappointment, but the reproach brought upon the nation by the unsuitable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expense, and was attended with such unparalleled successes: but, as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole nation, so we firmly hope and believe, that, through your majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of your kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and restored." The king, in his speech, had spoken of the continued residence of the Pretender in Lorraine; and upon this point the Commons said, "It is with just resentment we observe that the Pretender still lives in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures wherein he places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

This was the first public intimation of the intention of the present cabinet to call their predecessors in office to account; and the intention was further avowed in the course of debate by General Stanhope. This leader of the Commons—for at first Stanhope, rather than Walpole, was the leader—said that a report had been industriously spread that it was not intended to bring the late ministers to trial, but only to censure them in general terms: that he could, however, assure the House that, notwithstanding all the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's offices, yet his majesty's present government had sufficient evidence left to prove the former ministry the most corrupt that had ever sat at the helm; and he also declared that it would appear that a certain English general (Ormond) had acted in concert with Marshal Villars, if he had not received orders from him. The Tory opposition had objected to a part of the address, which they said did injustice to the memory of the late queen; but Walpole insisted that nothing could be farther from their intention; that they rather designed to vindicate her memory by exposing and punishing the evil counsellors who had deluded her; whereas they, the opposition, were endeavouring to screen those counsellors by throwing all the blame and odium upon that "good, pious, and well-meaning princess." The Tories found themselves in a minority of 138 to 244 on the address. The proclamation for calling a new parliament was soon afterwards attacked by Sir William Wyndham, who called it "not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but dangerous to the very being of parliaments." Being called upon to explain himself more fully, he merely said, without going into the obvious grounds of objection to the clause in the proclamation which pointed out the Whigs as the only party fit to be returned, that in that House every man was free to speak his thoughts. They called upon him again to explain, and, when he again refused, some members cried out, "The Tower! the Tower!" But Walpole rose and said, quietly, "I am not for gratifying the desire which the member who occasions this debate shows of being sent to the Tower. It would make him too considerable." The House then obliged Sir William Wyndham to withdraw, and contented themselves with a resolution that he should be reprimanded by the Speaker.

With all his vivacity and rashness, Bolingbroke seems to have had less moral courage than his rival Oxford, whom he had always despised as irresolute and timid. His danger, however, was probably somewhat greater, and he may have apprehended that there was better evidence to convict him on an impeachment than what could be brought against the ex-lord treasurer. But, howsoever this may have been, Oxford remained to face the storm, while Bolingbroke fled from it. On the evening of the 26th of March he appeared publicly at Drury Lane Theatre; and at the close of the performance he bespoke, according to the custom of the time, the play for the next night. But, upon leaving the theatre, he disguised himself as

* In the Lords there were some very sudden conversions. "I saw," says Bolingbroke, "several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions." The majority which carried the address in the Lords were 66 to 33.

a servant to La Vigne, a French cabinet messenger; set off for Dover, and landed with the Frenchman at Calais.* We shall soon find Bolingbroke figuring as secretary of state to the Pretender. Nor was the Duke of Ormond much more courageous than Bolingbroke, though, for a short time, he seemed to defy his enemies, and kept up his spirits by a continual excitement. He gave the most *magnificent* fêtes; held public levées at Richmond as if his house had been a court; gathered around him the most fiery of the Jacobites; and gave his countenance to the mob and to the hottest of the high-church party.

In the mean while all the papers that could be found of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Prior had been seized, and the poet had been recalled from Paris and kept under surveillance. On the 9th of April Stanhope laid these papers, with an immense heap of instructions, memorials, &c., relating to Ormond's withdrawing the troops from the allies and to the treaty of Utrecht; and, representing that they were too voluminous to be perused by the whole House, he moved that they should be referred to a select committee of twenty-*one* members. This proposal was adopted without opposition, and a thoroughly Whig committee, called a committee of secrecy, was appointed forthwith. The twenty-one commenced operations that very evening, appointing Robert Walpole their chairman. The task was long and tedious, and, as week after week passed over without any report to the House, Shippen, a decided Jacobite member, insinuated that, notwithstanding the great noise which had been made, the committee of secrecy would not be able to produce any proof of the guilt of the late ministry. But Shippen was silenced by Walpole, the chairman, who declared that, so far from this being the case, he wanted words to express the villany of the late *Frenchified* ministry, as it appeared from the evidence in hand. At last, on the 9th of June, two months after the appointment of the committee, Walpole presented the report to the House, and read it himself. The reading occupied five hours. When it was over Sir Thomas Hanmer moved that the report should be printed, and the further consideration postponed for twelve days. But Walpole, Stanhope, and all the Whigs resisted this reasonable proposition, and went headlong into the matter. Hanmer's motion having been negatived by a majority of 280 to 160, Walpole presently rose again, and, observing that he made no question but that the whole House was now fully convinced of Bolingbroke's guilt, exclaimed that he, therefore, impeached that late minister of high crimes and misdemeanors; adding, however, that if any member had anything to offer in his lordship's behalf, he had no doubt the House was ready to hear him. A profound silence followed. The report, ably drawn up, had filled the vast majority of the House with rage and indignation, and had even called some blushes to the faces of those who had sanctioned the dishonourable Treaty of Utrecht, the disgraceful conduct of Ormond, the baser betrayal of the Catalans, and the altogether unnecessary gift of Tournay to France: and if on one important point—the traitorous correspondence of Bolingbroke with the French court—the report did not produce such indisputable evidence as has been laid before the world since the prosecution, and in part very recently, there was yet enough to excite and justify the darkest suspicions. When the silence had lasted for some minutes, Mr. Hungerford ventured to say, that in his opinion, there was nothing in the report relating to Lord Bolingbroke that amounted to the crime of high treason. General Ross also made use of a few timid expressions to the same effect; and this was all that was said in the House of Commons in support of the brilliant but flagitious minister; and the vote for his impeachment passed without a division. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I do impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I impeach the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." More was said for Oxford than had been said for Bolingbroke; yet it amounted to very little. Mr. Auditor Harley, and Mr. Foley the ex-lord treasurer's brother-in-law, defended their relative; and Sir Joseph Jekyll, who had been on the committee of secrecy, said that, although they had more than sufficient evidence to convict lord Bolingbroke, he much doubted whether they had sufficient evidence to convict Lord Oxford. It was stated, however, by another member of the committee, that, besides the papers, they had in reserve some *vivâ voce* evidence; and this resolution of impeachment was also carried without a division, and the committee of secrecy were ordered to prepare their articles against the two accused lords. It appears to have been for some time a matter of doubt whether they should impeach the Duke of Ormond, who, in withdrawing the troops from the allies had only obeyed positive orders or not; and that ministers were provoked to the affirmative by that weak and vain man's bravados. It was, however, not till the 21st of June that Stanhope stood up and impeached Ormond. Luckily for him, his correspondence with the friends of the Pretender was less susceptible of proof than even that of Oxford. Many members, including some that were devoted to the House of Hanover, spoke warmly in his favour; the discussion lasted nine hours and a half, and Stanhope

* Bolingbroke, in a letter from Dover, thus excused his sudden flight:—"I had certain and repeated information from some, who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken, by those who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. My blood was to have been the cement of a new alliance. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two houses of parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination. I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which I was concerned. It is a comfort that will remain with me, in all misfortunes, that I served her majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially which she had most at heart,—relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that I have always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interests of my country to any foreign ally whatsoever."

carried his motion by a majority of only 47. On the very next day Mr. Aislabie stood up and impeached the Earl of Strafford, one of the two plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; but the charge was lightened to high crimes and misdemeanors, without the treason. As nothing was said against the other plenipotentiary, Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, who, since the treaty had been translated to London, Mr. Hungerford observed that the Bishop of London was, it seemed, to have the benefit of clergy. The Duke of Ormond, after listening to a variety of Jacobite projects, which he had not sufficient spirit or talent to execute, followed Bolingbroke's example, fled secretly into France, and joined the Pretender. It is said that, before he went, he visited Lord Oxford in the Tower, and advised him to try and escape also; that, finding the ex-treasurer determined still to face the storm, he took leave of him, saying, "Farewell, Oxford without a head;" and that Oxford replied, "Farewell, duke without a duchy." Bolingbroke we shall meet again on a busy stage in England; but Ormond never returned, living in exile and dying in it, at the age of fourscore, in the year 1745.

On the 9th of July Lord Coningsby, followed by a great part of the House of Commons, carried up to the bar of the Lords the articles of impeachment against Oxford: they were sixteen in number, but afterwards six were added to them. The first fifteen related to the peace of Utrecht; the sixteenth to the sudden creation of twelve peers, made on purpose to obtain a Tory majority in the House of Lords—"by which," it was alleged, "the said Earl of Oxford did most highly abuse the influence he then had with her majesty, and prevailed on her to exercise, in the most unprecedented and dangerous manner, that valuable and undoubted prerogative, which the wisdom of the laws and constitution of the kingdom hath entrusted with the crown, for the rewarding signal virtue and distinguished merit; by which desperate advice he did not only, as far as in him lay, deprive her majesty of the continuance of those seasonable and wholesome counsels in that critical juncture, but wickedly perverted the true and only end of that great and useful prerogative, to the dishonour of the crown, and the irreparable mischief to the constitution of parliament." After the articles had been read a debate arose as to whether any of them amounted to high treason. As was not unusual on such occasions, it was proposed that the judges should be consulted; but a motion to that effect was negatived by 84 to 52. The next motion was, that Oxford should be committed to the Tower. Hereupon that earl addressed the House in a short speech, protesting his innocence and screening himself under the worn-out and now scarcely admissible excuse, that in all that he had done, he had only, as a servant, obeyed the late queen's orders. In concluding his speech, he said that if ministers of state, acting by the immediate command of their sovereign, were afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, no ministers would ever be safe. But this line of argument went directly to establish the irresponsibility of ministers, a thing exploded under the modern spirit and form of the constitution; and Oxford, after being reprieved for a few days, on account of a real or pretended indisposition, was committed to the Tower by the House. Part of the *vivâ voce* evidence, alluded to by the committee of secrecy, was that of Matthew Prior, who, seven days after this, or on the 16th of June, underwent a long examination before the committee. It had been reported that Prior, to secure himself, would make ample revelations, and disclose quite enough to make out a case of treason against Bolingbroke and Oxford; but the poet refused to disclose the secrets with which he had been entrusted, and abhorred the idea of criminating his patrons and employers. If we are to believe his own account, though "in outward appearance they were all very civil," the committee did not treat him very generously, or act with the calmness and dignity becoming such an occasion. He says that they asked him what he knew of the negotiation for the peace—how long he had been acquainted with the Abbé Gaultier—whether the propositions for peace came first from France or from England; that several members spoke at once, and very vaguely; that they desired him to give them an account of whatever he knew of the whole matter, "which," he adds, "it seems they thought I was so ready to do, that some of them took their pens and paper as if I were to begin a sermon, and they to take short notes." But, as to any information they got from the poet, their readiness in note-taking was thrown away. To punish this obstinacy, Walpole, on the 10th of June, moved the House for an impeachment against Matthew Prior, Esquire, who had been for some time in the custody of a messenger, and who, on the 17th of the same month was ordered into close custody, where no person was to be admitted to see him without an order from the speaker. In the following year, when an act of grace was passed, the poet, who still lay at the mercy of the House of Commons, was one of the persons excepted out of it. But being discharged soon after, he quietly retired into the country, and spent the remainder of his days at his own villa of Down Hall, or at Wimpole, a seat of the Earl of Oxford, where he died on the 18th of December, 1721. Oxford was left in the Tower, and his opponents continued long to deliberate whether there was sufficient evidence to convict him of high treason, or only enough to prove the point of misdemeanor. In the heat of their animosity they seem to have overlooked the fact, that his ministerial proceedings had been approved of by two parliaments, which, notwithstanding their corruptness and the unjustifiable measures resorted to in cramming the House of Commons with Tories and Jacobites, were still parliaments of Great Britain.

The easy accession of the House of Hanover, after all the plots and plans that had been laid, and

all the pledges that had been given to the Pretender, struck the world with astonishment. Efforts, however, were made at a very early period to shake the new throne; and it was the high church party that first applied their broad shoulders to this work. In their sermons, and still more in their pamphlets, they irritated the populace with suspicions of the king's temper and orthodoxy; they painted his religion in bad colours, representing that the old tyranny of the Presbyterian government, that the starch days of the Puritans were to be restored; they drew an odious distinction between a native and a foreign prince, and they prophesied that England would be eaten up by Hanoverian rats and other foreign vermin. Presently loud cries were heard throughout the land of "High Church and Ormond for ever!" "Down with the Puritans!" "Down with the Dissenters!" and where the orthodox mob was strongest they soon proceeded to realise the metaphor, and to knock down the meeting-houses of the dissenters. In Staffordshire, one of the least civilised and most Tory counties, these excesses were greatest; and scarcely a Whig or Dissenter there could escape insult or more serious injury.* To stop these excesses the legislature had recourse to the well-known riot act, which was carried through both Houses of parliament, and which provided that, if any twelve persons should unlawfully assemble to the disturbance of the peace, and any one justice should think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse; if, in contempt of his orders, they should continue together for one hour afterwards, such contempt should be felony without benefit of clergy. The ill humour of the people, however, was not to be repressed, and the more they saw of the new king and the new court, the less they liked both. And, indeed, though possessed of some solid qualities which seem to have fitted him for the difficult position in which he was placed, the first George was far from being a very prepossessing or brilliant prince. He was fifty-four years old, had a heavy countenance and a clumsy figure, and was plain in his dress, almost a sloven: he was taciturn and phlegmatic, and yet subject to violent fits of passion. He could neither confer a favour with grace nor refuse one with blandness. There was, in fact, little that was courteous, or graceful, or princely about him; and men so inclined, and the mob of all kinds that attaches so much importance to externals, and show, and appearances, could easily draw a striking contrast between this homely prince sinking into the vale of years, and the Pretender, who was said to be very good looking and very graceful, and who was only half the age of George. To make matters worse, the king had imported rather a strange and uncouth court, and two very ugly mistresses. For a king to break the seventh commandment was so universal a practice as to excite little or no attention anywhere, and the morality or decency of the nobility and gentry of England was not in those days at a very elevated point: royal mistresses would have been tolerated without difficulty, if they had been handsome and English; but the mob, and many above them, had no patience with Mademoiselle Schulenberg and the Countess Platen, who were both Germans and both so very ugly! These ladies, moreover, either were avaricious, or, at first, got little money to spend; and thus a report was spread that they were plundering the country to remit the money to Hanover. The London mob was particularly uncourteous and loud-tongued, seldom hesitating to insult the strange sultanas when they found them abroad taking the air. One day a German lady of the court, who was irritated or perhaps alarmed at their outcries, put her head out of the carriage window and said in her broken English, "Why do you abuse us, good peoples? We come for all your goods." To which a fellow in the mob roared out in reply, "Yes, damn you, and for all our chattels too." In the midst of this personal unpopularity of George and his court, numerous papers in behalf of the Pretender were written, printed, and circulated. One of them, attributed to Mr. Leslie, drew a charming portrait of the chevalier—he was described as active, tall, and graceful, resembling in his countenance that respectable sovereign Charles II.; and as to his moral qualities, it was affirmed that he was candid, tolerant, and benevolent, just, firm, and altogether a prince of excellent principles. Men, who knew the chevalier better, knew that he was a bigot, a coward, and a Frenchman in heart and soul; but this did not prevent Mr. Leslie's portrait from telling with the multitude, who no doubt recollected, as a favourable

* The Reverend Robert Patten, a high-churchman, who was chaplain to Mr. Forster, and who took a share in the rebellion which broke out in the north of England, puts in the strongest light the effects of the cries of The Church in danger, &c.:—"It is worth observation, that nothing contributed more to raise the people of this nation to a spirit of rebellion, than the licentious freedom of some in their public discourses, and others in their addresses, to cry up the old doctrines of passive obedience, and to give hints and arguments to prove *hereditary* right; then public shows were encouraged with designing emblems and legible badges of their ends; then ill-natured distinctions and designations were fomented, and with malice upbraiding one another. This introduced mobs; so that the party in disgrace with the court had their own houses, and those of their worship, pulled about their ears—themselves insulted and assaulted by the very dregs of the people: like a flood they carried all before them without check or control. Nay, their ill-nature could not be confined within these realms; but they found means to raise the basest of reflections, and the worst of lying stories, upon the most illustrious house in Europe, that had a just title to the imperial diadems of these kingdoms, with no other design but to blacken with their foul breath their persons and bright characters. I am ashamed that I, with so many deluded people, upon bare reports, should be blindly led to give credit to such incredible legends and lies reported by the fomenters of the late rebellion; but, being prepared with the noisy notion of the church's being in danger, easily complied with the party. Healths and full bumpers were tossed about with disguised names, characters, and wishes, and concluded with confusion, damnation, and destruction, to others whom they durst not name. Did not all these concurrences spirit up the populace to be guilty of so many egregious miscarriages, as they have been of late towards his sacred majesty King George?"—*Preface to Patten's Hist. of Rebellion in the year* 1715.—Patten, however, after having gone as far as any body in the rebellion, was now working hard to secure his head, or at least to pay the price for which his forfeited life had been given back to him, by writing down and blackening the cause he had joined before it was unfortunate. He had already come forward as king's evidence on the trials of some of his former associates—"which," says he, "I am far from being ashamed of, let what calumnies will follow;"—and he appears to have been, in all respects, a pitiful creature, without either nerve or shame. The whole of this preface is in a style of bluster and exaggeration, inspired by the ardent servility of the writer's penitence or terrors, which considerably detracts from the historical value of its assertions.

circumstance, that Charles II., though he had kept a great many, had kept none but very handsome mistresses, who had been exceedingly lavish of their money. As the popular discontent grew and increased, the Jacobites, and some of the selfish traffickers of state, who had been disappointed in their expectations, began to cabal again, and to renew or commence a correspondence with the Pretender—and foremost among these scoundrels was the *illustrious* Marlborough, who, though commander-in-chief of the British army under George, sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the chevalier, who was at the moment planning how to kindle the flames of civil war in Scotland.* Unhappily for that country, it was there that the Pretender fancied he had the best chance of success, well knowing that the Highland clans would unhesitatingly follow their hereditary chiefs in any enterprise, however desperate, and that the majority of those chiefs detested the Hanoverian succession, and were ready to take up the sword, either out of a point of honour connected with the old loyalty to the Stuart, or in the hopes of bettering their fortunes—the latter, we candidly believe, being the stronger or more general motive among that wild race, whose adventures have been made striking and romantic by warm imaginations, but whose ordinary course of life was selfish, brutish, and tyrannical. The disaffected in England, as well as in Scotland, thought they had a tower of strength in Bolingbroke, whose genius was indisputable, and they opened a regular intercourse by letters and messengers with that fugitive. On his first arrival in France Bolingbroke had had a long interview with Lord Stair, who was residing at Paris as a diplomatic agent for King George, and he had solemnly assured that nobleman that he would enter into no plot or contract any engagement with the Jacobites; but, at the *same time*, he had privately seen the Duke of Berwick, and pledged himself to assist the Pretender openly whenever a promising opportunity should arise. Lord Stair, however, knew his man, and, having his misgivings, he set a person to watch Bolingbroke. About the beginning of July, Bolingbroke, who was then residing in Dauphiné, received at his house a Jacobite agent, sent over by the plotters in England, to assure him that the people of England were so exasperated against the new government, that a revolution would be easy and sure of success; that the whole Tory party would become Jacobites; that the army was ready to revolt, and the city of London to rise; that the Duke of Ormond had pledged himself to his old friends, and that these friends had already engaged for him (Bolingbroke). The agent also brought him a letter from the Pretender himself, inviting him to repair to his court, which was then at Commercy. It appears that nothing more definite than this was offered to that sagacious but desperate man, who forthwith went to the Pretender, and took office under him as principal secretary of state. He found that prince without a state as ignorant as himself as to the preparations which had been made in England or in Scotland. All that Bolingbroke could learn was, that the Duke of Ormond (not yet a fugitive) had asked from the French court a detachment of regular troops, some money, and some arms and ammunition; that the French had told the duke he must not expect them to send any troops, though they gave him hopes in vague terms as to arms and ammunition, and readily advanced him a small sum of money. This was not very encouraging; but, at the instigation of Louis XIV., his grandson, the King of Spain, promised a loan of 400,000 crowns to the Chevalier, who had been enabled to borrow privately 100,000, and to buy 10,000 stand of arms; and, at the same time, the Scottish Jacobites sent to say that they wanted nothing but arms, a little money, and the presence of their lawful sovereign King James. But the Pretender liked not the risk nor the tempting price set by the English parliament on his apprehension; and the Duke of Ormond was one day all for war and an instant invasion, and the next day all for caution and due preparation. As the best thing that could be done, the Pretender, who could not openly appear there himself, sent Bolingbroke to Paris, the great centre of the intrigue, the workshop of a multitude of unskilful workmen, who spent more of their time in quarrelling with one another than in any other occupation. "Here," says Bolingbroke, "I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert. . . . . The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present design as infallible. . . . . Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not yet arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry."* In fact, one of the busiest persons in this strange heterogeneous conclave was a Mrs. Trant, a lady who had more Jacobitism than virtue. With such agents and such a rabble rout it was not difficult for Lord Stair to discover most of their secrets. After a suspicious conference with an Irish friar, in which each suspected the other, Bolingbroke dined with M. de Torcy, who, though French minister for foreign affairs, was corresponding with the Pretender, and forwarding his views as much as the policy of his court would permit. Bolingbroke then wrote to his new master to assure his majesty that things were not yet ripe in England, or that at least he could not tell with certainty whether they were so or not. "At present," says Bolingbroke, "the correspondence wants that preciseness and exactness which is indispensably necessary."† But, shortly after, he received from England something more concise and exact in the shape of a memorial drawn up by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Mar,

* Stuart Papers.

* Letter to Sir William Wyndham. † Stuart Papers.

the Duke of Ormond, and other great Jacobite lords, who, though they urged the importance of procuring the assistance of an armed force from the French king, thought that the Pretender might venture without it, provided only he brought with him a train of artillery, arms for 20,000 men, 500 officers, and a good sum of money. These plotters recommended that the expedition should be so timed as not to land until the end of September, when parliament would be prorogued, and the Jacobite lords and members of the Commons in the country ready to co-operate; and they promised, as soon as the Pretender should be ready, to give him notice of the place where he ought to land. With this memorial in his hand, and with assurances that the plot was a good plot, and would not fail, Bolingbroke again waited on de Torcy and other French ministers, whom he found ready enough to embroil England, but yet fearful of openly committing themselves and of provoking another war, which France was ill able to bear. De Torcy assured him that his court would grant secret supplies, and had allowed a small armament to be fitted out at Havre for the expedition; but that the sending of troops or the contracting any open engagement with the Chevalier was a thing not to be named to his master. In the mean while Bolingbroke had had long conferences with the Duke of Berwick, who concurred with him in impressing upon the French court "how practicable, how morally certain the enterprise would prove, if it was avowed and supported by Louis and a French army." Bolingbroke was much disconcerted by the constant discovery of some of his secrets, and by the alarm that had begun to spread in England of a design of invasion this summer; but he was apparently still full of hope, when two events occurred to derange everything. The first of these was the flight from England of the Duke of Ormond, who had engaged to keep his ground to the last moment, and then to fly, not out of the island, but into the West, where measures had been concerted for revolutionising Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. When, instead of doing this, Ormond arrived a helpless fugitive, the French court, who had been taught to consider him as the mightiest champion of the Stuarts, began to perceive that, after all that had been said, the House of Hanover was not to be so easily overthrown. The second event fatal to the plotters was the death of Louis XIV., who died at last, and in a very contemptible manner, on the 1st of September. "He was," says Bolingbroke, "the best friend the Chevalier had, and when I engaged in this business my principal dependence was on his personal character. . . . . My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired." The dissolute Duke of Orleans, who obtained the regency of France in spite of the opposition of Madame de Maintenon, Louis's last mistress and left-handed wife, and of the bastards which that old king had left behind him, was more averse even than Louis to a new war, and had far less consideration for the cause of legitimacy in the abstract, or for the Pretender in person. Orleans had, on the contrary, friends among the present English ministers, who, it should appear, made him offers of money and troops to secure his regency; and he was particularly on a footing of intimacy with the new secretary of state, General Stanhope, whom he had known well in Spain. The regent, moreover, as a matter of course, had entirely changed the French cabinet, and adopted a new line of policy. The Jacobites now hardly knew whom they could apply to without risk of having their propositions and schemes divulged in England. The fugitive Ormond, however, hit upon a scheme that was quite suitable and in character. Mrs. Olivia Trant, the intriguing lady we have mentioned, was very beautiful—the regent the most lascivious of men. Ormond, doing the part of Sir Pandarus of Troy, brought the precious couple together, and Mrs. Olivia became, for a time, the mistress of the regent of France. But the Duke of Orleans was too thoroughly a man of the world to disclose his state secrets to his mistresses, and he changed them too often, and kept too many at a time, to allow any one lady to acquire any great influence over him; so that Ormond's scheme and Mrs. Trant's prostitution were little better than thrown away. Lord Stair, a man of as much address as Bolingbroke himself, was not idle; he got a clue to every mystery, and he positively demanded from the regent, that certain ships at Havre, which he named, and which he correctly alleged were equipped for the Pretender, should be given up to England. As this demand was seconded by the appearance of Admiral Byng off Havre with a stout squadron, the regent, though he would not give up the ships, laid an embargo on them, and seized the arms on board, which were deposited in the king's arsenal. It should appear, however, that the regent was either unable or unwilling to seize all these materials of war; for, on the 21st of September, Bolingbroke writes to the Pretender—"There are at Havre 1300 arms, 4000 weight of powder, and other stores on board another ship which is not yet discovered. I intend to send her, as I write, to Lord Mar."

Bolingbroke had been all along of opinion that the Scottish Jacobites could do little or nothing without the co-operation of the English, and that they ought to be kept quiet till the insurrection was fully organised south of the Tweed. He despatched a trusty messenger to Lord Mar; but, when that messenger arrived in London, he learned from Erasmus Lewis, a very active member of the conspiracy, that Mar had already gone to the Highlands to raise the standard of the Stuarts. This seemed a strange want of judgment and of concert; but the fact, as stated by the Duke of Berwick, the party most likely to know the truth and least disposed to speak ill of his half-brother, the Pretender, was, that that personage, unknown to Bolingbroke, who fondly believed that nothing was or would be done without his advice, had sent

orders to Mar to begin the insurrection at once in Scotland. "The Earl of Mar," says Berwick, "who had been secretary of state for Scotland in the time of Queen Anne, and had been removed from that post by George, received, in the month of September, a secret order from *the king*, to go immediately into Scotland and take up arms. Neither Bolingbroke nor I knew anything of this, although we were his principal ministers, through whom all the correspondences in England and all the plans passed: this circumstance gave us no favourable opinion of the enterprise, since there could have been nothing concerted without our knowledge." There is another remark which is called for, though Berwick does not make it—it is this: that the Pretender must have been as unfeeling as he was foolish, since he could thus urge a few rash men to their inevitable destruction. Mar, however, had set out by sea from London, and taken with him Lieutenant-General Hamilton, who had served with distinction in Holland and Flanders, and who had been second to the Duke of Hamilton in his unfortunate duel, one Colonel Hay, another good officer, and two servants. He landed at Elie, in Fife, on the coast of the Frith of Forth, and immediately repaired to the house of John Bethune, of Balfour, who was called "the honest laird." From this laird's house Lord Mar soon went to the house of the laird of Invercauld: on his road he met several Fifeshire gentlemen, who complained that government was going to deprive them of their arms, and who were advised by this hair-brained revolutionist to gather in a body and rise at once, though nothing was ready, nothing even devised. At Invercauld, where he stayed about eight days, Mar held conferences and concerted something like a plan for future operations; and then he went to Aboyne, where he met Lord Huntley, Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Mareshal, the Earl of Southesk, Glengarry, and others, and received messages from the Earl of Breadalbane and General Gordon. Mar pressed for an immediate rising, and the rest were absurd enough to follow his advice: and on the 6th of September (o. s.) Mar, who had collected an insignificant force, not exceeding 500 men, erected the standard of the Stuart at Brae Mar. On the 9th, he issued a declaration, calling upon the people to take arms, and assuming the title of lieutenant-general to King James.* But, thanks to the vigilance of Lord Stair and the manifold imprudences of the conspirators at home and abroad, the government was not taken by surprise. By an act of parliament just passed, the king was empowered to summon all the chiefs of the clans to Edinburgh by a certain day. The order had been sent down, and, though many of the Highland chiefs hesitated and eventually joined Mar, others repaired quietly to the capital, where an attempt by the insurgents to surprise the castle failed completely, because the persons employed neglected their business and sat drinking whisky in a public-house till it was too late. As soon as the government received intelligence that Mar was up in the Highlands, other orders were despatched to Edinburgh for apprehending suspected persons; and the Earls of Hume, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and Mr. Hume of Whitfield, were soon laid fast in Edinburgh Castle. Major-General Whetham was ordered to march with all the regular troops that could be spared to Stirling, where he was to occupy positions so as to secure the bridge and the passages of the Forth. The Duke of Argyll went down as commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Sutherland hastened to his part of the Highlands to raise his clans for the service of the House of Hanover. When the clans of Argyll and Sutherland were firmly united, the struggle, even if confined to the Highlands, was scarcely doubtful; and the followers of Argyll in particular, and every man that bore the name of Campbell, entertained an implacable hatred to the Stuarts.

But at this moment the attention of the government was distracted and its anxiety greatly increased by the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy in England, and by intelligence that the Duke of Ormond was expected on the coast of Devonshire to head a formidable insurrection. Ormond, it appears, was betrayed by one of his most active agents, by a certain Maclean, whom Bolingbroke sets down as a villain.* Forthwith the titular Duke of Powis, a Roman Catholic, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Duplin were arrested, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Earl of Jersey. At the same time a royal message was sent down to the Commons, informing them that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, senior, Mr. Thomas Forster, junior, Mr. John Anstice, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the invasion of the kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them. The messengers sent to apprehend Sir William Wyndham at his house in Somersetshire, not far from the place where Ormond had appointed to land, found him in bed: upon the baronet's coming out in his dressing-gown he was arrested, but, craving permission to return and take leave of his lady, he escaped by a secret door. Some important papers, however, were secured, and a few days after Wyndham, finding it impossible to escape, repaired to the house of his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, and surrendered himself. The duke offered to be his bail, but his offer was refused, and, for the violence of his language, and probably for other reasons, his grace was deprived of his high court office of master of the horse. Sir John Packington was taken, examined, and then discharged. Mr. Hervey and Mr. Anstice were secured in prison; but Mr. Forster rose in rebellion in Northum-

* MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, as cited by Lord John Russell, Hist. Europe from Peace of Utrecht.

* Extracts from the Stuart Papers, in Appendix to Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht.

berland; and Mr. Kynaston made his escape. Troops were hurried down to the west, Bristol was secured by the Earl of Berkeley, the lord-lieutenant of the county, who discovered and seized their several cases of fire-arms and about 200 horses prepared for the use of the insurgents. Exeter was looked to, and Plymouth well guarded; and Sir Richard Vivian, a stirring Cornish gentleman, was sent up to London in the custody of a king's messenger. Other west-country gentlemen were either watched or made fast; and this occurred also in other parts of the kingdom, where the lately insulted dissenters were active in making discoveries and directing the vengeance of government.

Oxford, the high church and Tory *alma mater*, had committed itself too deeply to escape suspicion and chastisement. "Here," says an undergraduate, "we fear nothing, but drink James's health every day." On the flight and attainder of the Duke of Ormond, the chancellor of the university, that learned body had elected his brother the earl of Arran; and, still further to show their principles and predilections, they reserved all their honorary degrees for non-jurors and high Tories. They also gave shelter to Colonel Owen and several other Jacobite officers who had been turned out of the army; and it soon became known to ministers that Owen was projecting an insurrection to go hand in hand with movements at Bristol, and other places. At this moment it was good to have a secretary of state who had been a soldier. Stanhope sent off General Pepper, a brave and determined officer, who had served under him in Spain; and Pepper, marching all night with a stout squadron of horse, entered the slumbering city of Oxford at day-break, on the 6th of October. As soon as he was there he summoned to his presence the vice-chancellor of the university and the mayor of the town, delivered a letter from Stanhope, and told them that he must seize eighteen suspected persons. It was said figuratively, that the Muses were scared at this sudden apparition of an armed force; but, whatever may have been the case as to the Muses, it appears quite certain that the gowned men were scared completely, particularly when the grim officer with the hot name told them that if any interruption were attempted, or any disturbance happened in the streets, he would order his men to fire. Pepper then began his search. Colonel Owen, who was lodging at the Grayhound Inn, leaped over a wall in his bed-gown and escaped into Magdalen College, where he was concealed; but ten or twelve of the other marked persons were taken, and the revolutionary aspirations of Oxford were effectually checked.

The Catholics in the north of England were more hardy and far more difficult to deal with. The Mr. Forster, junior, who had escaped from the warrant, began the movement in Northumberland, his native county; and he was soon joined by the young and gallant Earl of Derwentwater, who was descended from an illegitimate daughter of Charles II., and who had been also marked out for arrest. Both Forster and Derwentwater had intended to take up arms, but not so soon. As, however, the king's messengers were hunting for them, they thought there was nothing left for them to do but to fight for it, and they met at the small town of Rothbury, with a joint force not exceeding sixty horse. But proceeding to Warkworth they were joined by Lord Widdrington, another Catholic peer, with about thirty more horse. This Widdrington was the great-grandson of the Lord Widdrington, who was killed fighting for Charles II. in 1651, and who is one of the idols of the partial Clarendon. Forster was appointed general of this army of ninety men, and, in disguise, he proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, with sound of trumpet.* From Warkworth the insurgents marched by Alnwick to Morpeth, which they entered with about 300 horse. More, it is said, would have joined them on their march through Northumberland, but Forster and Derwentwater had no arms to give them, and thought it advisable to take up none but such as came mounted and equipped of themselves.

By this time these north-of-England insurgents had opened a correspondence with the Earl of Mar, who remained undecided and inactive on the skirts of the Highlands, and with Lord Kenmure, who had undertaken to head another insurrection in the south-west of Scotland, and who, on the 12th of October, proclaimed the Pretender at Moffat. Forster and Derwentwater had also their friends in Newcastle, and they seem to have expected an easy capture of that important city; but they were cruelly disappointed; the burghers of Newcastle, like those of all the thriving towns in the country, were zealous for the Protestant succession; they flew to arms, repaired their walls, and blocked up their gates; and Forster moved off to Hexham, to wait for reinforcements from the disaffected parts of Lancashire and from Lord Mar, who had promised to send some Scottish foot towards the borders. It appears that the Papists from Lancashire and Cheshire were not very alert in taking the field; but the insurrection continued to grow in the south-west of Scotland, where Kenmure was joined by the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, and by other Jacobites of name and influence. Kenmure having failed in an attempt to surprise Dumfries, resolved to unite his *army*—it amounted to some two hundred horsemen—with that of Mr. Forster, and, passing through Jedburgh, he crossed the borders and effected the junction near Rothbury. The united force, which is differently rated at from 600 to 800 horse, then faced about, crossed the Tweed, and entered the pleasant little town of Kelso, whither Mar had bargained to send Brigadier Mackintosh with two thousand foot. That rash earl, being joined by a considerable force under the Marquess of Tullibardine, was, some weeks before this, at the

* Forster was put at the head of the affair, not because he had any military experience or genius, but simply because he was a Protestant, the insurgents thinking it unwise to excite popular animosity, by putting an avowed Papist at their head.

Hexham. From an Original Drawing.

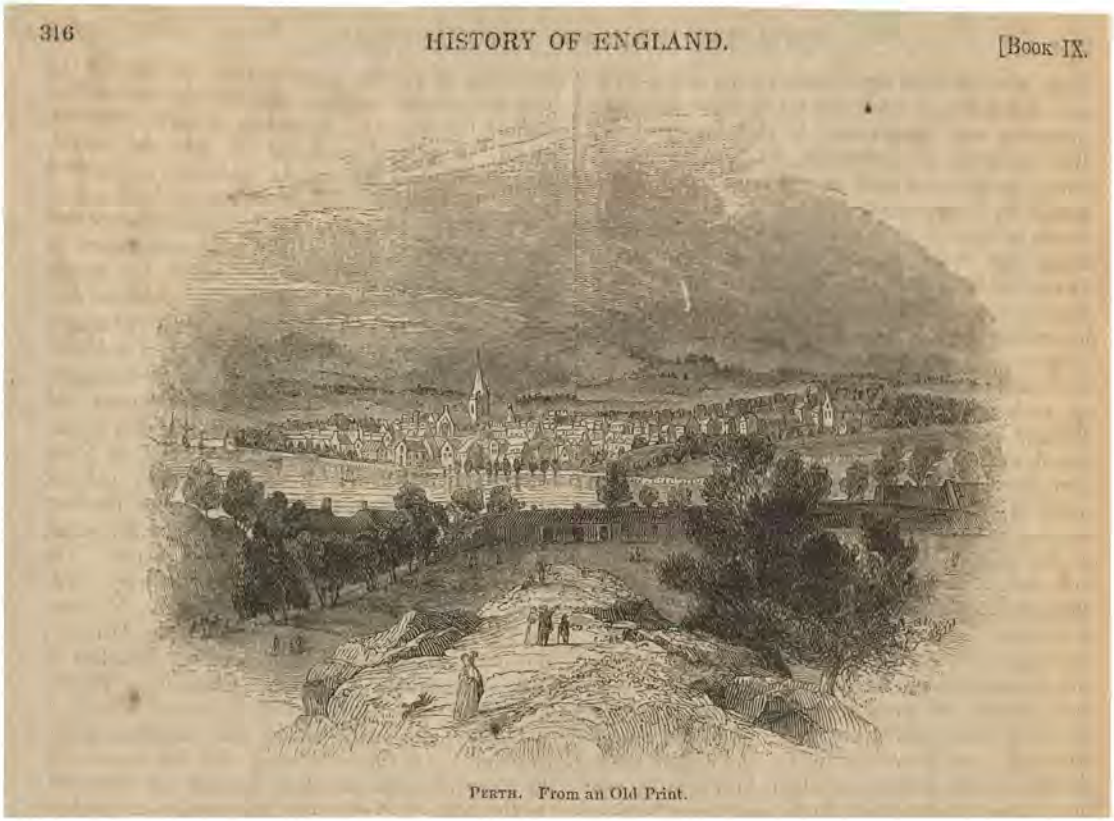
head of 6000 or 7000 men, nearly all foot, for he had scarcely more than three or four squadrons of horse. This infantry consisted solely of Highlanders, active, indefatigable, and as brave as steel; but sadly deficient in discipline, in arms, and even in gunpowder. One of the chieftains remarked that he feared these Highlanders would desert in three cases. 1. If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home. 2. If they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home. 3. If they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home.* As for the squadrons of horse, they were composed of Jacobite gentlemen and their dependents from Perth, Fife, and Angus, of men that were as ignorant of war as they were blind or short-sighted in their politics—and every laird among them considered himself entitled to dictate and command. On the other side, however, the Duke of Argyll and General Whetham could at first scarcely muster 2000 men—the whole regular force in Great Britain at the moment fell short of 8000—and, if Mar had at once led his Highlanders to battle, victory could scarcely have been doubtful. But Mar was an incompetent commander, and, we apprehend, deficient in courage. According to the Duke of Berwick, who would have made the struggle a far more serious one if he had had the command, Mar amused himself with forming his army, and settling all his affairs, as if he were sure of having all the time he wanted: had he marched forward he certainly could not have met with any opposition, and Argyll would have been obliged to quit Scotland; he might then have been able to put his army in order, to assemble a Scottish parliament, and to march to the borders, either to defend them against King George's troops, or to advance into England and join the friends of King James: but his little skill in military affairs made him lose this opportunity, and he allowed time to the troops that were marching from all quarters to join the Duke of Argyll.* Berwick adds, "A man may have a great deal of understanding, a great deal of personal bravery, and be a very able minister, without having the talents requisite for an enterprise of this nature. It is certain that Mar had them not; and we must not therefore wonder that he did not succeed. After he had drawn the sword, he did not know in what manner to proceed, and by that means missed the most favourable opportunity that had presented itself since the Revolution in 1688." But it should appear that by this time the Pretender had become suspicious and jealous of his able half-brother;

* MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, cited by Lord John Russell.

* Memoirs.

and that, having never trusted him fully and frankly, he was now disposed wholly to withdraw his confidence and friendship from him.* At last, when the Covenanters in the Low Country had had good time to recover their spirits and sharpen their broadswords, Mar began to do something: he detached General Gordon to seize the Duke of Argyll's town and castle of Inverary, to check and chastise the Campbells, and then turn upon the English force from the west; and he threw two thousand men across the Forth, as promised, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, a veteran distinguished by bravery, zeal, and military talent. Mackintosh's passage of the Frith of Forth, almost under the guns of three English men-of-war, was the brilliant episode of this campaign; yet some of the boats, with about forty men, were taken. The Earl of Strathmore, with some three hundred, was obliged to put in at the little island of May; and not above sixteen hundred men landed in the Lothians, at the ports of Aberlady and North Berwick, only a short morning's march from Edinburgh. That capital, unprovided with troops, was thrown into consternation; and, though Mackintosh had no orders to attack it, he was tempted by what he heard and saw, and, instead of pushing southward for Kelso, where Forster and Derwentwater expected him, he marched straight to Edinburgh, and occupied an eminence called Jock's Lodge, within a mile of that city. But he had stopped a night at Haddington to refresh his men; and Sir George Warrender, the provost of Edinburgh, a zealous Whig, and a man of courage and ability, had made good use of the time allowed him in barricading the gates, in arming the citizens, and in sending to the Duke of Argyll for succour. And Argyll, leaving a part of his force to watch the bridge at Stirling, was in full march with the rest upon the capital, and arrived there almost as soon as Mackintosh reached Jock's Lodge. The Jacobite brigadier therefore turned aside to Leith, and took up his quarters in a citadel which had been built in Oliver Cromwell's time, but had been since allowed to fall to ruin. On the following morning the Duke of Argyll appeared before the citadel with 1200 men, consisting of regular troops, the city guard, and volunteers from Edinburgh; and he summoned the Jacobites to surrender, threatening them with a refusal of quarter if they should oblige him to take the place by assault. A fiery Highland laird —the Laird of Kinnachin—answered this summons by a bold defiance. Surrender, he said, was a word they did not understand,—quarter they were determined neither to take nor to give,—and, as for an assault, if his grace were ready for that, they were no less prepared to receive him. Argyll dismounted, and examined minutely the half-dismantled citadel:—the ditch was dry; the demi-bastions were crumbling; but Mackintosh had mounted eight pieces of cannon, which he had taken out of ships in Leith harbour, upon the ramparts, had raised barricades, and had altogether put the place in so formidable an attitude, that it seemed to Argyll, who had no artillery with him, too rash an enterprise to attempt to carry it by storm, particularly as the force within was far superior in number to that which he had without. Argyll therefore marched back to Edinburgh to obtain some artillery; and Mackintosh, instead of taking that capital, was fain to steal out of the citadel of Leith under cover of night, and to direct his march, as originally intended, upon Kelso. He entered Musselburgh before midnight, and early on the following morning—Sunday, the 16th of October—he arrived at Seaton Place, the seat of the Catholic and Jacobite Earl of Winton. Here, however, he was only seven or eight miles from Edinburgh, and, fearing that Argyll would give pursuit, he examined the house and grounds, and fixed upon a strong garden wall as a covering for his men. In the mean while Mar had been informed of Mackintosh's movements, and, in order to prevent the pursuit in that direction, he advanced towards Stirling. General Whetham, who remained there with a very inferior force, was presently alarmed by the shrill sound of bagpipes and the appearance of loose columns of Highlanders; and he despatched a messenger with breathless speed to entreat Argyll to return to Stirling as soon as possible. This messenger, late on Sunday night, found Argyll preparing to attack Mackintosh at Seaton House on the following morning; but it was far more essential to prevent the rout of Whetham, and the approach upon Edinburgh of Mar, than to crush Mackintosh; and the duke quitted the capital between night and morning, and, with the whole force he had brought thence and a considerable number of volunteers, made a forced march back to Stirling. If Mar had been a Montrose or a Dundee he would have annihilated Whetham some hours before Argyll could come up; and with troops elate with victory he would have met the duke on his march, defeated him, and then taken possession of the capital. But, though this course was pointed out to him, Mar stayed deliberating and see-sawing at Dunblane, six miles from the English camp, till Argyll arrived at it; and then he called in his advanced divisions, wheeled round, and retreated upon Perth without striking a blow. On this retreat there was such a total want of discipline and military conduct, particularly on the part of the lairds and wadsetters that called themselves the cavalry, that, if they had been pursued, the army must inevitably have been scattered and destroyed. For nearly a month Mar lay at Perth, and Argyll at Stirling. In the mean while Mackintosh, after staying two days at Seaton House, marched across the hills of Lam-

* In a letter to Bolingbroke, dated October the 10th, the weak and captious Pretender says:—"Ralph (D. of Berwick) is so incommunicable and incomprehensible, that I have directed D. O (rmond) to say nothing to him of the present resolutions Ralph is now a cipher, and can do me no harm; and, if he withdraws his duty from me, I may well my confidence from him."—*Lord Mahon, Appendix.*



Perth. From an Old Print.

mermuir, and by the 22nd of October reached Kelso, where he found Lord Kenmure, Forster, and Lord Derwentwater. The insurgent force, Scotch and English, thus united, exceeded 2000 men. But they no sooner joined than they began to quarrel, the Scots proposing one plan of operation, the English another; and, while they were making a useless promenade along the Cheviot hills, General Carpenter, who had been sent to the north by Stanhope with 900 horse, got close in their rear, and watched their senseless proceedings. Mackintosh, who was not to blame for these blunders, halted at Langholm, and, seeing no hope of carrying the town of Dumfries, a project warmly recommended by the Scots, he was induced by the English insurgents to march southward and invade Lancashire, where they assured him of the co-operation of the numerous Roman Catholic gentry. Upon this decision 500 Scots, refusing to cross the borders, abandoned Mackintosh, and returned, some to the camp of the Earl of Mar, and some to their own houses in the mountains. By the 2nd of November, Mackintosh and Forster, with those who had chosen to follow them, were at Penryth in Westmoreland, where the *posse comitatus* had been called out to oppose them by the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale. But from eight to ten thousand unwarlike rustics fled in a panic before the insurgents, leaving a great many of their horses and rude weapons behind them. From Penryth the insurgents marched by Appleby and Kendal to Kirby Lonsdale, proclaiming the Pretender as they went, and seizing all the public money they could find. They were, however, disappointed at not being joined by the Catholic gentry of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The government had arrested the most considerable of these, and they were now fast in Carlisle Castle. But at Kirby Lonsdale, a considerable number of the Roman Catholic gentry of Lancashire, with whom Forster had been corresponding, came up and enrolled themselves. They then pushed forward for Lancaster, the capital of that county, which abounded with Papists. The notorious Colonel Charteris commanded in the town for King George: he proposed stopping the march of the rebels by blowing up the bridge over the Loyne, but the inhabitants prevented this, forced the colonel to retire, and then opened their streets and spread their tables for the insurgents. From Lancaster they advanced to Preston, a town equally Jacobitish and Catholic, from which Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a body of militia thought it prudent to retire. At Preston nearly all the Roman Catholic gentry of the districts joined, with their servants and tenantry; and Forster began to assume the airs of a conqueror, in spite of the misgivings of the veteran Mackintosh, who knew the value of such an undisciplined rabble.

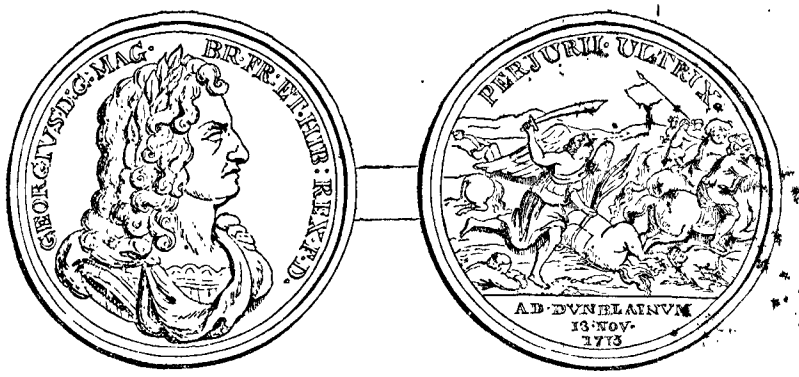
In the mean time General Carpenter, leaving the range of the Cheviots behind him, had turned back into Northumberland, and by forced marches had reached the city of Durham, where he combined with General Wills, another distinguished

officer, who had been sent down to the north-west some time before to quell the many riots and disorders that were the prelude to this insurrection. Wills presently concentrated six regiments of cavalry, for the most part newly raised, but commanded by experienced officers, at Manchester, whence he moved to Wigan. There it was arranged that Wills should march straight upon Preston, while Carpenter, advancing in another direction, should take the insurgents in flank. As the royalists approached, Mr. Forster, or General Forster as he was called, gave very satisfactory proof that he was no soldier;—he fell into a fright and confusion, and betook himself to his bed. But Lord Kenmure roused him, and in a hurried council, where all the gentlemen had a voice, and where those spoke loudest who knew least of war, a plan of defending Preston was adopted. But this plan, at least as executed, consisted merely in erecting a few barricades in the streets of the town, and in posting the men in the centre of it. Brigadier Mackintosh either knew not the ground, or his better judgment must have been overruled; for Preston offered many advantages as a defensive position, which were all entirely neglected. In the front of the town there was a bridge over the Ribble that might have been held by a handful of men; and from the bridge up to the town the road, for the distance of about half a mile, ran in a hollow between two high and steep banks. But river, bridge, and road were all left open to the assailants. When Wills rode up to the bridge and saw that it was not protected by so much as a musket, and that the road beyond it was unoccupied, he could scarcely believe his own eyes; and then he concluded that the insurgents must have abandoned Preston and begun their retreat to Scotland, so that there would be no fighting that day. But as he came up to the outskirts of the town he heard a tumultuous noise within, and saw the barricades which Forster had ordered to be thrown up; and he was soon saluted by a shower of musket-balls. He ordered his dragoons to dismount and attack two of the barricades. This service was gallantly performed; but the regulars were sorely galled by a fire from the houses as well as from behind the barricades; and as night began to fall Wills withdrew them, after they had suffered considerable loss. Early on the following morning General Carpenter came up with a part of his cavalry; and then Forster, who had scarcely lost a man, and whose force more than doubled that of all the regular troops, lost heart entirely, and, without consulting his friends, sent Colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. General Wills, irritated by the loss he had sustained on the preceding evening, seemed at first disposed to reject the proposition altogether; but at last he agreed "that, if the rebels would lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion, he would protect them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers until further orders from the government." When Oxburgh's mission was known in the town, and the result of it, the more warlike portion of the insurgents were indignant and furious against the coward Forster, who, according to an eye-witness, would, if he had ventured out into the streets, have been slain though he had had a hundred lives. The brave Highlanders, seeing that nothing was to be expected from the Lancashire boors that had joined them, proposed rushing out sword in hand, and cutting their way through the king's troops; but this would have now been a most desperate enterprise, and many of their chiefs thought it better to surrender. They gave up Lord Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh as hostages, and induced the clans to lay down their arms and submit. Including English and Scotch, only seventeen men had been killed in the defence of Preston: the Lancashire peasants and others got out of the town or escaped recognition; but fourteen hundred men were made prisoners by a thousand, or at most twelve hundred, English horse. The most distinguished of these captains were lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Winton, Carnwarth, Kenmure, Nairn, and Charles Murray; and members of the ancient northern families of Ord, Beaumont, Thornton, Clavering, Patten, Gascoigne, Standish, Swinburne, and Shafto.

Thus ingloriously ended the insurrection in England. On the very same day the banner of the Pretender was struck to the dust in Scotland. On the 10th of November Mar seemed to awaken from his long slumber, and, moving from Perth, he was joined by General Gordon, who had been very unsuccessful in his expedition into Argyllshire, but who brought, in addition to the forces he had carried with him, some reinforcements from the Western Highlands. When Mar counted his forces after this junction he found that they amounted to some ten thousand men, including about fifteen hundred foot, and two squadrons of horse that had been brought up by Lord Huntly. But of this force a considerable number had no proper arms; and the whole of the cavalry, whether composed of Lowland lairds or of Highlanders, was contemptible, and an object of ridicule even with their associates. In the interval the Duke of Argyll had received reinforcements of a very superior quality—veteran troops from Ireland; for, in despite of the advice formerly given by Father O'Connor, no care had been taken to revolutionise Ireland, though the Papists there were still for the most part Jacobites, and though any serious insurrection in that country must effectually have prevented the sending any troops to Argyll. Mar, however, having begun, continued his advance, and on the 12th of November he halted at Ardoch, about ten miles from Argyll's position at Stirling. Argyll, upon learning his approach, boldly quitted the passes of the Forth, where his cavalry could not act, crossed the river, advanced to and occupied Dunblane, and resolved to give battle in the plain, though in so doing he must have the disadvantage of fighting with a river in his rear. He rode over an open moor, which,

from having been the place of meeting and exercise for the militia of the sheriffdom of Menteith, was called the Sheriffmuir. The ground, though somewhat rough, admitted of cavalry evolutions and charges of horse, of which, much more than of any other arm, the wild Highlanders stood in dread; and therefore he resolved to make that place his battle-field. Mar did not keep him long waiting, though it appears somewhat doubtful whether that timid and unskilful general was either confident of success or disposed to fight at all. Upon coming in sight of Argyll's columns he called a council of war, and spoke of a retreat; but the Highlanders cried out, with one voice, "Fight! fight!" Then, without heeding the warning voice of Huntly, orders were given to form the field. "We were no sooner got to our posts," says one of the Highlanders, "than a huzza began, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and it ran through our whole army, on the hearing we had resolved to fight. No man who had a drop of Scots blood in him but must have been elevated to see the cheerfulness of his countrymen on that occasion."* The infantry formed in admirable order, for at that work the Highlanders were peculiarly apt and quick. "I never," says General Wightman, "saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment." But the horse was all wrong; three squadrons mistook the left for the right, abandoned an important position with which they had been entrusted, and begun a confusion even before a shot was fired. The right of the insurgents was commanded by the Earl of Mar and Lord Drummond; the left by Gordon and Huntly; and General Hamilton, the best tactician on that side, acted as chief of the staff, and kept an eye on the whole line. Argyll had not more than 3500 men; but this number included three good cavalry regiments. The duke commanded the right, General Whetham the left, and General Wightman the centre. The battle began on Sunday morning, the 13th of November, with an attempt made by the Highlanders to outflank the king's troops, and by a tremendous fire opened by the Highlanders on the Duke of Argyll and his right wing. The duke suffered severely; but his tried soldiers kept their ground, extended their lines, and leant upon a morass. Upon examining this swamp, which was usually impassable, Argyll perceived that it was frozen over by the last night's frost; and he instantly threw Major Cathcart and a squadron of horse across it; and, while Cathcart took the Highlanders in flank, the duke, leading the attack in person, charged them full in front with the rest of his cavalry. After a desperate resistance the clans thus assailed gave way; but there was no running, and not much disorder; for they retreated slowly with their faces to the enemy, and in the short distance of two miles they attempted ten times to rally. But at length, when the battle had raged nearly three hours, the Highlanders were driven beyond the river Allan, in whose waters not a few of them perished. But while Argyll had been gaining these advantages his left wing had been signally defeated by the right of the insurgents, who rushed upon the English infantry before they were well formed. This headlong ardour of the Highlanders was somewhat cooled by an English bullet which mortally wounded their chief, Clan Ronald, a brave veteran who had served abroad under the Duke of Berwick, and who was famed at home for his hospitality and feudal state: but Glengarry, who had carried the royal standard at Killicranky, throwing his bonnet into the air, cried out, in Gaelic, "Revenge to-day, and mourning to-morrow;" and then the Highlanders rushed forward to the muzzles of the English muskets, pushed aside the bayonets with their light targets, fell upon the infantry with their broad-swords, and drove them from the field; and in a very few minutes the whole of Argyll's left wing was broken and routed, General Whetham galloping from the field in such a panic as never to draw rein till he got to Stirling. Argyll was away with the right; but General Wightman kept the centre in tolerable order, though even there some troops turned their faces towards Stirling, and ran after Whetham. If the insurgent horse had charged this wavering centre at the proper moment it must have been broken; but the insurgent horse, as we have hinted, was worth nothing, the opportunity was lost, and General Wightman moved away to the right with three regiments of foot, and then followed in the footsteps of Argyll, who halted on the bank of the Allan, ignorant of the fate of his left wing. The duke, however, was soon informed of the flight of Whetham, and then he wheeled round and joined Wightman and the three regiments as they were advancing to meet him. In the mean time the Earl of Mar, equally ignorant of the discomfiture and rout of his left wing, had pushed after Whetham as far as Corntoun; but there he was brought to a halt by intelligence that his left was in full retreat, and that Argyll was following them to the Allan. He had thereupon marched back to Sheriffmuir and taken up his position on an eminence which offered several advantages both offensive and defensive. Mar was on that eminence when Argyll with his tired troops began to wind round it in the design of getting to Dunblane. Argyll and Wightman saw the danger they were in, and, fully expecting an attack down hill, they drew up their men behind some inclosures, and put two pieces of cannon in their front. "If," says Wightman, "they had either had courage or conduct, they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot." "If," says Scott, "they had but thrown down stones they might have disordered Argyll's troops." But Mar, it appears, had had fighting enough: he neglected all his advantages, stood at gaze, and when Argyll began to move again round the foot of the hill, he descended from it in the opposite direction. One of the highland chiefs—Gordon of Glenbucket—exclaimed, "Oh! for an hour of Viscount Dun-

* Sinclair MS., and Notes by Sir Walter Scott.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE BATTLE OF DUNBLANE.

dee!" Mar fell back upon Ardoch, and Argyll, scarcely believing his own good fortune and his adversary's cowardice or stupidity, went quietly on to Dunblane, where he fixed his quarters for the night. The insurgents are said to have lost in this strange battle of Sheriffmuir 700 in killed, including the young Earl of Strathmore and other men of rank, and 200 in prisoners, among whom was Lord Strathallan. The Earl of Panmuir and other noblemen had been taken also, but had been liberated in the affray. The loss of the king's army is stated at 400 in killed and wounded, and nearly 200 in prisoners, the Earl of Forfar and Colonel Lawrence being among the latter. On the following morning Argyll kept possession of the field of battle, and showed as his trophies four pieces of artillery, thirteen stand of colours, two standards, and the royal standard of the Stuarts called "The Restoration." But he was in no condition to follow up the insurgents, who had also their trophies to show: he withdrew to Stirling, the Earl of Mar to Perth—the points from which they had respectively moved to fight the battle.

In France the most wonderful reports had been spread of the success of the insurrection both in Scotland and in England; and it was some time before men could believe in the catastrophe of Preston, and the serious check at Sheriffmuir. Nearly every possible effort had been made to induce the Regent Orleans to espouse the cause of the Pretender, and to assist him openly with troops; and more than once these efforts, being no doubt seconded by false or most exaggerated accounts of success from England, seemed to have an effect on that dissolute and ease-loving prince. On the 1st of October the vigilant Lord Stair was informed that "there was a man arrived from England with letters, who came over as a servant to a French gentleman; that the party was mightily up; that they depended upon succeeding in England; that the regent would be favourable to them; that the Pretender had had all his things given back to him, his plate and his equipage in the Scotch ships that were unloading in the night; and that the powder and ammunition were secured for his use." In the course of the same night Stair was further informed that the Duke of Ormond was to go into England, to land in Wales, or on the coast of the Severn; that Bolingbroke and he were to go by Bordeaux or by some place on the west coast of France, where there was no suspicion; that both Ormond and Bolingbroke had been secretly with the regent, and had been well received; and, finally, that it was now resolved that the Pretender should not go himself either into Scotland or into England, till the Tories had declared for him. Two days after this, Stair waited upon the regent, and "gave him thanks for seizing the arms and ammunition at Havre, and for *refusing to see Ormond and Bolingbroke.*" "The regent," continues Stair, "looked very cool, and seemed to have a great mind to have a short conference. I told him that his royal highness was in the right the other day, when he told me the Pretender did not intend to depart; that I had since discovered their design was not to pull off the mask at first, but to act under the disguise of the church; but that it was the same thing under what disguise they went, as we were very well informed of their designs, and of the manner they intended to carry them on." As the danger to the Hanoverian succession seemed to grow in England, Stair waited upon the regent with fresh assurances of the friendship of King George, who would regard his royal highness's interests as his own, and never give him leave to repent of any good offices that he and the French government might do him at this time; and, as something more positive, Stair informed the regent that King George had sent him full powers to conclude a treaty mutually guaranteeing the two successions, and for the assurance and maintenance of the French regency under his royal highness. He represented that, as this treaty was likely to be the foundation of a peace for the two kingdoms and for all Europe, the king, his master, had been unwilling to lose a moment in beginning it: but, on the other side, he represented that, if the regent

sought for delays, the English government would attend to putting down the rebellion in Scotland before concluding any treaty. His royal highness must know what suited his own interests, and the interests of France—England would not press him, but would attend to her own affairs, and take her own course, being able to wait with patience for the conclusion of this treaty.* In the month of November, when the course of the Pretender's affairs seemed successful in England, the regent carefully avoided Stair, who waited upon him four times at court without being able to obtain an audience, or even to see him.† Even when news arrived that the insurrection had been put down in England, and that the rebels had surrendered at discretion in Preston, the Duke of Orleans shunned an interview, and the Jacobites manfully asserted that the news was altogether false, and that, so far from surrendering, General Forster and Lord Derwentwater were in full march upon London. But, when the dispatch of the English government was confirmed, and when it was known that Mar, if he had not been beaten, had certainly not obtained a victory, the whole tone and demeanor of the regent's court changed at once. "At the court," says Lord Stair, "they are now all astonishment: the wisest now begin to treat the Chevalier de St. George as a pretender. Two days ago he was the king of England everywhere, and every one had thrown off the mask—there was no longer a single Frenchman, scarcely a person attached to this court, that put his foot within my door." If the regent had hesitated to commit himself before, it was little probable that he should assist the Pretender either openly or covertly after these failures. Indeed, both Bolingbroke and Berwick had been for some time convinced that Orleans would not risk a war with England upon any account, or make any sacrifices for their cause. As a part of the plan of operations, the Duke of Ormond had been sent over to the west of England in the end of October to head the hoped-for rising in those parts; and the Pretender quitted Lorraine and proceeded in disguise towards the port of St. Malo. In a letter from Paris, dated the 2nd of November, Bolingbroke tells the Pretender that he is in the greatest concern at not hearing from the Duke of Ormond. "Your resolution," adds the secretary, "not to embark *for England* till you hear from thence, is a great satisfaction to me: any other measure would have been destruction. As to your proceeding to Scotland, I am really unable to speak for or against it, being perfectly ignorant of the coast and of the navigation. But, if your majesty cannot go to England, I take it the Duke of Ormond will be forced to come back, and he will certainly come back to the place where you wait, and that will be the time of determining finally."* Six days after this, when Lord Stair was making anxious efforts to discover the course the Pretender had taken, and to prevent his embarking, and when news had arrived of the disappointments of the Jacobites in the west of England, and when the Duke of Ormond had returned to St. Malo from the coast of Devonshire with the twenty officers and twenty troopers he had taken with him, and with the mournful intelligence that not a single Jacobite had met him where he had expected to meet thousands up in arms, Bolingbroke again addressed the Pretender, informing him that Stair had complained to the regent of his removing from Bar-le-duc, and had insisted upon having the coast visited. This visitation of the coast was entrusted to Bolingbroke's old friend the Marshal d'Huxelles. "The marshal," adds Bolingbroke, "sent to me immediately; and the orders are so given, that your ships will be overlooked. Should he (Stair) be able to point out your vessel, or to say positively where you are, I doubt the regent would think himself obliged to stop you." And the daring secretary, who, however, had been somewhat chary of his own life, warmly recommended the Pretender to risk his like a hero, and to go to England, notwithstanding Ormond's failure, and there trust to the movements in the north. "I must be humbly of opinion," he says, "that you should pass immediately, although the rising were in no degree so considerable as when you resolved to go you expected it would be. You are on the coast; the people will be in expectation of you; your reputation will increase by such a step." The last argument was a good one, for the French court had hinted that it would be rather absurd to incur risk for a prince who

* Extracts from Lord Stair's Journal at Paris in 1715 and 1716, in Hardwicke State Papers.

† Bolingbroke says, in one of his letters from Paris to the Pretender—"They fluctuate strangely in all their measures; their inclinations are with us, their fears work for the Whigs."—*Stuart Papers.* The Duke of Berwick says that the regent distrusted Bolingbroke, that the Irish hated him, that the queen-mother was offended at him, and the Duke of Ormond jealous of him. The picture the duke draws of these cabals is striking. "Lord Bolingbroke was to stay at Paris to attend to the interests of the Pretender, and endeavour to furnish him with everything he might want. This matter was so much the more difficult, as the regent, notwithstanding his good intentions, would not appear in it: he had entrusted it to the care of Le Blanc and Renault. These gentlemen gave Bolingbroke hopes that they would supply him with arms; but it was in vain that he solicited them underhand (for he could not venture to see them); he never got anything but fair promises from them; and, to say the truth, I believe the regent, beginning to have a bad opinion of this enterprise, was not much inclined to perform what he had given reason to expect: besides which, there were cabals among our people, which contributed not a little to the ill success of affairs. Bolingbroke was hated by the Irish, who were continually exclaiming against him. The Duke of Ormond, a weak man, suffered himself to be influenced by the jealousies they endeavoured to inspire him with, as if Bolingbroke did not pay him sufficient respect. The queen and those in whom she placed the greatest confidence at St. Germains were much discontented that he did not consult them continually, and that he did not acquaint them regularly with all he was doing. Even some women at Paris, who would be ministers, and who had found means to insinuate themselves privately into the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, contributed by their importunities to prejudice that prince against Bolingbroke: accordingly, I found, in several conversations I had with him, that he was dissatisfied with Bolingbroke; and, what will appear more extraordinary, the only reason he gave for it was, that he applied to those women to torment him from morning till night. I assured him that he did it only because he did not know how to get at his royal highness by any other means. Upon this, he told me that he must apply to Marshal d'Huxelles, and to no other person, and that then he would listen to him readily. Bolingbroke immediately broke off every connexion with these women; who, being already ill-disposed towards him, and irritated by this change in his conduct, became outrageous against him. The regent told me of it himself, and ordered me at the same time to assure Bolingbroke that he approved of his conduct. In the mean while nothing was done for the Pretender on the part of France, and everything ended in hopes, which never produced any effect."

* Stuart Papers.

seemed loath to risk himself for a crown, and the Pretender had long been taunted with a want of personal courage—probably the worst of all imputations for a person in his circumstances, or for any revolutionist. Bolingbroke was clearly against his going to the Highlands of Scotland, at a season when the navigation was so uncertain, and at a conjuncture when so little progress could be expected in those parts; "and," said he, "the utmost efforts of Scotland, if England cannot or will not rise, must end in a composition." The Duke of Berwick, who had just warned Bolingbroke that the regent had sent a detachment to stop *his majesty** at Chateau Thierry, where Stair had received information that he was, joined the secretary in recommending and urging an immediate departure; but, differing in this respect with the secretary, the duke thought that it would be better the Pretender should go to Scotland than any part of England. The Pretender, on the other hand, was very anxious that Berwick should go himself to Scotland, and he had sent him a commission, with a formal order to go to the Highlands, and take the command of the army there. "But," says the half-brother of the Pretender, "as I had caused myself to be naturalised a Frenchman, with the consent of this prince, and was consequently become a subject of his most Christian majesty—as I was moreover an officer of the crown of France, engaged by several oaths not to go out of the kingdom without leave in writing, which, far from being given me upon this occasion, the late king and the regent had expressly forbidden—I did not think myself at liberty, either in honour or conscience, to obey the order I had received." Berwick, however, embarked one of his sons in the wild enterprise. "The King of Spain," he says, "sent us a hundred thousand crowns in ingots of gold, which we sent off immediately by my son, the Chevalier Erskine, and Mr. Bulkley: but everything seemed to conspire to ruin our project; the vessel they were in was shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, and they had but just time to escape by night in the boat, without being able to carry off the ingots, which they had concealed in the bottom of the vessel." Three thousand muskets, which had been secreted in a vessel near the mouth of the Seine, were of no use, for they were never sent to Scotland. It appears that, having got to the coast, and made so much stir, the Pretender was ashamed to return to Lorraine without doing something; and that the representations of Bolingbroke and Berwick, and his anxiety to relieve himself from the imputation of cowardice, determined him to embark. He could no longer doubt the affair at Preston and the battle of Sheriffmuir; but the Scottish Jacobites continued to call for his presence, and the Earl of Mar represented that he had grown stronger since his battle with Argyll—that his army was increased to 16,000 fighting men. Therefore, after lying some time concealed at St. Malo, the Chevalier resolved to embark for Scotland; but the design was now scarcely practicable at that point, as an English squadron closely blockaded the port. But Dunkirk was neither blockaded nor suspected, and that port offered a much better passage to Scotland. Leaving St. Malo, where, according to Bolingbroke, he had as many ministers as there were people about him, the Pretender travelled across the country on horseback, and in disguise, to Dunkirk, having previously ordered a ship to be prepared for him there. At Dunkirk, attended by only six gentlemen, who were disguised like himself as French naval officers, he embarked immediately in a small vessel carrying eight guns, and, setting sail on a cloudy day in the middle of December, made for the little port of Peterhead, where he landed on the 22nd of that month. The vessel which bore him was instantly sent back to France with letters to Bolingbroke and others. To his secretary he said briefly—"I am at last, thank God! in my own ancient kingdom, as the bearer will tell you, with all the particulars of my passage, and his own proposals of future service. Send the queen the news I have got, and give a line to the regent *en attendant* that I send you from the army a letter from our friend, to whom I am going to-morrow. I find things in a prosperous way: I hope all will go well, if friends on your side do their part as I shall have done mine."* From Peterhead he proceeded in disguise through Aberdeen to Fetteresso, the seat of his partisan, the Earl Marshal. Here he was soon joined by Lord Mar, General Hamilton, and some thirty other Jacobites, who scoured across the country from Perth, leaving the army behind them. As a reward for his services, the Chevalier, who was very fond of such exercises of royalty, forthwith created Mar a duke. He lay for some days at Fetteresso, doing nothing but giving and receiving compliments: it was reported that he was ill of an ague; but it appears that the cold fit was occasioned by his dread of Argyll, and his doubts as to the movements of the regular troops of King

* It is quite evident that the regent acted according to circumstances, and that a little good success, as Bolingbroke says, would have inclined him the right way—*i. e.* to support the Pretender openly and with all his might. It is equally certain that the regent at no time was sincere and earnest in stopping the Chevalier: probably he would not have been sorry to be free of all the expense and trouble which the Pretender cost France. If he had been determined to intercept him he might surely have done so, as nearly two months elapsed between the Pretender's departure out of Lorraine and his sailing for Scotland; during which time the secret of his whereabouts was known to hundreds. Berwick says, "Never voyage longer than this, for two whole months elapsed. . . The Earl of Stair complained to the regent, and required that he should not be suffered to pass through France. The regent answered, that if Stair would inform him where he was, he would send thither, and have him conducted back to Lorraine; but that he was not obliged to be either the spy or the executioner of King George. One day Stair assured the regent that he knew the Pretender was to arrive on such a day at Chalons. Upon this, Contades, major of the French guards, was sent that way in order to try to find him, and conduct him back to Bar-le-duc: but there was no possibility of meeting with him. At his return Contades made up a fine account to Stair of what he had done, with which Stair seemed to be satisfied, although, in the main, he judged, *very correctly*, that the regent had no great mind to prevent the passage of the Pretender, and that Contades had not been very desirous of succeeding in his commission."—*Memoirs.*

* Stuart Papers.

George. At length, on the 30th of December, he began to stir: on the 2nd of January he was at Kinnaird, whence he wrote to Bolingbroke, to tell him among other things how he was obliged to send back to France one of his only two experienced officers, "on account of the disgust the Highlanders had got of him, which was altogether inexplicable." On the 4th he slept at Glamis Castle, the ancient and magnificent seat of the Earl of Strathmore; and on the 6th he made his public entry into Dundee on horseback, with Mar riding on his right hand, the Earl Marshal on his left, and with 300 Jacobite lords and gentlemen behind him. He remained for an hour in the public market-place to allow the people to kiss his hand. On the 8th he arrived at the royal palace of Scone, near Perth, and the head-quarters of his army, and there he formed a council and began to issue manifestos and proclamations. No fewer than six proclamations came out in rapid succession—one for a general thanksgiving for the miraculous providence shown in his safe arrival; one for prayers in all churches; one for making current all foreign coins; one for the meeting of the Convention of the States; one summoning all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to his standard; and another fixing his coronation for the 23rd day of January. It was noted that only two Presbyterian ministers in all Scotland consented to pray for the Pretender; and that only two Episcopal ministers prayed for King George.* In fact the Episcopalians, who had this excuse, that they were in Scotland the persecuted body, hurried to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Pretender. In the humble address of the Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, presented by six reverend doctors, who were formally introduced by the *Duke* of Mar and the Earl Marshal, it was declared, that his majesty's most faithful and dutiful subjects, the Episcopal clergy, did, from their hearts, render thanks to Almighty God for his majesty's safe and happy arrival in his ancient kingdom of Scotland, where his royal presence was so much longed for, and so necessary to animate his loyal subjects, the noble and generous patriots of Scotland, to go on with that invincible courage and resolution which they had so successfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their king and country. The Pretender, "trained up from his infancy in the school of the cross"—"the school that had sent forth the most illustrious princes,"—was compared by these reverend addressers to Moses, Joseph, and David; and they declared that his princely virtues were such, that, in the opinion of the best judges, he was worthy to wear a crown even if he had not been born to one; and this made them confident that it would be his majesty's care to make his subjects a happy people, to secure to them their religion, liberties, and property, and to unite them all in true Christianity, according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians. And they wound up their magniloquent address with adoring the goodness of God in preserving his majesty amidst the many dangers to which he had been exposed, notwithstanding the hellish contrivances formed against him, for encouraging assassins to murder his sacred person—a practice abhorred by the very heathen;* and with praying that his majesty might be blessed with a long and happy reign, a plentiful royal progeny, and at last with an immortal crown of glory. Yet at this very moment, the Pretender, a bigoted Catholic by education, was refusing a promise of security to the church of Ireland, and the promise he had pledged for the security of the church of England was very ambiguous, and liable to more than one interpretation. In fact he loathed all Protestant churches like his father James, and like his grandfather Charles I. he had adopted as a system the practising of equivocation, half promises, and mental reservations. His prime adviser, Bolingbroke, had told him that his declarations ought to be plain and frank, but he had not been able to correct that bent of mind which was part natural and part the effect of a Jesuitical education. Moreover, apart from spirituals, he was obstinate and self-willed, and yet awkward, bashful, and timid. It was in vain that Mar sent out a circular letter to raise the affections of the people by describing the Pretender as the finest gentleman he ever knew, and the most amiable:† people, on a nearer approach, judged for themselves. The best portrait of him was drawn by one of the rebels who saw him at Scone and Perth:—"His person was tall and thin, seeming to be inclined to be lean rather than to fill up as he grows in years. His countenance pale, yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and has something of a vivacity in his eye, that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances and surrounded with discouragements, which, it must be acknowledged, were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressing his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not: here was no room for such things; it was no time for mirth, neither can I say I ever saw him smile. . . . . We found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and, if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us: our men began to despise him;

* Patten.

* Lord Stair's vigilance and activity had rendered him the subject of all kind of foul accusations among the Jacobites. His personal as well as political enemy, the Duke of Berwick, honourably disperses these calumnies with a stroke of his pen:—"It has also been said that Stair had employed people to assassinate the Pretender. I owe this justice to truth to declare that, after having thoroughly examined all the reasons alleged in proof of this accusation, I found them frivolous; and, though Stair was a great Whig, and consequently a sworn enemy to the Jacobite party, yet I believe him too much a man of honour ever to have had such a thought. The Duke of Mar, whose interest was very opposite to that of Stair, always spoke of him in that light, and when he spoke well of his enemy he ought to be believed."—*Memoirs.*

† Patten.

JAMES FRANCIS, THE OLD PRETENDER,
From a Picture by A. S. Belle.

some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him; I am sure the figure he made dejected us."* There was, in fact, a double disappointment — a universal dejection. Instead of the 16,000 men in arms that Mar had talked about, the Pretender found not above 5000 or 6000, and those ill armed, and in no very good humour; and, instead of a well-appointed French army, and that abundance of arms, accoutrements, and money which the Scots had expected with the Stuart, they saw that he had scarcely brought anything more than the clothes upon his back. The government meanwhile had been gaining strength and employing negotiations both at home and abroad; so that several of the great Highland chiefs had listened to, or already concluded bargains advantageous to themselves but fatal to the Jacobite cause. The devotion of the clansmen was rather to their respective chiefs than to the Stuarts: at the bidding of the chief they were equally ready to fight against or for the Pretender; and this too without any sense of shame, even if the chieftain shifted and changed as fast as the wind. Thus Simon Fraser, now Lord Lovat and chief of his clan, who in his mad youth had carried off the clansmen, with bagpipes playing, to join Dundee and fight for the Pretender's father, having made his bargain with that powerful Whig chief the Earl of Sutherland, carried off all his clansmen to make war upon Sir John Mackenzie, who held the important town and position of Inverness for the Pretender, but who was soon compelled to abandon it to Lovat. And as soon as the rest of the Frasers, who had followed a younger branch of the family to Mar's standard, learned that Lovat, the great head, had gone over to the opposite interest, they threw away their white cockades and went in a body to the royal army. Not trusting entirely to the insidious negotiations of Highland chiefs, many of whom had proposed an accommodation with the court before the arrival of the Pretender, the English cabinet adopted various means of making sure of the result. Horace Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, had been dispatched to the Hague to claim 6000 men from the Dutch, in virtue of an article in the Guarantee Treaty; and 5000 regular troops had been brought over from that country and sent down to Argyll. The parliament had now really set a price upon his head, by offering a reward of 100,000*l.* to any one that should seize the Pretender dead or alive. All half-pay officers had been recalled to active service, and twenty-one regiments were raised, or begun to be raised, in different parts of England. Money, arms, ammunition, and abundant supplies of provisions—all that was wanting

* True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.

on the other side—were put at the disposal of the Duke of Argyll, who, moreover, received still more proofs of the failure of the insurrection from the north of Ireland, and from the western Highlands. Although he had done nothing in or for that ill-used country, the Pretender indulged in a day-dream of a new war in Ireland, and of successes there that would turn the scale in his favour. "There are," he says in a letter to Bolingbroke, "reports of a rising in Ireland: pray God it be true." He thought that the Duke of Ormond, though he could not get into England, might get into Ireland and make a terrible stir there. Dillon, who commanded the Irish brigade in the service of France, might be sent over to Dublin, where he could not fail of being useful. But these plans were of the latest, and the Pretender was obliged to avow that, after all, everything would depend upon the French regent. "Such are our circumstances," said he, "and such as I hope will move the regent, who can alone, but that with ease, sway the balance on our side, and make our game sure. What is absolutely necessary for us, and that without loss of time, is a competent number of arms, with all that belongs to them; our fine Irish regiments, with all their officers and the Duke of Berwick at their head; for whom and to whom I wish he may now be my general, but he shall never be my minister. His presence here would really work miracles, for they say nothing but good of him; and, to please them here, I am forced to say he is coming, for the contrary belief would be of the worst consequence."* Mar, he said, was weary of the command of the army, and wished to be relieved of that burthen.† If the regent, while he sent the Duke of Berwick with the Irish brigade into Scotland, would only help Ormond into England, "that would end the dispute very soon." He had written to Spain to implore the assistance of King Philip, whose ingots of gold had been lost. "The *troops* he now asked from Spain might be *speedily* got over; for that was the point—a speedy succour would gain all, and without it all was lost;"—and he trusted that Bolingbroke would neglect nothing in using the most urgent arguments in the pleading of his cause. The Pretender next spoke to his secretary about a private loan to relieve his woeful impecuniosity. "Could there not," he says, "be ways found to raise money on particular people at Paris? You know how well inclined to me the French are in general." But Bolingbroke found little or no inclination among private Frenchmen to risk their cash; and little or no encouragement from the regent, who was fully assured by this time that the success of the rebellion would be exceedingly doubtful, even though the Stuart were backed by a French army. The Pretender declared that he should not be able to hold his ground beyond the spring of the year; but Argyll did not wait for the melting of the snow; and he found himself obliged to fly even sooner than he had expected. On the 16th of January, with a countenance more dejected than ever, he held a council at Perth, and spoke like a doomed man. "For me," said he, "it will be no new thing to be unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has been a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." A number of things were determined upon in a hurry, which ought to have been begun if not finished before. Perth, for example, was to be fortified, and the advance of the Duke of Argyll was to be impeded by burning and destroying all the towns and villages between Perth and Stirling, with the corn, forage, and whatsoever else might be found in the country. A proclamation to this effect was signed by the Pretender, and a scene of horror ensued: Auchterarder, Blackford, and a number of small villages, were burnt to the ground, and the poor inhabitants, women and children, the aged and the infirm—the able-bodied men had been forced from their homes, either into the rebellion or into the royal army—were exposed, houseless, to the extremities of the season, in one of the coldest winters that had been known for many generations. The poor sufferers, deprived of everything else, as well as of their cots or huts, perished in many places of cold and hunger; and mothers with their infants at the breast, were found dead among the snow-heaps.

Argyll had been kept inactive by waiting for the Dutch troops, by the want of artillery, detained by contrary winds at the buoy of the Nore, by the deep fall of snow, and perhaps also by the correspondence he was maintaining with some of the Highland chiefs, as the Marquess of Huntly and Lord Seaforth, who excused themselves from attending the Pretender, and privately assured Argyll that they would join him. The government, it appears, became suspicious of his delays, though they must have been acquainted with the causes of them, and General Cadogan was sent down to quicken the Duke of Argyll. Then a small train of artillery was brought up from Berwick-upon-Tweed, provisions and forage were procured, and put upon light waggons, and Colonel Guest was detached from Stirling with two hundred dragoons to reconnoitre the roads leading to Perth, in order to begin the march of the royal army, who, be it observed, had not been accustomed even under the great Marlborough, and in climates less severe, to make campaigns in winter. The snow was very deep, and there happened a fresh and heavy fall; and, beyond a certain point, there were narrow and deep defiles completely blocked up with snow, and not a roof, not a bit of thatch, not a naked tree to give shelter to the troops. Nevertheless, on the 24th the Duke of Argyll and General Cadogan advanced in person to survey the roads leading to Perth, and to direct the labours of the soldiers and peasants employed in clearing the

* Letter from the Pretender to Bolingbroke in Stuart Papers.

† The Pretender spoke very favourably of the disinterestedness, fidelity, and cordial attachment of the Earl of Mar; but in his discouragement Mar had endeavoured to obtain terms through the Countess of Murray from her nephew the Duke of Argyll.

roads from snow. The rebel Highlanders, advancing from Perth and from a few little garrisons they held on the borders of Fife, skirmished to interrupt these operations, which could only go on under cover of muskets, and which were slow and tedious in themselves. But on the 29th a considerable advance was made, and a detachment of the royalists, with two pieces of cannon, got to the castle of Braco, which was immediately abandoned by the rebels. On the 30th the army advanced and lay all night in the open air on the snow, all but a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, which had driven the Highlanders out of Tullibardine. On the following morning the main body crossed the river Earn without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, which was only eight miles from Perth. That little city and the temporary court there had been a scene of confusion, despondency, and riot, ever since the 24th, when Argyll had been seen upon the move. The Highlanders, who were half famishing, looked with a longing eye towards the well-filled provision wagons and tumbrils of the regular army, and were ready and willing to try another battle, though we are inclined to believe they never would or could have thought of standing a siege in Perth, that being a military service for which they were wholly unfit, and which was opposed to their habits. But the Pretender had no great stomach for fighting at any time; the disparity of force and warlike means was sufficiently alarming; and, though they would not abandon him or give him up to his enemies, many of the *chiefs* undoubtedly considered that the best thing that could be done for or with the Pretender would be to send him back whence he came—to convey him, unscathed, to some port from which he might escape to France. On the 28th a sort of council of war sat all night without coming to any positive resolution. The Highlanders, or at least some of the clans, insulted the officers as cowards, and made a wild hubbub in the streets of Perth. One of the officers asked them what they would have them do? "Do!" rejoined one of the mountaineers, "what did you call us to arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike one stroke for their lives?" Thus passed the 29th; and at night another council sat, to differ in opinion and quarrel, and to come to no certain conclusion. But on the morrow the near approach of Argyll and Cadogan made some resolution necessary; and on that day, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the Pretender got ready to quit Perth and his ancient kingdom of Scotland, in which he had been just five weeks. And on Tuesday, the last day of January, as Argyll with his main body was advancing from Tullibardine, Perth was evacuated, and the Pretender and the Highlanders defiled across the broad, deep, and rapid river Tay, which was then frozen over with ice strong enough to bear both horse and foot. Having crossed the Tay, Mar and the Pretender proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee—the rapid movements of a Highland army leaving them little to apprehend from the slow pursuit of the regular troops, whose horses in many places could scarcely keep their feet. Argyll has been reproached for not following up and annihilating the now disheartened insurgents; but we do not believe that it was in his power to proceed faster than he did; though, at the same time, we may admit, and even respect, the inclination of which he was suspected, to facilitate the escape of the Pretender, with at least his life. Argyll, who received notice of the retreat about four in the afternoon, sent and occupied Perth by Dutch and English troops at ten o'clock on the following morning. His grace with General Cadogan and the dragoons entered in the course of the same day; but the rest of the army, delayed by bad weather and bad roads, did not arrive till night. On the following morning, having secured in Perth a few of the rebel prisoners, "who, being drunk, had stayed behind the rest," Argyll followed along the Carse of Gowrie with six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions, and a detachment of 800 light foot, being still impeded by the state of the roads, as also by the provisions and artillery he thought necessary to take with him. When he reached Dundee—on the 3rd of February—he of course found the Highlanders all gone, the light-footed mountaineers having struck along the road to Montrose, a road buried under the snow and almost impassable to any other kind of troops. Argyll, however, followed and sent Cadogan towards Montrose by another route. On the 5th of February, about the hour of noon, Cadogan, who had got as far as Arbroath, received advice that the Pretender was gone for France the evening before. He had ordered the clans which had remained with him since his flight from Perth to be ready to march with him about eight at night towards Aberdeen, where, he assured them, they would find a considerable force just arrived to join him from the continent. At the hour appointed for their march the Pretender's horses were at the door of the house in which he lodged, a guard of honour was ready to see him mount, and no doubt was entertained by the Highlanders as to his remaining with them and going on to Aberdeen; but in the meantime he had slipped out on foot by a back door, proceeded to Lord Mar's quarters, and thence by a by-way to the water-side, where a boat was in waiting. Mar and the Pretender got into this boat, which carried them to a French ship of about ninety tons, called the Marie Theresa of St. Malo, which lay in the offing with her yards bent. About a quarter of an hour later, two other boats carried on board the Earl of Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, and then they spread their sails and put to sea. This cunning and paltry flight was decisive as to some important parts of the Pretender's character; but there are one or two circumstances to be mentioned that do honour to his better feelings. He left behind him a letter addressed to the

Duke of Argyll, with a small sum of money—probably nearly all that he had—for the relief of the poor people dwelling between Perth and Stirling, whose houses and villages had been burned by his orders; and, in a letter addressed to General Gordon, who took upon him the remnant of the Highland army, he acquainted his friends that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, obliged him to leave the country; and, after thanking them all for their services, he advised them now to consult their own safety, in the way they should think most advisable. Together with General Gordon, the Earls Marshal and Southesk, the Lord Teignmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick, and many other Jacobite noblemen and gentlemen, were left behind to shift for themselves. Some of these, with a few Irish and foreign officers that had come lately from the continent, hurried away to Peterhead, in order to embark where the Pretender had landed: but they were closely followed by a flying detachment from the army of Argyll, who entered Aberdeen on the 8th. This detachment prevented the embarkation at Peterhead, and followed this portion of the fugitives to Fraserburgh, where the Pretender's physician, whom he had left behind in his hurry, was taken prisoner by Colonel Campbell of Finab. Between that place and Banff a few other prisoners were taken; but the principals all escaped. The main body of the insurgents who remained under General Gordon, struck off from Aberdeen by Castle Gordon, Strath-Spey, and Strath-Don, diminishing in numbers at the opening of every glen or mountain-pass which led to the homes of some of them. Colonel Grant took possession of Castle Gordon, and there halted, Argyll and Cadogan having both agreed not to risk their regular troops among the wild parts of the Highlands, where they were sure of loss, if not of destruction. Gordon drew up at Badenoch with no more than 900 or 1000 men; and this residue of the army soon dispersed, some going into the wilds of Lochaber, some into regions equally inaccessible, and most of them, it is said, with the intention of waiting for the Pretender in the following summer. But about 120 gentlemen on horseback, among whom were the Lord Duffus, Sir George Sinclair, General Eclyn, Colonel Hay, Sir David Threpland, and other noted Jacobites, made for the extreme north of the Highlands. On the coast of Moray they seized ten open boats, and shot their horses through the head to prevent their being of service to the enemy. Embarking in the open boats they made for Capeness, and landed safely at Dunbeth. From that point they rode and sailed to the Orkneys, where a ship of twenty guns belonging to the Pretender was ready to take them on board. Two of the larger boats, containing sixty of these desperate men, reached the Orkneys and the ship in safety; but the rest of the boats were swamped or upset, and forty-seven of these Jacobite gentlemen were drowned.

The Pretender himself had stretched over to Norway, whence he shaped his course for the coast of Holland and Gravelines, at which port he arrived seven days after quitting Aberdeen. His game was up; he had given the most abundant proof that he could not play it—that stakes on his side were thrown away; but Bolingbroke, who waited upon him as soon as he arrived *incognito* in the neighbourhood of Paris, attempted to revive his spirits, and to prescribe a political line of action. His lordship advised him to get back to his old quarters at Bar-le-duc as soon as possible; as, otherwise, the French regent and the Duke of Lorraine, who had been so much vexed and annoyed by the remonstrances of the English court, would drive him in reality out of France, to seek shelter with the Pope on the other side of the Alps, where he must have great difficulty in corresponding with his partisans in England and Scotland. The Pretender fancied that he could prevail with the Duke of Orleans; but that ease-loving regent, who was well watched by Lord Stair, refused even to grant him an audience; and then, after several days had been lost, James assured Bolingbroke that he would follow his advice, and set out for Lorraine the very next morning at an early hour: he begged his lordship would follow him thither as soon as he could, and he pressed him in his arms at parting like a bosom friend. But, three days after this, when Bolingbroke thought he was many a league off, he unexpectedly received a visit from the Duke of Ormond, who handed him two orders written by the Pretender, and stating, *sans phrases*, that he was dismissed from his post as secretary of state, and must deliver to the Duke of Ormond *all* the papers in his office! The witty profligate says that this *all* might have been contained in a moderate-sized letter-case: but the rage which this treatment excited was scarcely to be contained in any space. Bolingbroke, with all his genius, had been duped and insulted by a blockhead and a bevy of women. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, the Pretender had merely gone to an obscure house in the Bois de Boulogne, close to Paris, and had there confabulated and plotted with a set of kept-women and secretaries of foreign embassies, who used the place, and the majority of the persons assembled in it, for two kinds of intrigues; and, after receiving some *pourparlers* from the minister of Philip king of Spain, and of the heroic madman of the North, Charles XII., and dismissing Bolingbroke, either because when in his cups he had spoken disrespectfully of his temporary master, or because he suspected him of treachery, he set off from the French capital. Bolingbroke says that he had in his hands matter wherewith to damp the triumph of the Duke of Ormond, who was now secretary of state as well as lord-general to the prince without state or army. He says—"I gave the duke the seals and some papers I could readily come at. . . . . I took care to convey to him (the Pretender), by a safe hand, several of his letters which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. I am

surprised that he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity. I scorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry." But anger would be too weak a word to express what Bolingbroke felt. He instantly renounced and denounced all connexion with the Jacobites; made overtures to Lord Stair, who was too conscious of his ability to despise him, and told Maria d'Este, the wretched mother of a wretched son, that he wished his arm might rot off if he ever again drew sword or pen for that cause. The Duke of Berwick saw at once the enormous blunder that had been committed in their dismissing the only Englishman the Pretender ever had able to manage his affairs. The duke dwells at some length, and with extraordinary heat, for a person habitually so cool and collected, upon this subject. "Bolingbroke," he says, "was born with splendid talents, which had raised him at a very early age to the highest employments; he exerted great influence over the Tories, and was, in fact, the very soul of that party. Could there, then, be a more lamentable foolishness than to turn off such a man at the very time when he was most wanted, and when it was most desirable to avoid making new enemies? If even he had been to blame, it would have been prudent to have excluded him by some milder means, and such would not have been hard to find; for it need only have been insinuated that the coldness which existed between him and Ormond would not admit of their acting any longer together..... But to cast a public stigma upon Bolingbroke, and seek to blacken his character with the world, is an inconceivable proceeding, and one that has lost King James many more friends than people generally believe. I was myself in part a witness how Bolingbroke acted for the king whilst he had the management of his affairs; and I owe him the justice to say that he left undone nothing which he could possibly do: he moved heaven and earth to obtain supplies while the king was in Scotland, but was always put off by the French court; and, though he saw through their pretexts, and complained of them, yet there was no other power to which he could apply."* Berwick, as the Pretender had so often done before, speaks contemptuously of the ability of Ormond. He also fully confirms the account already given of the Pretender's duplicity. He says that the Duke of Ormond had always been jealous of Bolingbroke on account of his superior genius, and the apprehension that he would always have more interest than himself; that all the petty politicians and blundering plotters fancied that they should have everything their own way if they could put Ormond at their head; that the Earl of Mar had also his private interest in view;—"he wished to impose upon the public the idea that, if he had been assisted, while in the field, by Bolingbroke as he ought to have been, his insurrection would have succeeded: besides this, Mar wanted to be the sole minister, and to govern everything; for which purpose it was necessary that Bolingbroke should be dismissed..... Moreover, Mademoiselle de la Chausseraye, and several other of the women, enraged at Bolingbroke for his not consulting them any more, joined the rest of the assailants."

When he took the road, the Pretender went to Chalons, in Champagne, where he waited for an answer from his always unwilling host, the Duke of Lorraine, touching his former lodgings at Barle-duc. After some delay that little potentate told him, that, on account of the consideration he thought himself obliged to entertain for King George, he must advise him to seek an asylum elsewhere, in Deux-Ponts; assuring him, however, that, if the King of Sweden would not permit him to reside there, he, the Duke, would receive him back in Lorraine at the risk of all the evil consequences that might befall him therefrom. No refusal could be more politely worded; but still it was a refusal; and, instead of going into Lorraine or into the little state of Deux-Ponts, the Pretender, irritated at the duke, made a long stage towards Rome, and settled himself under the wing of the pope in the city of Avignon, which the French had still allowed to remain to the holy see. In that famed old town, where Petrarch met his Laura, the Pretender was rejoined by the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Mar, and other Scotch and English fugitives and outcasts. Little danger was to be apprehended from these stalking specimens of mediocrity or imbecility. The arch-minister Bolingbroke gone, the cabinet of the Pretender was little better than a conclave of old women.

But, in the mean time, hundreds, thousands of Englishmen and Scots were paying a severe penalty for their rash doings. In Scotland the number of prisoners was very small, and little work was done by the courts of law; but the clans were let loose upon one another, and the troops of George were put to live at free quarters in the houses and upon the estates of the Jacobites. But, in England, Forster's imbecile conduct and dastardly surrender at Preston had filled the gaols of the North with prisoners of a strange variety of conditions—nonjuring Protestants, high-church divines, Popish priests and monks in disguise, fox-hunting Jacobite squires, and Catholic officers and non-commissioned officers who had been turned out of the army on account of their religion: and mixed with these were Highland chiefs and dunniewassails, and Jacobite Lowland lairds, who had marched with Forster from Kelso. Upon some of these unfortunate captives military law was executed, and they were tried in bands by a court-martial, and then shot in a heap; while above five

* *Memoirs.*—Pope, who knew the man most intimately in after-life, when time, and sorrow, and sickness had softened down his vices, seems to have thought more highly of Bolingbroke than of any of his contemporaries. His affection and zeal for his friend certainly misled him, when, instead of relating the degrading story of the dismissal, he told Spence that "Lord Bolingbroke quitted the Pretender because he found him incapable of making a good prince."—*Spence's Anecdotes.*

hundred prisoners of inferior condition were left inhumanly to starve of hunger and cold in various castles and gaols in the North. Forster and the most conspicuous of the leaders were marched off for London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. When these unfortunate gentlemen had crossed Finchley Common, and reached the brow of Highgate Hill, they were made to halt, and to submit to numerous indignities: their arms were tied behind their backs like cut-throats and cut-purses; their horses were led by foot soldiers, and their ears were stunned by all the drums of the escort beating a triumphal march, and by the shouts, scoffs, and jeers of the multitude. Upon their reaching the city, such as were lords or noblemen were sent to the Tower—the rest were divided among the four common gaols. They were not long suffered to remain there in doubt and uncertainty: the nation, the parliament, which re-assembled on the 9th of January, were eager for an example, and far two anxious, in the spirit of the time, for blood. On the very day of the opening of parliament Mr. Lechmere, after a long and vehement speech, interspersed with allusions to the many direct interferences of providence on the side of the government, impeached James Earl of Derwentwater of high treason. Other members of the Commons, with fewer words but equal heat, impeached Lord Widdrington, the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn. Not a single voice was raised in opposition, not an effort made in debate to avert the doom of these incompetent revolutionists, though certainly there was still many a Jacobite in the House. On the 19th of January these noblemen were all brought before the House of Lords, assembled as a court of justice in Westminster Hall, with Earl Cowper, the chancellor, presiding as lord high steward. They knelt at the bar till the chancellor desired them to rise; and then they all but one confessed their guilt, and threw themselves upon the mercy of King George—a prince neither unmerciful nor cruel, but far indeed from possessing either a tender heart or a lively imagination. Sentence of death, as traitors, was forthwith pronounced upon Widdrington, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, and Lord Nairn; and preparations were ordered for the trial of Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty. Secretary Stanhope, who *was* a man of feeling, interposed and saved the life of Lord Nairn, who had been his schoolfellow: but the united interest and earnest supplications of the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, of the young Countess of Derwentwater pleading with tears for the husband she tenderly loved, and of many other ladies of rank, failed in moving the rough and sturdy king, who admitted them to an audience, but adhered to his purpose, which was the purpose of the majority of his ministers. Bribes, which had succeeded before in like circumstances, were offered now without effect. Sixty thousand pounds were tendered for the single pardon of Lord Derwentwater, who, up to the time of the mad rising in the north, had been living happily and hospitably in his fine old castle, reflected in the clear waters of one of the most beautiful of English lakes; and for whose present hard fate tears were shed and lamentations raised in every valley and on every hill-side in Cumberland. Some of the best of the Whigs in the Commons, and among them poor Steele, would have saved life without money or bribe; but Robert Walpole, who in after-life was certainly not a cruel minister, was on the present occasion perfectly obdurate: he expressed his horror and disgust at the leniency of these Whigs, whom he called "unworthy members of this great body," since they could, "without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides." To make the descent of the axe the surer, Walpole moved that the House should adjourn till the first of March, intending to proceed to execution in the interval: he carried his point, but it was only by a majority of seven. But in the Upper House a better fight was made on the side of mercy. The Earl of Nottingham, who, in former times, had been Tory enough to put himself in the same situation, stood up and supported the petition of the condemned lords. Nottingham, it will be remembered, was of the present cabinet—the single avowed Tory in it. He carried his motion by the narrow majority of five for an address to the king for a reprieve; but thereby he lost his place, it being instantly resolved by Robert Walpole and the rest of the ministers that he should be dismissed from office, and that his son Lord Finch, and his brother Lord Ailesford, should be sent from court also. Nor were the efforts he had made in the House of Lords of much use, for, when the Commons carried up the address, George, with an immoveable face, and with a speech that Walpole had prepared for him, laconically told them "that on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people." As, however, other favourable circumstances had arisen for the Earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington, and as some respect was due to the opinion and feeling of the House of Lords, those two noblemen were respited. The three remaining victims were left for execution, and, to prevent any further interference, orders were sent to the Tower to have the block ready on the following morning. But during that night the conjugal affection and heroism of Lady Nithsdale robbed the block of a head. She dressed her lord in her own clothes, and he escaped by night, and in that disguise, out of the Tower. There thus remained only two victims—the English Lord Derwentwater and the Scottish Lord Kenmure; and they, at an early hour the next morning—the 24th of February—were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill. The English lord was the first that suffered. He was deadly pale, but his voice was firm, and on the whole he behaved like a man of courage and conscience. He declared that he died

a Roman Catholic; that he deeply repented his plea of guilty at his trial; and that he knew and acknowledged no king but James III., his rightful and lawful sovereign, "whom he had an inclination to serve from his infancy." He further insisted that he had intended wrong to no man, that he harboured malice against no man, not even against those of the present government who were instrumental in his death; "that he had intended to serve his country as well as his legitimate king, and to contribute to the restoration of the ancient and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms." At one blow the executioner severed the neck of James Ratcliff, third and last Earl of Derwentwater, a gallant, courteous young man, perhaps the most interesting victim of this attempted revolution. The Scottish Lord Kenmure died an episcopalian. He was attended on the scaffold by his two sons, and by two clergymen of the established church. He, however, acted like Derwentwater in repenting of his plea of guilty; and in praying for the Pretender he showed equal courage and endured more suffering, for the executioner was obliged to strike twice.

Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty, embarrassed his prosecutors, for, though he seemed at times crazy or half idiotic, he managed his business with considerable craft and skill, and on his trial struck one of the first of Whigs and ministers with a sharp repartee. He was not put upon his trial till the 15th of March, having gained time by petitions and other devices. There was most abundant evidence to show that he had been out for and with the Pretender, voluntarily and without compulsion from the rebels; but he told their lordships he had plenty of good witnesses in Scotland to disprove this, if their lordships would only take into consideration that the season was very unfavourable to travelling, and would allow them time to come up. Cowper, the lord high steward, overruled these objections rather harshly. "I hope," said Winton, "you will do me justice, and not make use of Cowper law, as we use to say in our country—hang a man first and judge him after."* He entreated to have counsel allowed him; but this was refused, and thereupon he refused to say anything. He was found guilty of high treason, and sent back to the Tower; but it appears that there was no real intention to proceed to execution, and, after lying some time in that state prison, he effected his escape.

In the beginning of April a commission for trying the rebels of inferior rank met in the Court of Common Pleas. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates were found guilty on indictments for high treason. Forster and Mackintosh were both fortunate enough to break their prison and escape, and seven others followed their example, and got safe to the continent. But four were executed in London, and twenty-two in Lancashire, where above a thousand submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the colonies in America. The amount of punishment and of blood seemed in those days unaccountably and imprudently small. As the English Catholics, driven by persecution, and intolerance, and insult, into disaffection, had in some places shown so warm a zeal for the Pretender, it was resolved to increase those very evils which had been the cause of their disaffection. On the 17th of April a bill "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain, by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists," was finally passed without opposition. By one of the clauses of this bill all such persons as, being Papists, enlisted in his majesty's service, were to meet with effectual and exemplary punishment. So violent was this Protestant feeling even in some of the most enlightened and most liberal of the Whigs, that the Lord Chancellor Cowper, in passing sentence on the Catholic peers, uncharitably and indecently abused their religion, and advised them to choose better spiritual guides to attend them on the scaffold.

The Whigs in the last general election had secured a most triumphant *majority*; but extreme changes in opinion had of late years been both frequent and sudden; and it was seriously apprehended by the new king and his ministers, that circumstances had been and were at work among the people, which would render another general election very uncertain in its issue—perhaps return a strong Tory majority. With the first George the word Tory was, and could be, little better than a synonym for *Jacobite or traitor*: it was scarcely possible for him to be impartial, and to look coolly on the struggle of the two parties for power and pre-eminence. In his eyes, and in the opinion of a vast portion of the nation, it was not a mere party contest, a dispute about general principles, but a life and death conflict for dynasties and entire systems. But for the Whigs George would never have got to England; and, notwithstanding the Hanoverian Tories, whose number had been reduced since his accession by the disappointment of their hopes in obtaining high places and rewards, he firmly believed that, but for the Whigs, the Jacobites, Tories, and high-church-men would send him back to Germany in the course of a single session. It therefore became the great object of his majesty and the present Whig cabinet to keep by all means in their power the Jacobites and Tories out of parliament; and to effect this, they resorted to the very questionable measure of passing an act not only extending the limit of the duration of future parliaments from three to seven years, but even so far disregarding the act of 1694, under which the members of the existing House of Commons had been returned, as to give to the present parliament also the benefit of the extended term. If the act of 1694 were to continue law, the present Whig parliament must rise in little more than a year, when the nation was likely to be threatened with invasion from abroad, insurrec-

* This process, in the south of Scotland, is more commonly called Border law, or Jedburgh justice. The name employed by Lord Winton is that by which it is known farther north, from the town of Cowper, or Cupar, in Fife.

tions at home, plots, intrigues, and manœuvres of all kinds; but if, on the contrary, four years could be added to its existence, there was a probability that the political atmosphere might clear up in the interval—the Whigs would have time to complete their work, and the new king to become somewhat better acquainted with his subjects, among whom at present he was moving and acting like a strange man in a strange country. Ministers resolved that the Septennial Bill should originate in the House of Lords, where neither a failure nor the unpopularity of the measure could do any direct mischief; and on the 10th of April the Duke of Devonshire, lord steward of the household, and son of the nobleman who had been one of the principal promoters of the Triennial Act, brought in the new bill for repealing that act, which, according to the preamble, had been found "very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted." The preamble also assigned, as a special reason for the most objectionable part of the new measure, that the Triennial Act, if allowed to continue, might, "at this juncture, when a restless and popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government." The Duke of Devonshire, the proposer, was supported by the Duke of Argyll, Lords Dorset, Carteret, Cowper, and other peers attached to the ministry; and the measure was opposed by the Duke of Buckingham, Lords Peterborough, Nottingham, Anglesea, and all the Tories. On a division the commitment was carried by 96 votes to 61.* When the bill had finally passed the lords it was sent down to the Commons by the hands of two of the judges. Before the debate on the second reading, petitions against septennial parliaments were presented from the boroughs of Marlborough, Midhurst, Abingdon, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Horsham, Hastings, Westbury, Cardiff, Peterfield, and the corporation of Cambridge; but, though the boroughs had found frequent elections a very profitable trade, these were all of them that petitioned the House. Robert Walpole was at the moment lying so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of; but his colleagues in office, secretary Stanhope, Craggs, Lord Coningsby, Jekyll, and others, exerted themselves to the utmost; and the Whigs generally, whether in office or out, did the same. Steele spoke with great vivacity. "Ever since the triennial parliament has been enacted," said he, "the nation has been in a series of quarrels and contentions; the first year of a triennial parliament has been spent in vindictive decisions and animosities about the late elections; the second session has entered upon business, but rather with a spirit of contradiction to what the prevailing set of men in former parliaments have brought to pass, than with a disinterested zeal for the common good; the third session has languished in the pursuit of what little was intended to be done in the second session; and the approach of an ensuing election has terrified the members into a servile management, according as their respective principals were disposed towards the questions before them in the House. Thus the state of England has been like that of a vessel in distress at sea; the piloting mariners have been wholly employed in keeping the ship from sinking; the art of navigation was useless, and they never pretended to make sail." On the other hand, Sir Thomas Hanmer, late speaker, Lord Guernsey, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Bromley, and others, combated long and loudly for triennial parliaments. They represented that short and frequent parliaments had been the rule of the English constitution; that, whenever parliaments had been prolonged overmuch, consequences had ensued most dangerous to the liberties and interests of the nation, which had ever recognised the source of the evil, and consistently pursued their object, till, in the time of William III., the Triennial Act was passed. "Long parliaments," said Shippen, a rising Tory, "will naturally grow either formidable or contemptible." To the argument of the Whigs—that the Triennial Act had, in fact, made a triennial king, a triennial ministry, and a triennial alliance—the Tories replied that, if they meant the king was rendered precarious and unsafe by the Triennial Act, it was false; if the ministry, it was neither the duty nor the object of the House of Commons to perpetuate an administration; and that, in saying that frequent parliaments would discourage foreign powers from entering into treaties and alliances with us, they offered an insult to the nation, as they seemed thereby to imply that we ought to give up our constitution in order to gratify our allies. Still further, on this latter point the Tories insisted that any change in the Triennial Act would have a worse effect upon our foreign relations than ever the act itself had had; and that the Septennial Bill would discourage or drive away our allies more than anything else, as it would prove to them that the king was so insecure on his throne that he feared his people, and could not trust them with the choice of members for a new parliament. When the House went into committee on the Septennial Bill, Lechmere proposed a clause to incapacitate all persons that held pensions during pleasure from sitting in either House of Parliament; but the proposition was considered by the Whigs as a mere stratagem for delaying or defeating the whole bill; and it was negatived by the exertions of Secretary Stanhope and Craggs; who, however, instantly moved

* Thirty peers entered a protest against the bill, and among them were the Dukes of Somerset and Shrewsbury, who had both quarrelled with the Whig ministers and the new king. Shrewsbury, who had played the most important of all the parts in the last scene of Queen Anne's reign, had resigned his office of lord chamberlain in disgust, and had recommenced the correspondence with the Jacobites and the agents for the Pretender in the preceding autumn shortly before Mar threw off the mask.

for leave to bring in a separate bill for the better security of the independence of parliaments. The Septennial Bill was read a third time on the 26th of April, when the Tory minority could muster no more than 121 votes; and, with the applauses of some, and the curses of others, it became the law of the land. The great Somers, whose complicated disorders had ended in a paralysis which affected both mind and body, died on the very day the bill was passed. The equally conspicuous Whig, Halifax, had died some months before him. It is said that Somers, on his death-bed, expressed his hearty approbation of the Septennial Act; but those who love shorter parliaments doubt whether he was in a state competent to give an opinion. Perhaps a better objection is, that the story rests upon hearsay.* On the 8th of June Stanhope and Craggs's separate bill, disabling any person from being chosen a member of the House of Commons, or sitting or voting in the same, that held any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, from the crown, was passed; and on the 26th of June the parliament was prorogued after a speech from the throne, in which George declared that he felt great satisfaction at the prospect of a settled government, to be supported by a parliament which had shown such zeal for their country and for the Protestant interest of Europe.

And, as his majesty now considered himself in a state of security, and as he had been relieved by a subsequent statute from the embarrassing clause in the Act of Settlement restraining him from leaving the kingdom, he intimated that he was going to revisit his dominions in Germany, the state of affairs on the continent demanding serious attention. And, in fact, the elements of strife and hostility seemed to be combining in a very alarming manner against this first prince of the House of Hanover, who, beyond Holland and the States-General, had scarcely a single ally upon whom he could depend; for, even his own son-in-law, the King of Prussia, a capricious, wrongheaded prince, was frequently tempted to quarrel with him, and even to proceed to the extremity of joining the confederacy against him. The disputes carried on first between Hanover and Berlin, and then between London and Berlin, would fill many pages of violent and at times exceedingly indecorous language. The Emperor Charles, who was vested with the fanciful function of preserving harmony throughout the Germanic confederacy, was upon several grounds exceedingly jealous of George I., whom he personally disliked; and he had also a strong antipathy to the Dutch—the Hanoverian's best allies—on account of their conduct at the peace of Utrecht, and in the barrier treaty. The emperor, however, was not in a condition to provoke open hostilities with England and Holland; and, though he declined any direct engagement for compelling the Pretender to remove to Rome, and remain there quiet upon an English pension allowed by the occupant, or, as he considered him, the usurper, of his throne, he consented to a defensive alliance with England in case of aggression from France or any other power, with a mutual guarantee of territory. This alliance was concluded a month before the English king prorogued his parliament; but still there remained the difficult business of the Pretender's removal beyond the Alps, and many other serious questions which would be best settled on the continent. Lord Stair, after the miserable failure of the expedition into Scotland, had acquired a great influence over the French regent, who was himself surrounded by many difficulties. According to the arrangement of the peace of Utrecht, the Duke of Orleans, by the death of the boy Louis XV., would be promoted from his condition of regent to that of sole and absolute sovereign of France. Philip V. of Spain, indeed, stood nearer to the French throne; but in accepting the Spanish he had made that solemn act of renunciation about which so much has been said. It was, however, well known to Orleans that, in case of this sickly boy's death, Philip would get absolved from his oaths, set the act of renunciation and the treaty of Utrecht at defiance, and claim the French kingdom. And, indeed, as if to facilitate his seizure of the throne, Philip had endeavoured, and was at the moment endeavouring to deprive the Duke of Orleans even of the secondary and temporary honours and advantages of the regency. Orleans doubtless felt the value of the friendship of King George, but neither party had or could have much confidence in the other: George felt that the regent would use him for his own purposes, and then, if beneficial to his own interests, turn against him; nor was Orleans a whit surer of George. Lord Stair, however, made smooth many difficulties and doubts, and established such a degree of confidence between the two princes, that they agreed to proceed to a treaty. As a national object, which had been proposed before, in the latter days of Louis XIV., Orleans was anxious to obtain the erasure or modification of that clause in the treaty of Utrecht which had bound France to demolish Dunkirk and fill up its port. That port, indeed, had been partially destroyed; but, to get an equivalent, the French had begun to dig a new basin and a new canal at Mardyke, upon the same coast, and at a very short distance from Dunkirk. If George would consent to this making of a new Dunkirk—a scheme which had been vehemently denounced even under Queen Anne—he (the regent) would bind himself to other compliances. He represented, as the French diplomatists had done before, that Mardyke was not Dunkirk, nor

* The anecdote, and the dying speech of Somers, are said to have been communicated by the first Lord Sydney and Mr. Charles Townshend, who said they had it from their father, Lord Townshend.—*Coxe's Walpole*. The anecdote imports that Lord Townshend visited Somers as he was dying, and that Somers, after embracing him warmly, said, "I have just heard of the work in which you are engaged, and congratulate you upon it. I never approved of the Triennial Bill, and always considered it in effect the reverse of what it was intended. You have my hearty approbation in this business; and I think it will be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country."

Dunkirk Mardyke; that there was nothing in the treaty of Utrecht to prevent the French making a new port wherever they pleased; and that treaties ought to be taken literally—for what they expressed, and for no more. But George and his ministers, who knew and feared the strong feeling of the English people on the question, held that the spirit and intention of the treaty ought to be decisive—that it was the intention, as it was the obvious interest of England, that her coast should be embraced in that direction neither by Dunkirk nor by any other such place: and here, perhaps, the negotiations would have come to a stand-still if it had not been for the increasing difficulties of Orleans, and his conviction that, after all, it was better to keep the regency than to get permission to make a new port. Accordingly he removed the negotiations from the Hague, took the management out of the hands of Chateauneuf, and placed it in those of his prime adviser, the Abbé Dubois, who was equally his minister of state and the minister of his pleasures and debaucheries. The abbé, properly instructed, went into Holland, and found himself at the Hague,—ostensibly only to buy pictures, and books, and porcelain,—just as King George was to pass through that town on his way to Hanover. There it was easy for the abbé to talk, as if merely for the sake of conversation, with the English ministers and courtiers who were following their new sovereign to his own dominions; as also to discover that Secretary Stanhope was thinking very seriously of a definitive treaty with France, separate from, and independent of, the general arrangements of Utrecht. Upon receiving this information, the Duke of Orleans instructed Dubois to continue his travels, even unto Hanover, where he was to appear in a private capacity, but, at the same time, with ample authority to treat. Secretary Stanhope received the abbé, who arrived at Hanover on the 19th of August, in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own house or apartments. Dubois, following the general practice of diplomatists and horsedealers, who always ask for more than they expect and are ready to take, began by asking Stanhope for Mardyke; but the English secretary told him at once that that point would never be yielded—that England would never consent to the continuance of the works there. But, on the other matter or matters which the abbé's pupil and employer, Orleans, had far more at heart, Stanhope was as ready, as courteous, and complying as could be desired. England, he said, would not only support the duke in his regency, but would also guarantee to him his succession to the throne, in case the young Louis should die. "As to the succession to the throne of France," wrote Stanhope to Lord Townshend five days after the abbé's arrival at Hanover, "I offered to draw up an article with him, expressing his majesty's guarantee of the same to the Duke of Orleans, in as strong terms as he could suggest; but, when we came close to the point, I found that, notwithstanding this guarantee of the succession be the only true and real motive which induces the regent to seek his majesty's friendship, yet the abbé was instructed rather to have it brought in as an accessory to the treaty, than to have an article so framed as to make it evident that that was his only drift and intent. He insisted, therefore, very strongly, for three days, that his majesty should in this treaty guarantee the treaty of Utrecht, the sixth article of which treaty contains everything which relates to the succession of the crown of France." This, however, Stanhope positively refused; and then the abbé "talked of going away immediately"—"which threat," adds Stanhope, "I bore very patiently." The English secretary was not deceived; the abbé soon returned in a much less exacting humour, and agreed for the regent that he should rest satisfied with the insertion of an article guaranteeing the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty of Utrecht between France and England, and the 31st between France and Holland—"the two former of which relate only to the succession of England, and the two latter contain everything which concerns the succession of France and the renunciations upon which it was founded."* King George approved of an article which Stanhope drew up to this effect, and, after three days' further wrangling, preliminaries were agreed upon by Stanhope and Dubois. The abbé not only said nothing in favour of the Pretender, but actually suggested, himself, several methods for driving him from Avignon beyond the Alps. When the preliminaries were signed by Stanhope and Dubois, they were forwarded to London for approval, and to the Hague for a further accession to the treaty, it being the intention of George all along to include his best allies, the Dutch. Lord Townshend and the rest of the cabinet fully approved of these preliminaries, but expressed some doubt whether the regent would really demolish Mardyke in the manner laid down. M. d'Iberville, whom the Duke of Orleans had sent over especially, indeed tried hard to preserve the canal and sluices at Mardyke in a condition capable of receiving men-of-war and privateers; but he receded from his point as the Abbé Dubois had done, and consented to an arrangement which, in the opinion of the most skilful of our sea officers and engineers, would effectually exclude ships of war and privateers, and leave Mardyke a simple and unprotected fishing port. The English ministers imputed this readiness of the regent "partly to the perplexed state of his own affairs, and partly to his having a better opinion of his majesty's affairs than heretofore. . . . . But (they added), be the cause what it will, they think they have the justest cause to felicitate his majesty on the conclusion of this treaty with France."

Matters were in this state by the month of September (1716), when the treaty itself was drawn up and prepared for ratification. But at this point George's anxiety as Elector of Han-

* Secretary Stanhope's Dispatches in Coxe, Memoirs of Walpole.

over to extend his dominions on the continent, and the desperate spirit of Charles XII. of Sweden, cast a damp on the negotiations, and for some months greatly embarrassed George and his English and Hanoverian advisers. At the peace of Westphalia the rich districts of Bremen and Verden, which had formerly been bishoprics and separate states, were secularised and ceded to Sweden, which continued to possess them in quiet till Charles XII. carried his victorious arms so far, as to be conquered by Russian serfs at Pultava. Then, Danes, Norwegians, Prussians, Saxons, and all the nations that had crouched at his feet rose up for revenge; and while he was detained a captive at Bender, in Turkey, whither he had fled, they commenced helping themselves to his territories. His Danish majesty had seized upon Verden and Bremen, and conquered Sleswick and Holstein. But in November, 1714, Charles XII. suddenly arrived in Sweden; and then the enemies he had so thoroughly beaten and humiliated began to tremble anew. Frederick of Denmark, in order to secure part of the prey he had made, offered to relinquish another part to George; and in the month of July of the preceding year (1715) George had concluded a treaty, not as king of England, but as Elector of Hanover; and, upon condition of keeping Bremen and Verden for himself, he had engaged to join the coalition against Sweden, and to pay his Danish majesty a sum equal to about 150,000*l.* sterling. Instantly some of the ill effects of having for king of England a prince that was sovereign of another country were made manifest: a British squadron under Sir John Norris was sent in the autumn of that year (1715) to the Baltic, upon a pretext that it was necessary to protect the British trade and shipping in that sea, where Danes, Swedes, and Russians were carrying on a maritime war and committing depredations: but the real object was to overawe the Swedes and to compel Charles to submit to the demands of the coalition, and agree to cede certain territories for a stipulated sum—the prominent condition being, of course, that George, as Elector of Hanover, should be allowed to retain both Bremen and Verden. Nearly at the same time that Sir John Norris appeared in the Baltic with the ships of England, six thousand Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, and there joined the Danes and Prussians, who reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked Stralsund, into which place Charles XII. had thrown himself, but from which he was now obliged to retire. The heroic madman was furious at the conduct of George and of the English cabinet: he taunted them as cowards for thus falling upon one already beset by many enemies; and, adopting at once, with his constitutional daring, a bold and immense scheme, he put himself in communication with the Jacobites of England and Scotland, and engaged to back the Pretender in a new war in Great Britain with 12,000 veteran Swedes. At this very moment Charles's rival, Peter the Great, who on many points was as mad as himself, stretched forth his rude arm to grasp a part of Denmark and a portion of the Germanic empire, betraying too clearly and too early that Russia was aiming at nothing less than the entire dominion of the Baltic. Unexpectedly an army of Muscovites marched into Mecklenburg, where great dissensions prevailed between the reigning duke and his subjects. Peter had given his niece in marriage to this little potentate of Mecklenburg; and could challenge, if necessary, a sort of family right to interfere. The King of Denmark took the alarm, and remonstrated: the semi-barbarous czar told him to take heed, or he would quarter his Muscovites in Denmark. Frederick poured out his sense of these wrongs and insults to his close ally, King George, who was himself deeply interested as a German prince, and who, moreover, bore an inveterate hatred to Peter.* George, in the heat of his rage, sent his favourite Bernsdorf to Stanhope with a project "to crush the czar immediately; to secure his ships, and even to seize his person, to be kept till his troops should evacuate Germany."† Stanhope, as an English minister, was startled at this daring proposal, in which the laws of nations were completely overlooked: he went directly to the king his master, and found him wedded to the scheme, and most anxious that orders for carrying it into immediate execution should be sent to Sir John Norris and the English fleet in the Baltic. Stanhope, however, *though fond of daring enterprises, would not take upon himself to do more than instruct* Norris to join his remonstrances with those of his Danish majesty. But it appears that, if Stanhope could have obtained the sanction of Townshend and the ministers at home, he would not have been disinclined to a sudden war with Russia. "I shall check my own nature, which was ever inclined to bold strokes, till I can hear from you," he wrote to Townshend towards the end of September; "but you will easily imagine how I shall daily be pressed to send orders to Sir John Norris. . . . . We may easily master the czar if we go briskly to work, and if this be thought a right measure. But how far Sweden may be thereby enabled to disturb us in Britain, you must judge. If the czar be let alone, he will not only be master of Denmark, but, with the body of troops which he has still behind on the frontiers of Poland, he may take quarters where he pleases in Germany." Stanhope added, that he and the king also were now exceedingly anxious to have the treaty with France ratified; that the Abbé Dubois continued to talk well and promise fairly; and that it was clear, as matters now stood, not a moment ought to be lost in finishing that treaty. Lord Townshend, it appears, disapproved entirely of a war

* There was no love lost between the two royal brothers; "the czar hated King George mortally." "This hatred," says St. Simon, "lasted all their lives, and in the greatest bitterness."

† Stanhope's Dispatches to Lord Townshend in Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

against the czar—of any new war in the North—and George's son the Prince of Wales, who invariably differed from his father, professed to be of the same opinion as his lordship. In a private and confidential letter to Secretary Stanhope, Townshend declared that such a northern war might be their ruin; and that an immediate peace ought to be made with Sweden, even at some cost or sacrifice. In a public dispatch Townshend represented that the contemplated rupture with the czar would be followed by very evil consequences; that the ships and British merchants in Russia would be seized upon at once, and that a stop would be put to the supplies of naval stores which England drew from that country. George had required that Norris and his squadron should be left to winter in the Baltic, as neither the czar nor his rival Charles followed the southern routine of going into winter quarters, and suspending hostilities when the weather grew bad; but Townshend strongly opposed this, as being unsafe at a moment when England was threatened with a new rising of the Jacobites, and with an invasion from Sweden. In this public dispatch Townshend speaks not merely for himself and for the cabinet over which he presided, but also for his royal highness the Prince of Wales, whose opinions he makes very prominent, as if to shelter himself under his name against the choler of the king his father. Townshend was esteemed a frank and honest minister; but he was so only comparatively; and the very best statesmen had not as yet renounced the ancient practice of shuffling and double-dealing. The following proposal and the manner in which it is put in the minister's dispatch, as if solely proceeding from the heir to the crown, is deserving of particular notice:—"His royal highness is of opinion that his majesty, if he thinks the King of Denmark able to go through with the project himself, may insinuate privately, and under the greatest secrecy, that he will not only acquiesce in his Danish majesty's making this attempt, (*i. e. to seize the person of the czar*, &c.), but that he will also support and assist him in the sequel of the affair when once this blow is given." King George was greatly dissatisfied with these half proposals, and this evident backwardness on the part of his English cabinet; and Lord Townshend added to his ill-humour by the freedom of his language in remonstrating with Robethon and the Hanoverian ministers, and by his continuing to insist on the return of the English fleet. Townshend's private secretary Poyntz said, in a dispatch to Stanhope,—"My lord commands me to acquaint you, that it makes him lose all patience to see what ridiculous expedients they propose to his majesty for extricating themselves out of their present difficulties, as if the leaving you eight men-of-war to be frozen up for six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the North." Secretary Stanhope, however, seems to have been still inclined to bold strokes, and to have been moved and alarmed by the position of the czar, and the already encroaching and grasping spirit of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. Like the Prince of Wales, the secretary was convinced that Peter intended to make himself master of all the coast of the Baltic at least. "I believe," said this ardent and accomplished man, "it may not be impossible to put this northern business in such a light, as may induce the British parliament not to look on it with indifference. If I mistake not, Cromwell, who understood very well the interest of England with respect to foreign powers, fitted out more than one fleet to the Baltic, with no other view than to secure that, in the treaties of peace to be made betwixt those Northern potentates, a freedom of trade to the Baltic should be preserved to all nations. He frequently offered considerable sums of money to the King of Sweden for Bremen. [*One of the places for which George had bargained with his Danish majesty, and which he now possessed not as King of England but as Elector of Hanover.*] It is now certain, that if the czar be let alone three years, he will be absolute master of these seas."

During the height of these alarms Stanhope and his master were equally impatient to finish their affair with the Abbé Dubois, and to remove some obstacles which the French treaty had encountered on the part of the States-General. The Muscovites, however, were not then quite so powerful as they seemed to be; and Peter, who was beset by the diplomacy of nearly all Europe, and remonstrated with, if not threatened, by the English admiral, withdrew the greater part of his troops, and for the present gave up his alarming projects upon Mecklenburg, and Northern Germany. After this the French treaty languished again; and in the discussion and management of it Stanhope and Townshend disagreed and quarrelled, and thus gave origin to the noted schism in the great Whig administration. The king, who considered himself insulted by Townshend, took part with Stanhope: the States General complained of both ministers, as though they had been indifferent to their interests and careless whether Holland were included or not in the treaty with the French regent. There also arose another quarrel between the king and Robert Walpole, the paymaster of the army, about some German troops which Walpole refused either to pay or to retain in the service of England.* Walpole stood by Townshend, who, besides displeasing the king, had made an enemy for life of one of the German mistresses, Mademoiselle de Schulemberg, who was soon after created Duchess of Munster in Ireland, and Baroness Glastonbury, Countess of Feversham, and Duchess of Kendal in the English peerage. He had also provoked her colleague Bothmar, who, according to the minister's own declaration, "had every day some infamous project or other on foot to get

* During the heat of the Rebellion in Scotland, and by the authority of parliament, some Saxe-Gotha and Munster troops were taken into our pay.

money." There is not the least doubt of the rapacity of the Duchess of Kendal and the Baron Bothmar, who continued to reside in England, and to act for or in concert with the ill-favoured mistress. The duchess was ready to make money in any way; and, as peerages had been sold by mistresses before, and had been obtained by other means equally or more disgraceful, she was encouraged to offer for "a consideration," a peerage to Sir Richard Childe, a wealthy trader and a *Tory* member of the House of Commons—the political creed being of little consequence in her eyes: but here also she was opposed by Lord Townshend. It thus became every day more and more clear that Townshend must fall. It also happened unfortunately for that minister that he had become involved in a quarrel with Marlborough's son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, who did not enumerate among his many merits a calmness of temper or a readiness to forgive wrong. At the day of change when the Tories had to make way for the Whigs, Sunderland was dissatisfied with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland which was allotted to him; and since then he had dissatisfied Townshend by the way in which he executed the duties of that always difficult and trying office, in which no man could do common justice to the natives and the Roman Catholics, without exciting a tempest among the English Protestants. The latter, with a glorious defiance of right and of the rules which ought to direct such matters, fell upon Sunderland because he appointed native Irish to be judges, and bishops too! And, as Sunderland was no zealot or bigot, and would not persecute or make war upon mass-houses, he was accused of being no Christian, and of entertaining designs hostile to the creed and property of the Anglican church. Upon the death of the Marquess of Wharton, in the preceding year, Sunderland was allowed to exchange his lord-lieutenancy for the privy seal and a seat in the cabinet; but he continued to be in an ill humour against some of the ministers personally, and to draw closer his ties of intimacy with the more liberal of the Whigs, who already looked upon the great Whigs in power as little better than Tories under another name. In the course of the present autumn the lord privy seal went to Aix-la-Chapelle to drink the waters, professing, according to Walpole, "an entire reconciliation and a perfect union" with Townshend and his party; but intending, in fact, to do all that he could with the new sovereign to precipitate their downfall. From Aix-la-Chapelle with the express permission of the king and Secretary Stanhope, Sunderland repaired to Hanover, where he made a wonderful progress in the favour of his sovereign and in the friendship of Stanhope. He went with the court to Gohre, a hunting seat which the king loved to frequent, and he took part rather in the business than in the sports of the place. He was there on the 11th of November, when Stanhope, now sure of his game, tendered his resignation, it being, he said, impossible that he should any longer co-operate with Lord Townshend, who was at once so dilatory and so positive. George, of course, instead of accepting the resignation, made Stanhope write a letter to Townshend to intimate his majesty's displeasure at the long delays of the French treaty, and to demand an explanation of his conduct. And on the very same day Sunderland indulged his vindictive temper by writing another letter to Townshend, but without the king's authority, in which he repeated the complaints and injunctions in a very harsh and arrogant style. To this rude attack of Sunderland the prime minister made no reply whatever; to the authorised letter of Stanhope he wrote a short answer, which ended with a prayer that God would forgive him as he did. To the king—in more modern and more honourable times the letter would have been accompanied by a resignation—Townshend wrote a vindication of his conduct in every part of the transactions relating to the French treaty. But there were other circumstances which widened the breach. George I. was at least as jealous as a father as the Prince of Wales was an undutiful or impatient son; and he had begun to suspect that, during his absence on the continent, Townshend had been caballing with the heir to the throne. It has been asserted that Stanhope as well as Sunderland promoted these suspicions for their own interests and purposes; but there is a want of sufficient evidence to prove this fact against Stanhope.* Apparently to try an experiment upon his cabinet or to lay a trap for Townshend and Walpole, who were about equally suspected, the king intimated that, if proper means could be found to carry on affairs in England in his absence, he should like to remain at Hanover the whole winter; and he desired Townshend to inform him of the sentiment of the cabinet, and of the heads of such business as it would be necessary to bring forward in the mean time in parliament. Townshend forthwith drew up and sent a sketch of the opinion of ministers as to the stormy politics of the North, the providing of funds for the public debt, the trial of Lord Oxford, and a proposed act of indemnity. So far there was little, if anything, to displease the king; but at the next step Townshend floundered into the mire. Instead of pressing his majesty to return into England, he urged that, if his majesty chose to remain at Hanover, the Prince of Wales should be entrusted with a discretionary power during his absence, so as to be able to meet any unexpected difficulty or new combination of circumstances. Horace Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, was selected by Townshend to carry this remarkable dispatch to Hanover, and there to explain it fully to the king. It is pretty obvious that Walpole was also instructed by his brother and by Townshend to endeavour to remove unfavourable impressions from the royal mind, and to counteract, in particular, the very inimical influences of Sunderland. But for this kind of duty Horace Walpole, who was frank, open, and somewhat over-choleric, was ill suited. When he reached the hunting seat of

Coxe.—Lord Mahon.

Gohre he found the king, who, we believe, had never intended otherwise, fully determined to return to England and to open the session of parliament in person; and upon this the unsuspicious envoy thought it quite unnecessary to go into that part of the dispatch which treated of the Prince of Wales, as it was only intended to provide for a contingency which no longer existed. Thus the subject was left to rankle in the mind of George uncorrected by any explanation: and the dispatch indeed became the death-warrant of Lord Townshend's administration. Matters were made worse by exaggerated intelligence received from England, which represented the prince as courting popularity by extraordinary means, and as uniting himself with Hampden and other extreme Whigs; and which spoke of extensive intrigues headed by the Duke of Argyll, and having for their obvious object the placing of the son above the father even in his lifetime. Horace Walpole was allowed to return to London with dispatches and explanations, which seemed satisfactory even to his far more acute brother and to the prime minister; but before he had got to St. James's the king had declared, in a great passion, to Stanhope, at Hanover, that he would most assuredly dismiss Lord Townshend from his service. Stanhope took to himself the credit of softening the king's resentment, and inducing him to give his consent that Townshend should be offered the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland as a sweetener; and he insists that to have attempted to do more for Townshend would have rendered "the continuance of a Whig administration with any ease to the king" an impossibility. We believe that there was little or no exaggeration in Stanhope's account of the exceeding uneasiness the king had been in of late.* But, on the other side of the water, the behaviour of the Prince of Wales had created almost equal inquietude; and Robert Walpole had been obliged to declare two or three months before this, that his royal highness was actually conducting himself in a manner to irritate his father and greatly embarrass ministers. "By some things that daily drop from him," says Walpole, "he seems to be preparing to keep up an interest of his own in parliament, independent of the king's." Stanhope saw a thousand reasons for which Lord Townshend ought to accept the lieutenancy of Ireland; and he told Walpole, that, if Townshend did what he ought to do, the cabinet council would remain just as it was, with the addition of the Duke of Kingston as privy seal. "But," continued Stanhope, "if my Lord Townshend shall decline Ireland, and if—which by some has been suggested, but which I cannot think possible—he should prevail upon you to offer to quit your employments, the king, in this case, hath engaged my Lord Sunderland and myself to promise that his lordship will be secretary, and that I, unable and unequal as I am every way, should be chancellor of the exchequer for this session; the king declaring that, as long as he can find Whigs that will serve him, he will be served by them; which good disposition his majesty shall not have reason to alter by any backwardness in me to expose myself to any trouble or hazard. You know as much of our plan now as I do, and are, I dare say, fully satisfied that I think *it* highly concerns me that you should stay where you are. I am very sorry that my Lord Townshend's temper hath made it impracticable for him to continue secretary."* Townshend was at the time exceedingly popular in England, being esteemed as essentially an *English* minister, above all foreign influences, and patriotic, blunt, and thoroughly honest. To resign he was obliged; but the acceptance or non-acceptance of the lord-lieutenancy was a matter of free choice, and he indignantly rejected it. "My private affairs," said he, "would not permit me to remove to Ireland, any more than common honesty would allow me to put the profits of that employment in my pocket, without going over to do the duties of it."† To Stanhope, who had seen the thousand reasons why he should accept the Irish place, he wrote a bitter letter; and to Sunderland he wrote another. This violent lord had provoked him by a letter addressed to Lord Oxford, in which he directly accused Townshend, Robert Walpole, and the Lord Chancellor Cowper, of secret engagements with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Argyll. Townshend called this an infamous accusation, proceeding from the villany and infatuation of Lord Sunderland. Robert Walpole and his brother were at first equally indignant: they wrote to Stanhope, reproaching him with his "sudden changes to old sworn friends;" and declaring it to be their opinion that it had never been expected at Hanover that Townshend would, nor desired that he should, accept the lord-lieutenancy. Stanhope, who was not on the losing side, kept his temper, re-assured the Walpoles, and prevailed upon them still to persuade Townshend to accept the lieutenancy, which would be kept open for him till the king's return. In the mean time George had left Hanover for England, and arrived at the Hague. Here he was detained several days by important business with the States-General, who feared, and who had reason to fear, the effect of any serious division in the Whig cabinet—for through such a gap the Tories might get back to office, and then the whole scheme of foreign policy so recently laid down would be inevitably deranged.

* In this letter to Robert Walpole, Stanhope says—"I must own I think he has reason to be uneasy, even though I don't pretend to know so much of the matter as the king does, his majesty receiving many advices which come neither through my hands nor my Lord Sunderland's. But I cannot help observing to you, that he is jealous of certain intimacies with the two brothers (Argyll and Isla). I hope his majesty's presence in England, and the behaviour of our friends in the cabinet, will remove these jealousies."

* He says further—"The king will not bear him in that office, be the consequence what it will. This being the case, I hope and desire that you will endeavour to reconcile him to Ireland, which I once thought he did not dislike, and which, I think, he cannot now refuse, without declaring to the world that he will serve upon no other terms than being viceroy over *father*, son, and these three kingdoms. Is the Whig interest to be staked in defence of *such a pretension*? or, is the difference to the Whig party, whether Lord Townshend be secretary or lord-lieutenant of Ireland, *tanti*?"

† Letter to Slingeland.

Some of the ablest and best of the Dutch ministers were the personal friends of Townshend; and, while they endeavoured to soften the animosities of the king, they laboured to remove the obstinacy of the minister, and entreated his lordship not to decline the offer of the lord-lieutenancy, and so close the avenue to his returning favour: if even he were indifferent as a courtier, he ought, they said, as a patriot, to sacrifice his resentment to the necessity of union and to the public good. Nearly a month before the king's arrival at the Hague, the treaty with the French regent had been signed for England and France; and a few days after George's departure thence for London, it was finally signed for Holland, and then became "THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE."*

George reached London by the end of December, and, as his first passion had abated, he received Townshend very graciously, and even confessed to him that he had been over-hasty. He afterwards represented to the fallen minister, through the medium of Bernsdorf, that, though he had perhaps proceeded too hastily, and though he could not with due regard to his own dignity and consistency immediately restore Townshend, he was ready and willing to give him every other possible satisfaction: and, in the end, Townshend condescended to accept the lord-lieutenancy, and to pocket its profits without going over to perform its duties. He was continued a member of the cabinet; and his conduct was not merely excused, but applauded by his party and friends as the only course that could prevent a fatal schism among the Whigs. Thus the Walpoles, the Pulteneys, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Orford, and the rest of the men in place continued as they were; the only change being the appointment of Methuen to be one of the principal secretaries of state. But from this moment Sunderland was suspected to be the secret mover of the royal counsels. Owing to these difficult negotiations, and to discoveries made of alarming plots and the correspondence of the Jacobites with Charles XII., the meeting of parliament, which had been fixed for the king's return, was put off for many weeks.

A. D. 1717.—At last parliament met, on the 20th day of February, when the king informed the two Houses of the happy conclusion of the Triple Alliance; and of the actual danger the nation had been in of an invasion from Sweden, and of a conspiracy at home, which, however, had been discovered in time and prevented. And in a day or two copies of letters and papers which went to prove the madness of the Jacobites and the audacity of the Swedes were laid before the Houses. The principal manager of this strange intrigue was Baron Gortz, a clever but desperate adventurer from Franconia, who had become Charles's principal adviser and most trusted minister. This Gortz was a notorious coward, but he was shrewd and quick, and was, according to Voltaire, equally ready with gifts, promises, oaths, and lies.* He put himself in direct communication with the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond, and carried on a secret correspondence both with London and Paris. As he became better acquainted with the state of England and France, and with the views of the Czar Peter, Gortz enlarged his scheme, and proposed nothing less than a lasting peace and a close alliance between Charles and Peter, the overthrow of the regent in France by means of a conspiracy, and the overthrow of George I. by an insurrection in England and an invasion of Scotland by the hero of Narva in person. Charles, indeed, was a different sort of soldier from the Pretender; but there were other circumstances in his favour besides his generalship and indomitable courage—he was a *Protestant;* and many men who had turned from the Pretender, because he had hitherto depended solely upon Catholic princes, would, it was calculated, rush to his standard if it was raised and defended by the Lutheran Swede. As Sweden was a very poor country—as Charles was actually cutting up his soldiers' boots to coin into mock money—Gortz was obliged to ask for cash to carry on the mighty scheme; and the little court at Avignon, poor as it was, offered 60,000*l.*, while the prime minister of Spain, Alberoni, actually sent to Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris, a million of French livres as a subsidy. The Jacobites were wonderfully elated. "The people who belong to St. Germain and Avignon," writes the now un-Jacobitised Bolingbroke, "were never more sanguine in appearance." Perhaps, as usual, it was these extravagant and injudicious plotters that first let out the secret. Be this as it may, hints were dropped in London; and in the preceding month of October, some letters from Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at St. James's, to the main plotter, Gortz, at the Hague, were stopped and deciphered by the English government, which therefore, in all probability, had been previously furnished with a key to the cipher used. Among other things in this intercepted correspondence were the following broad opinions and suggestions of Count Gyllenborg, who was, of course, mainly incited and excited, like his master, by George's bargain with Denmark for Verden and Bremen:—"There is no medium. Either Bremen or the Hanoverian must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient. The malcontents require but a body of regular forces, to which they may join themselves. That body being transported in the month of March, when the easterly winds reign, and when it will not in the least be dreamt of, will cause a general revolt." In a later letter

* The Triple Alliance was signed by the Dutch on the 4th of January, 1717. It had been signed by the English and French on the 28th of November, 1716.

* Histoire de Charles XII. Voltaire knew Gortz personally and well. Indeed, at one time, when Gortz was residing at the Hague, and corresponding with London, he wished to engage the witty Frenchman as a secretary and travelling companion.

the ambassador thought that, if Sweden would submit to George, and settle the preliminary concerning Bremen, Charles might come to an agreement in relation to what George ought to help him to take from the czar. "But," added Gyllenborg, "if we do not submit, your excellency may be assured, that, as well to justify their past actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary parliament which they have at present to take vigorous resolutions, and perhaps even to declare war against us. The English ministers do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious persons. Sunderland, who is in a manner at the head of affairs, has got all the interest he has with the king of England by consenting to what has been done against us. . . . . Your excellency, therefore, will find we ought to make use of this opportunity to enter into measures against people who certainly will not do anything by halves. We must either ruin them, or be undone ourselves. My friends are now in town: an express which came to them yesterday from the Pretender will put them in better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it." This was pretty plain, but an intercepted letter from Gortz was still plainer. After stating that even before his departure from Sweden he had strongly recommended the expedition into Scotland, Gortz went on to say—"There is, therefore, now no other question but of the means to satisfy our just desire of revenge. For several months past we have had some preliminary negotiation upon these matters with the court of Avignon. And which way can the King of Sweden better secure to himself the recovery and possession of the duchy of Bremen, than by reducing King George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire?" All this was detected before George's return, and other information was obtained after his arrival. Stanhope on the 29th of January had laid most ample information before the privy council, and proposed the decisive but perfectly justifiable step of arresting Gyllenborg and seizing his papers. Some members of the cabinet were startled; but, as it was clear that the Swede had lost his character of ambassador in that of a conspirator with the subjects of the prince to whom he was accredited, it was presently resolved to follow Stanhope's advice, and Gyllenborg was arrested on the same day. General Wade, who was charged with this commission, found the count making up some dispatches: he told him he was his prisoner, seized the papers that were on the table, and demanded the keys of his escrutoire. Gyllenborg stormed and swore about this violation of the laws of nations, and then begged to be permitted to send for and consult with Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador. Wade, a staunch old soldier, accustomed to execute his orders to the letter, told the Swede that he should speak with nobody, and again demanded his keys. Gyllenborg refused the keys, and his wife coming in assured the general that the escrutoire contained nothing but her plate and linen. Wade then caused the doors to be burst open; and he found in it a great heap of papers. These he sealed up and carried away with him, leaving a guard upon the count, who was thus constituted a prisoner in his own house. In the course of the same day Mr. Cæsar, "a creature of Lord Oxford's,"* and a member of parliament for Hertford, was arrested, as was also Sir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, and who was equally suspected by government. A circular was forthwith addressed to the *corps diplomatique* in London; and not one of the foreign ambassadors made any complaint at the summary arrest of Gyllenborg, except Monteleone, whose court, as we have seen, had gone deeply into the conspiracy, and given money to promote its execution. Stanhope fully justified his proceeding by publishing immediately Gyllenborg's correspondence. Gortz, meanwhile, anxious to put his own masterly hand to the finale, had quitted the Hague, and had reached Calais on his way into England. But there he was *informed* of what had befallen Gyllenborg, and he instantly turned back into Holland, where, at the instance of the English government, he and his secretaries were arrested by an order from the States, who were themselves too deeply concerned to pay any very critical attention to the rights of ambassadors and the law of nations. Intelligence of these rapid events was soon conveyed to the Swedish king, who neither owned nor disowned the proceedings of Gortz and Gyllenborg. As a retaliation, he ordered the arrest of Mr. Jackson, the British resident at his court, and forbade the Dutch resident his presence.

When this business was laid before parliament, the Commons most vehemently expressed their indignation; and one member even proposed that war against Sweden should be declared without waiting for explanations or permitting delays. Stanhope, however, recommended the more prudent course. Yet, under every view of the case, it seemed essential to resent the insult offered and to provide against the danger threatened. In the month of April Stanhope delivered a royal message, informing the Commons of the danger which still impended over the nation from the designs of Sweden, and demanding an extraordinary supply to enable his majesty to make good such engagements as it might be necessary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert the storm. The debate that arose instantly proved that the seeming reconciliation between the Townshends and Walpoles and the Stanhopes and Sunderlands was hollow and unreal: Robert Walpole spoke coldly in favour of the motion; and all his and Townshend's friends and adherents voted against the supply (fixed at 250,000*l.*), which in

* This description of Cæsar is given in one of his letters by Lord Townshend, who further notices the very *significant fact* that Count Gyllenborg had been passing most of the preceding summer with Mr. Cæsar in Hertfordshire.

consequence was only carried by a majority of *four*. Neither the king nor Stanhope could for a moment separate Townshend and Walpole from their party in the House; and on that very evening Stanhope announced to Townshend that he was no longer lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Robert Walpole did not wait to be thus humiliated—though, perhaps, it may be doubted whether his services were not deemed indispensable, and whether Stanhope, at least, would not have been glad to retain him at any price:—at a very early hour on the next morning he waited on the king and resigned his places of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Methuen and Pulteney also resigned in the course of the same morning; but Lord Orford and the Duke of Devonshire clung to office two or three days longer, and the Lord Chancellor Cowper and the Duke of Kingston did not resign at all. Secretary Stanhope, who was departing farther and farther from his original profession of a soldier, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Sunderland and Joseph Addison became secretaries of state, the Earl of Berkeley first lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain, and the Duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This new cabinet was presently christened a *German* ministry, and Robert Walpole, who, more than Townshend, had been the head of the displaced administration, became terrible in opposition, and little less than a Jacobite. On the day of his resignation Walpole brought into the House a financial scheme, upon which he had been deeply engaged as chancellor of the exchequer, saying "that he now presented that bill as a country gentleman; but hoped that it would not fare the worse for having two fathers, and that his successor (Stanhope) would take care to bring it to perfection." Stanhope testified a proper inclination to carry out the scheme, which was, in fact, a sort of germ of the Sinking Fund; but Stanhope was no financier, and when a dispute arose he fell into a perplexity, and then into a passion. "He ingenuously owned his incapacity for the affairs of the treasury, which were so remote from his studies and inclination, that he would fain have kept the employment he had before, which was both more easy and profitable to him, but that he thought it his duty to obey the king's commands; that, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honesty, and disinterestedness, what he wanted in abilities and experience; that he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; . . . . that he had no brothers nor other relations to provide for; and that, on his first entering into the Treasury he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places." All these insinuations were levelled at Robert Walpole, who replied with equal anger. He complained of breaches of friendship, of political treachery, and betraying of private confidence in conversation. As the facts were too notorious to be denied, he owned that while he was in place he had endeavoured to serve his friends and his relations, but this he said was nothing but what was reasonable and just. "As to the granting reversions of places," continued Walpole, "I am willing to acquaint this House with the meaning of the charge. I have no objections to the German ministers whom the king brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as I have observed, have behaved themselves like men of honour; but there is a mean fellow, of what nation I know not, who is eager to dispose of employments. This man (he meant Robethon), having obtained the grant of a reversion, which he designed for *his son*, I thought it too good for him, and therefore I reserved it for *my own son*. On this disappointment the foreigner was so impertinent as to demand 2500*l*., under pretence that he had been offered that sum for the reversion. But I was wiser than to comply with his demands, and one of the chief reasons that made me resign was, because I would not connive at some things that were carrying on." Stanhope replied with more passion than ever, and Walpole rejoined. The dispute would have ended in a duel if it had not been for the interference of the House. From this time the parties of Walpole and Stanhope were as violent against each other as the Whigs and Tories; but many even of his personal adherents thought that Walpole had gone too far in letting out the money secrets and jobbings of the court.

The new administration, anxious to secure popularity, recommended a reduction of the army, and an act of grace to extend to many persons concerned in the late insurrections in Scotland and the north of England. It was not intended that this act of grace should cover the ex-premier Lord Oxford, who had been now lying nearly two years in the Tower without any progress being made in his trial. Through the recent changes he felt himself perfectly safe from attainder and the block, and he petitioned for dispatch. The Lords fixed the 24th of June for the trial, intimating to the Commons that they must by that day make good their charges. But the leaders of the secret committee, who had drawn up the accusation while in office, were by no means anxious to press it now that they were out of office: *then*, the salvation of the nation depended upon the condign punishment of the minister, but *now*, the nation could be saved without it. Robert Walpole, who had formerly been so hot, was now perfectly cool, and, as he almost always absented himself from the committee, it became necessary to appoint another chairman. His object, and that of Lord Townshend, was, to thwart and embarrass the new administration; and for this end they both came to a secret understanding with the Jacobite Chancellor Harcourt, the bosom friend of Oxford, and with the Tories. On the 24th of June the peers, with the king and the rest of the royal family and the members of the *corps diplomatique* as spectators, assembled in Westminster Hall, which was properly prepared

for the trial, and crowded by other persons anxious to witness the scene. Oxford was brought from the Tower, and stood bare-headed at the bar, with the executioner and the axe at his side—an old formality in cases of treason. The Commons assembled as a committee of the whole House; and, after the articles of impeachment had been read, together with Oxford's answers to them, and the replication of the Commons, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up to make good the first article. But here Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a special motion to make, which could only be done in their own house. The peers adjourned accordingly to their own house, where the ex-Jacobite chancellor represented that to go through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to very little purpose; for if the Commons could make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas to proceed in the method the Commons proposed would draw the trial into a prodigious length. And Harcourt also observed "that a peer, on his trial on articles for misdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor sequestered from parliament, and is entitled to the privilege of sitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial; in all which particulars the known rule in such cases may be evaded should a peer be brought to his trial on several articles of misdemeanors and of high treason mixed together, and the Commons he admitted to make good the former before judgment be given on the latter." As the end and consequence of this reasoning, Harcourt moved that the lords should receive no evidence on the charges of misdemeanor, until after the charges of high treason had been heard and determined. Sunderland, Cadogan, Coningsby, and other peers engaged in, or friendly to, the new administration, vehemently opposed the motion, from the conviction that if it were carried Oxford would be let off unscathed. But it was carried nevertheless by a majority of 88 to 56—the Walpole or Townshend Whigs voting with the Tories. As Townshend himself had confessed nearly a year before, there was not evidence sufficient to convict Oxford of high treason. But it was easier to turn the House of Lords than the House of Commons, who resented the resolution, declared it to be an infringement of their privileges, and refused to comply with it. Hence there arose a new war of privileges—the Lords insisting that they had the privilege to make any such alteration in a state trial, and the Commons insisting that it belonged to them to conduct their impeachments in their own way. The Lords at length declared that they would admit of no further conferences or delays, and they appointed the 1st of July for the trial. The Commons resolved not to proceed with the prosecution on those terms; and on the appointed day no prosecutors appeared in Westminster Hall. The lords sat silent, and as if in expectation, for about a quarter of an hour. They then returned to their own House, where a motion was made and carried, that, as no charge had been maintained against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, he should be acquitted;—and the ex-prime minister, after his long detention, stepped forth a free man, to the infinite mortification of Marlborough and his vindictive duchess, who had certainly desired exile and confiscation, if not blood.* The people, who at the beginning of the impeachment would probably have seen the plotting minister executed with much pleasure, now hailed his liberation with loud acclamations; but the king, by the lord chamberlain, forbade Oxford the court. Did George know or suspect the fact, which has been since proved, that Oxford during his detention in the Tower had written to the Pretender, promising his services, and giving him his advice as to the best means of managing his affairs?†

By the act of grace and free pardon, which was passed at the end of the present session, the Earl of Carnwath and Lords Widdrington and Nairn were released from the Tower; seventeen gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and twenty-six in Carlisle Castle, were set free; and many other prisoners were discharged from the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other places of custody. At Chester about two hundred prisoners, consisting mostly of Catholic gentlemen taken at Preston, were liberated; and in Scotland the prison doors were generally thrown open to the captive Jacobites. Matthew Prior, Thomas Harley, and a few others, were excepted out of the act of grace; and, as the clan of Rob Roy had made itself very conspicuous, there was a wholsesale and barbarous exception against "all and every person of the name and clan of Macgregor." Even to those who were pardoned the sting was not taken out of the act of attainder, and their estates remained forfeited to the crown. A courtly pamphleteer, however, declared that the clemency of King George was not only great, but even extended farther than that of God himself!‡ At the close of the session Stanhope was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Stanhope. By this ill-timed promotion the affairs of the new administration in the Commons were left in the somewhat incompetent hands of Cragg, Aislabie, and Addison, who had little or no power to do anything themselves, and who were frequently left ignorant as to what their principals wished to have done. This childish impatience for the peerage had contributed already more than once to weaken and destroy an administration.

Charles XII. of Sweden, was still silent as to the Jacobite scheme and the plotting and conspiring of his ministers, but his neighbours found him too much employment to permit the carrying

* "My Lady Marlborough," says Erasmus Lewis, in a letter to Swift, "is almost distracted that she could not obtain her revenge."

† Sir James Mackintosh discovered among the Stuart Papers, deposited at Carlton House, a letter to this effect, dated September, 1716, when Oxford was in the Tower, and when the Pretender was preparing his miserable expedition.

‡ Tindal.

his arms into Scotland; and he became anxious for a temporary reconciliation. The French regent stepped forward as a common friend, and by virtue of his mediation the English court was assured that Charles had never any intention to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain; Count Gyllenborg was liberated on one side, and Mr. Jackson on the other, and Gortz was set at liberty in Holland. But new rumours of wars with Spain soon agitated the public mind. The court of Madrid had behaved to George in a deceitful and irritating manner, making him in public solemn declarations that they would give no assistance to his enemies, and in private sending money to the Pretender. Upon the failure of the insurrection in Scotland, Alberoni, the prime minister, had discredited Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador at London, and had made new professions of a sincere and lasting friendship, declaring that, next to God, the king his master looked up to King George. But it was the most earnest wish of Philip, or rather, perhaps, of his wife and prime minister, to weaken or overthrow the Duke of Orleans's regency, and to raise up barriers to his succession to the throne in case the young Louis XV. should die; and Spanish gold and Spanish intrigue were mixed up with every plot or conspiracy against the regent, whom George had bound himself to defend. At the same time the court of Madrid was furious against the court of Vienna, as the emperor, instead of acknowledging Philip, still retained for himself the title of King of Spain, and added that of Prince of Asturias to the many titles of his infant son. But what was a greater provocation still was the circumstance of the emperor's holding by the peace of Utrecht all the fair dominions in Italy which had formerly belonged to Spain. As soon as Philip had got quiet possession of the Spainish peninsula—an event which must have repeatedly appeared hopeless to him—he began to cast a longing eye towards the Italian peninsula. The national pride of the Spaniards, and the interests of many of them, encouraged the Bourbon; and it soon became a principle or an article of political faith at Madrid, that Spain would remain a dishonoured country until she had recovered Naples, Milan, everything in Italy, and everything elsewhere, which had been separated from her by the treaty of Utrecht. Thus the treaty between England and the empire which guaranteed the Italian provinces, and the recent Triple Alliance, which provided for a *statu quo*, and the protection of France and the regent, were both singularly distasteful to the Spanish court. Alberoni tried his hand alternately with George and the emperor, hoping to interrupt the good understanding between them. When the English court was found obstinate he suspended the execution of the commercial treaty, and permitted various vexations to be practised upon English merchants trading with Spain; and, when the emperor rejected all overtures for a compromise, he insulted and almost struck his ambassadors. A war, at least between Spain and the House of Austria, was inevitable; but Alberoni wanted time to repair the finances of the country, and would have abstained from hostilities for some three or four years longer. A summary and very unjustifiable proceeding on the part of the emperor hurried on the war. Don Jose Molinas, a mighty great priest—there is no turning a page of the history of Spain without finding these ecclesiastics uppermost—was appointed Grand Inquisitor in the place of the Cardinal del Giudice; and, being at the time at Rome as Spanish ambassador to the pope, and not liking a sea voyage, it was necessary for him to pass through a part of the emperor's Milanese territory. Before setting out on his journey he asked and obtained a safe conduct from the papal court; and it is said that the emperor's ambassador promised that he should not be molested. Yet when Don Jose got upon Austrian ground he was arrested, and carried a close prisoner to the castle of Milan, his papers being seized and transmitted to Vienna, with the expectation that they might contain many useful lights as to the designs of the Spaniards. In a paroxysm of rage, and overlooking his weakness, Philip, in defiance of the prudent advice of Alberoni, resolved upon an instant war. The Duke of Popoli, whose family had held vast estates in that part of Italy, recommended the king to begin with the invasion of Naples. Alberoni, in a powerfully written memorial, showed the uncertainty of the enterprise and the exceeding great danger of provoking the great maritime powers; but, finding his arguments of no avail, he pressed the requisite preparations for war with his usual zeal and ability.* At the same time, Italian and priest though he was, he solemnly assured the pope that the warlike preparations of Spain were not directed against the emperor but against the infidels and pirates of the African coast; and the pope chose this moment for conferring the cardinal's hat on Alberoni. In the beginning of August twelve ships-of-war and nine thousand men, commanded by the Marquess of Lede, sailed from Barcelona—an insignificant force, but which would have been sufficient to take, though certainly not to keep, the Neapolitan capital. But the scheme had been changed, and, instead of making for Naples, the Marquess stopped short at Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, which island had been left to the emperor. The Spaniards wasted twenty-six days in idleness, waiting for the arrival of some of their ships and troops which had been left behind or driven from their course by contrary winds;† and then they summoned the Austrian governor of Cagliari to surrender. But that officer had made good use of the time which the Spaniards had lost, and, having re-inforced his garrison with a body of Spanish refugees and Catalonians, he returned a defiance. Lede then landed six thousand foot and six hundred horse, surrounded Cagliari, and forced or otherwise induced the

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

† The fault, however, had been committed in the beginning of sending off the expedition at different times in two separate divisions.

neighbouring villages to declare for Philip and their old masters the Spaniards. The imperial governor held out as long as he could, and then escaped into the mountains to prolong the struggle; and it was not till the month of November, and after a severe loss, occasioned by the ambuscades of the natives and by malaria fevers, that the Spaniards achieved the conquest of the whole island. Then the Marquess of Lede left about five thousand men in Sardinia, and with the remainder, exhausted by fatigue and sickness, returned to Barcelona. Philip caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Madrid, and Alberoni drew up manifestos and circulars to excuse this attack in time of peace, for no declaration of war had been made. On the other side the emperor called upon the members of the Triple Alliance to fulfil their engagements, and protect him against such aggression; and he called upon the pope to justify himself against the suspicion of having connived with Spain. Viscount Stanhope dispatched his relative, Mr. Stanhope, to Madrid to attempt to prevent a war by arranging articles of accommodation between Philip and the emperor. Alberoni fell upon the imperfect arrangements of the wretched peace of Utrecht, which by this time had become a bye-word of contempt throughout Europe. "You made war," said the able and eloquent Italian, "to establish the balance of power, and you concluded a peace without any balance whatever. . . . . The king my master has no repugnance to propositions of peace; but those propositions must be such as to re-establish in some measure the ancient balance, and not leave the emperor in a situation to make himself master of all Italy whenever he pleases." The cardinal, of course, was well read in Machiavelli. When Mr. Stanhope and his colleague, Bubb Doddington, represented the obligations which England had contracted, he said, "With regard to the engagements which the Allies have taken, it is a well-known principle that princes and states are not bound to observe a treaty contrary to their interest. This principle is acknowledged by all religions, whether Catholic or Protestant. You have always acted thus. For instance, did you not acknowledge Philip as king of Spain? Yet soon afterwards, finding it to be your interest, did you not endeavour to dethrone him and place another in his room? Nor do I blame you for pursuing your interest as a nation." Mr. Stanhope, however, continued to represent that the present policy of the British court was wholly disinterested, and that George had no other object in view than the preservation of the peace of Europe. At first he was badly seconded by the Dutch minister at Madrid, while the French diplomatists seemed almost to oppose him. Lord Stair thus describes the instructions given by the regent to M. de Nancré, at Madrid: "They are certainly drawn in the most guarded and cautious terms that I have ever seen. No man could touch fire with more unwillingness and circumspection than these instructions touch every point that could give the slightest chagrin to Spain. M. de Nancré is to say nothing savouring of threat. . . . . Nor has he any orders to insist upon a declaration that the Spaniards will not, in the mean while, undertake an invasion of Italy. Yet, in my opinion, there is no way to avoid a war so sure as seeming not to be afraid of it."* At length, however, both France and Holland adopted a more decisive tone, and absolutely refused to leave to Spain her recent conquest of Sardinia. The pope, who was overawed by the Austrians, that were now by far the most powerful in Italy, and that at any time, on a few days' notice, could surround him in Rome, directed a terrible brief against Philip, threatening him with the vengeance of Heaven, and assuring him that not merely his worldly reputation but his very soul was at stake. But the thunder of the Vatican was disregarded, and Alberoni, though a cardinal, cared not for a suspension of the indulto. The cardinal was, however, obliged to dissemble, and to consent to open a negotiation. He hoped and trusted that, as usual, the different interests of the allies would create difficulties and delays, and he determined to make the most strenuous exertions to prepare for a war during these deliberations for a peace. He entertained a contempt for partition treaties and their framers. "There are certain men," said he, "who would cut and pare states and kingdoms, as though they were so many Dutch cheeses." Spain, that had been so long sinking into a lethargy and a slough of despond, was electrified and awakened by the rare energy of this Italian priest. Ships of war were built, cannons were cast, arms forged, sailors and soldiers engaged in all quarters; and all this, as Alberoni afterwards boasted, was done without levying any new tax upon the nation, but by enforcing economy, selling some court offices, and mortgaging some of the revenues. At this critical moment King Philip was dangerously ill, a prey to hypochondria, almost to the same extent as his wretched predecessor on that throne. His queen —who had far more of the man in her character than he had—and the cardinal, kept the entire management of affairs in their hands, and let none but their own creatures approach the royal invalid. Las Torres, Aguilar, and other Spaniards of rank, had the boldness to propose that the hypochondriac Philip should be set aside as incapable, and his young son, the Prince of Asturias, raised to the throne. "Either," they said, "our king is no longer capable of transacting the business of state, or he is under the control of Cardinal Alberoni and the Italians." The Duke of Escalona, the lord chamberlain, insisted upon his right of office to see the medicines administered to the sovereign in his presence; but he was told, by order of Alberoni, that he must not intrude on the king's privacy. Escalona, a proud old grandee, expressed his contempt of the cardinal, and his determination to do the duties of his office as regulated by the rigid etiquette of the Spanish court. Then Alberoni, as if acting under the commands of the queen,

* Letter to Stanhope, dated Paris, March 6, 1718.

told the duke that he could not be admitted at all. But one afternoon the old grandee presented himself, and demanded an entrance into the sick chamber of the king; and, as the page in waiting would not open the door, he burst it open in his face, and, being crippled with the gout, he moved slowly across the apartment towards the bed, by the side of which the queen was sitting, with the cardinal standing by her side, and a few attendants at a greater distance. The curtains of the bed were closely drawn, so that Escalona could not see the suffering king. Alberoni sent one of the attendants to command him to retire; but that grandee continued to advance, halt and hobbling, and leaning upon his cane, so that the cardinal himself stepped forward and told him the king wished to be alone. "That is not true," exclaimed the grandee; "I am not blind, though lame. You did not approach the head of the bed, nor did his majesty speak to you." Alberoni repeated that he must retire, and laid his hand upon his sleeve. This insult transported the old Spaniard almost out of his senses, and, after reproaching the insolent Italian in terrible language, he either struck him, or threatened so to do. A struggle ensued between the prince of the church and the grandee, who appear to have cuffed each other till the grandee, the older and weaker of the two, sunk into a chair: but Escalona, from his seat, struck the cardinal on the head and shoulders with his cane, calling him a contemptible varlet, deserving nothing but a drubbing, and declaring that, if not restrained by the respect due to the royal presence, he would kick him out of the room. It appears that the king slumbered on, or at least took no notice; and that the queen and her attendants witnessed the singular scene in silent and inactive astonishment. But almost as soon as the gouty grandee got back to his own house, he was ordered to prepare for a longer journey. As soon as this order for his banishment was known, Spaniards of all ranks hastened to him to pay their respects, as if to a champion of the national independence, or a true Spaniard who would clear the court and country of the Italians.* Alberoni and the queen continued as absolute as before; and the cardinal urged on his preparations for war, and extended his intrigues in all directions. He enticed the sovereign of Savoy by the most tempting offers; he encouraged the sultan to continue an unfortunate war in which he was actually engaged with the emperor; he corresponded with the emperor's disaffected subjects in Hungary and Transylvania, who were always numerous, and almost always ready to put their hands to the throat of the Austrian eagle; he took all the factious in France under his care; and he entered into the closest correspondence with the Pretender, who had at last been compelled to quit France altogether, and to fix his residence at Rome; he artfully encouraged the Jacobites in England and Scotland, and, by means of these disaffected Britons and foreign agents of his own, he sought to alarm the English people, and set them against any war with Spain, by which they must forfeit so valuable a portion of their trade. The adroit Italian even found work for the British press; and pamphlets, for which he paid, were published against the threatened war, against standing armies, against Hanoverian mistresses and ministers, and against every thing else that was most unpopular. Nor did he neglect the Dutch; he excited their old commercial jealousies of England, and he made himself acquainted with the different views and interests of the parties and factions in their country. And at the same time this extraordinary churchman, who cared little for any distinctions of churches or religions, communicated freely at one and the same time with Charles XII. of Sweden and with the Czar Peter, in the hope of uniting these rivals against Germany, and above all against the King of England, whose power he most feared.

In the mean time the unfortunate family dissensions in the House of Hanover continued on the increase; and on account of a ridiculous quarrel about the christening of a baby, the Prince or Wales, was at first put under arrest in his own apartment, and then ordered to quit St. James's. A French writer, who knew more of the history of courts than any one of his day, affirms broadly that George I. could never bear the prince, because he believed he was no son of his.* However this may be, the antipathy between the king and the prince was extreme. The latter, on his expulsion from court, fixed his residence at Leicester House, which, as a matter of course, became the constant resort of the disappointed and disaffected of all classes, and the centre of an increasing turmoil and intrigue. Walpole, who was the great champion of the opposition, and who did not very scrupulously direct its measures or limit its attacks, was a frequent guest with the prince. On the 21st of November, while the nation was reflecting upon the unnatural animosity between father and son, and upon the stormy aspect of affairs abroad, the parliament assembled. The king, in his speech, spoke of his successful endeavours to preserve tranquillity at home; but ministers thought themselves obliged to demand at least 18,000 men for the service of the ensuing year. Walpole, who knew as well as any one the dangers of insurrection and the chances of invasion, insisted that 18,000 men were far too many; that 12,000 would be enough, and more than enough; that we were in danger of a standing army, and that if we wished to remain a free country we could not too carefully keep down the numbers or the military force. The Walpole and Townshend Whigs and the Jacobites all adopted and carried out Walpole's arguments, taking frequent occasion to cast reflections upon the foreign character and un-English interests of the court. "These are things," said Shippen, "which seem calculated

* Memoires de St. Simon. St. Simon says that he got this curious anecdote from the Duke of Escalona himself.

* St. Simon.—Horace Walpole (Reminescences) gives an epigrammatic story of the royal quarrel.

rather for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; but it is the infelicity of his majesty's reign that he is unacquainted with our language and constitution; and it is therefore the more incumbent upon his British ministers to inform him that our government does not stand upon the same foundation with that which is established in his German dominions." At the end of this speech Mr. Lechmere rose, and affirmed that Mr. Shippen had used words that were a slanderous invective against his majesty's person and government, such as merited the highest resentment of that House; and he therefore moved that the orator should be committed to the Tower. This motion was immediately seconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and others; when Walpole stepped forward to attempt the rescue of the bold-speaking Jacobite, by desiring that he might be permitted to explain what might merely be rash words delivered in the heat of debate. But Shippen would not avail himself of this friendly screen, declaring that he would ask for no indulgence, and that his words needed neither explanation nor apology. The debate then rose to a storm, which ended in the commitment of Shippen to the Tower.

During the same session, Walpole, who had formerly been secretary-at-war, and who then had shown no averseness to a military code, vehemently and eloquently opposed the Mutiny Bill, declaring martial law to be a law unknown to our constitution, destructive of our liberties, and not endured by our ancestors; and moving that the offences of the soldiery should be cognisable and punishable by the civil magistrate, and not by courts-martial. In the heat of debate Walpole exclaimed, "He that is for blood shall have blood." "But," says his very *partial* biographer, "though he spoke thus strenuously against the bill, he voted for it, and secured a large majority. Being reproached for his apparent inconsistency, he justified himself by declaring, that, although in the debate he was of opinion that mutiny and desertion should be punished by the civil magistrate, yet he was convinced that those crimes should be punished by the martial law rather than escape with impunity."* It was decided in the Commons by a majority of 247 against 229, that courts-martial should have the power to punish mutiny and desertion with death. In the Upper House, the now liberated Oxford opposed the bill, and his old foe Lord Townshend also spoke against it; but ministers carried the measure by a majority of 91 against 77.

A.D. 1718.—The session of parliament closed on the 21st of March. A few days before the prorogation, the king, by message, informed the House of Commons "that he had reason to judge, from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be necessary;" and the Commons, by an address, assured his majesty "that the House would make good such exceedings as his majesty in his royal wisdom should deem necessary for the purpose of giving effect to his unwearied endeavours to preserve the peace of Europe."[25] Walpole observed that all this had very much the air of a declaration of war; yet the address was carried without a division.

During the session a fanatic, or insane youth, named James Shepherd, undertook to convey letters to *his majesty* in Italy, and then to smite the usurper George in his own palace. There was nothing done beyond writing a wild letter and talking nonsense; and there was scarcely a doubt that the youth was deranged: nevertheless, he was brought to trial, and was sentenced to be executed as a traitor. At the place of execution he was attended by one Orme, a nonjuring clergyman, who, imitating the conduct of Jeremy Collier, the nonjuring priest who had attended Parkins and Friend in King William's time, gave him public absolution. Orme was taken into custody; but he pretended that the church of England had in all its members the faculty and right to absolve penitent sinners; and he was let off with no other punishment than a brief imprisonment.

A large armament was prepared at Portsmouth; but negotiations were not interrupted. The better to attend to them, and to foreign affairs generally, Lord Stanhope, who had many personal friends in all the courts of Europe, had given up the treasury and the chancellorship of the exchequer to Sunderland and Aislabie. Joseph Addison, that exquisite writer, had long before proved himself to be no orator, and he had since shown, as joint secretary of state with Sunderland, that he was no man of business. He retired at this time upon a pension of 1500*l.* a-year, and he died about fifteen months after at Holland House. The loss of Addison was probably little felt by his party; but they mourned over the sudden and sullen resignation of the lord chancellor Cowper, which occurred this year. Parker, chief justice of the King's Bench, and afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, got the great seal. Shrewsbury, who had played so many parts, but who on the whole had done infinite good to the cause of the Revolution of 1688, and to the Whigs, died early in the year. Stanhope corresponded with the French regent and Dubois; with Prince Eugene and the emperor; and with all the leading statesmen at Vienna, Madrid, and the Hague. A man so proud as he, must have been irritated by the arrogant tone of Alberoni, who, in reply to his public dispatches and private letters, spoke as if he had raised Spain to her old pre-eminence, and rendered her capable of imposing her will upon the rest of Europe. The cardinal also spoke most disrespectfully of the English court and its intentions; and, though he was preparing new fleets and armies himself, he protested loudly against the armament preparing at Portsmouth. The Spanish armament, actually ready, was described by Spaniards as grander and more formidable than any that had ever been equipped by Spain, even in the days of the Emperor Charles V., Philip II., and the grand Armada. Twenty-nine

* Coxe.

enormous ships of the line and a host of transports had taken on board thirty-five thousand disciplined troops, one hundred pieces of heavy artillery, forty mortars, and a vast supply of ammunition and stores of all kinds. The command was given to Castañeta, who had been a ship-builder, and to General the Marquess Lede, who had taken Sardinia the preceding summer. The fleet was equipped at Cadiz, but whither it was to go seemed a mystery to all. It is said, indeed, that the Spaniards knew as little of its real destination as did the English; and that the cardinal intrusted his secrets and his schemes to no living soul except Patiño, an ex-Jesuit. The British government, however, was not unprepared, and on the 4th of June the armament at Portsmouth sailed for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, who had twenty-one sail of the line, and peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet wherever he should find it, if it were engaged in any hostile enterprise against Sicily or Naples, or any other territories belonging to the emperor in Italy. Byng on his arrival off Cadiz transmitted a copy of his instructions to Alberoni. The cardinal tore the paper, threw it on the ground in a paroxysm of rage, and returned for answer that Byng might execute the orders he had received, if he could. The English fleet entered the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed up the Mediterranean, and came to anchor in the bay of Naples, where Byng apparently expected to find the Spanish armament, or a part of it. There was, however, not a single Spaniard there; but the Austrian viceroy of Naples, who received him with exceeding joy,* had to inform Byng that they had landed in Sicily and were reducing Messina to extremity.

In the mean time the court of Vienna had gratified King George with sundry assurances as to Bremen and Verden; had proposed a closer union of interests; and the famous Quadruple Alliance had been concluded between the courts of Vienna, Paris, the Hague, and London. By this treaty, which was concluded in July, though not finally signed till August, it was agreed that mutual renunciations should be made; that the Infant Don Carlos should have the reversion of Parma and Tuscany; that the emperor should have the island of Sicily instead of Sardinia, which had been taken from him by the Spaniards; and that Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who actually held Sicily by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, should have the island of Sardinia, from which the Spaniards were to be expelled at all costs. As Sardinia, though more convenient for the Savoyard than Sicily, being situated nearer to his continental dominions, was inferior in size, and far inferior in wealth and population, to the island of which he was to be deprived, Victor Amadeus was to be compensated by the emperor's acknowledgment of the claims of the House of Savoy to the Spanish succession, in case of the failure of Philip's issue —for, upon paper, the emperor now waived his own claims. King Philip was to be allowed three months to accede, and the same indulgence was extended to the Savoyard; but if at the end of that time they rejected the quadruple alliance, then the emperor, France, England, and Holland, were to employ their whole force against them. Lord Stanhope went in person to Madrid, in the hope of subduing the stubbornness of Alberoni, by offering, if necessary, to yield the invaluable fortress of Gibraltar, which Stanhope, strange to say, considered as a place "of no great consequence."* But the Spanish armament had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders, before Stanhope arrived in Spain; and the cardinal, while his lordship was on his road to Madrid, received intelligence that the Marquess Lede had landed his army in the bay of Solanto, driven the Piedmontese viceroy before him, and made a triumphant entrance into Palermo the Sicilian capital. The cardinal, who was much elated by this intelligence, and who probably believed that the allies would not proceed to extremities if he limited his attack to Sicily, which did not as yet belong to the emperor, but to the Savoyard, who was and must be averse to the Quadruple Alliance, comported himself like another Ximenes or Richelieu. He threatened to drive Nancré, the French ambassador, from Madrid, at a quarter of an hour's notice. "If Stanhope," he said, "comes here thinking to lay down the law, he will find himself ill received. I *have sent him* a passport, as he requested, and I will hear the proposals he brings. But it will be impossible for me to give them the slightest attention unless they differ totally from his former project. . . . . The king, my master, will wage eternal war rather than submit to this infamous project; and he will wreak his vengeance upon those who presume to threaten him with it."† Stanhope was not the sort of ambassador that could be insulted with impunity; yet when he reached Madrid he found the little cardinal more resolute than ever, as the news from Sicily, where the Savoyard had hardly any troops, continued to be good. He, however, pretended that he entertained a wonderful respect and even a tender friendship for the spirited Englishman, and told him that it was his master Philip and not he that urged on this rupture—that Philip's implacable animosity against the French regent

* The arrival of Byng presented a magnificent spectacle. "The fleet sailing with a gentle gale into the Bay of Naples, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line of battle, most of them great ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the sea between the fleet at anchor and the shore was literally covered. . . . . The admiral, going ashore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats, was saluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and castles, and was carried to the Duke de Mantalone's palace, pleasantly situated by the sea-side, which had been prepared for his reception during his stay at Naples. From thence he was conducted to court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a viceroy."—*An Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, in the years* 1718, 19, *and* 20, *under the command of Sir George Byng, Bart., collected from the Admiral's MSS.*

* Hardwicke State Papers. † St. Simon.

and the emperor was the cause of all. Alberoni also declared that he wished for no conquests in Italy, but only to prevent the emperor from rendering Italy the slave of Germany; that for himself he was convinced the proper course for Spain to pursue was, to rest satisfied with her own continental territory and her colonies in the two Indies, and to attend to the improvement of her internal administration, instead of weakening herself, as in former times, by occupying or fighting for scattered territories in Europe. At parting with Stanhope he even affected to shed tears; but Stanhope's mission was nevertheless a complete failure; and it now remained for Byng's cannons to do what his lordship's rhetoric had not been able to accomplish.

The English admiral, by the advice of Count Daun, the imperial viceroy, sailed away from Naples; but, before he could reach Messina, that weakly defended city fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The strong citadel, however, held out; and it was resolved to make every possible effort to relieve the brave garrison in it. To this end, while Byng proceeded by sea, Daun sent an army of Austrians and Neapolitans through Calabria to encamp at Reggio, almost immediately opposite to Messina, and separated from it by the narrow strait.* On the 9th of August Byng entered the strait and came in sight of the city of Messina, whither he dispatched his own flag-captain with a message to the Spanish General Lede. Byng proposed a suspension of arms in Sicily for two months, in order that the powers of Europe, who were still negotiating (Stanhope, at the time, had not reached Madrid), might have time to concert measures for settling all differences and restoring a lasting peace; intimating at the same time that, if this humane proposal should be rejected, he must use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions which the king, his master, had undertaken to defend. The commander of the Spanish army answered that it would be an inexpressible joy to him personally to contribute to so laudable an end as peace, but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not agree to any suspension of arms, whatever proof the courage of his fleet and soldiers might be put to, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize all Sicily for his master the King of Spain. Byng then got his ships in fighting order. He had received intelligence that the Spanish fleet had sailed from the roadstead of Paradiso, close by Messina, the day before his arrival off the strait; and this made him conclude that they had retired to Malta to seek shelter under the tremendous batteries of the Knights of St. John. Byng therefore sailed right into the Straits of Messina, in order to encourage and support the besieged citadel; and, if practicable, to land 2000 German foot which he had brought with him from Naples; but as he turned the point of Faro, towards Messina, he saw before him, in mid-channel, two scouts of the Spanish fleet; and nearly at the same moment he was boarded by a felucca from the Calabrian shore, and informed that the Calabrians from the hills behind Scylla and Reggio saw the whole Spanish fleet lying by, at the other end of the strait, in the direction of Taormina. In an instant Byng altered his design, and, sending away General Wetzell with the German infantry to Reggio under the convoy of two men-of-war, he stood right through the strait with his whole fleet. The day was beautiful; the rapid current of that narrow sea passage, and the cool strong current of air which always accompanies it, were in his favour; and he glided through, between the high mountains of Calabria and Sicily, with all sails set and flags flying. On either shore—on the hills on either side—on every prominent point in that truly magical scene, Calabrians and Sicilians gathered in crowds, even as their ancestors had done five centuries before, when Richard Cœur de Lion first led the fleet of England through that channel. The two Spanish scouts fled before the English towards their own fleet; and before noon Byng had a fair sight of twenty-seven sail of the line, with fire-ships, bombs, ketches, and seven galleys, drawn up in line of battle, with store-ships and provision-ships between them and the shore. Castañeta, however, did not choose to keep his position; he slipped into the current, hoisted every sail, and "stood away large." Byng followed closely all the rest of that day; but when they got beyond the influence of the current of the strait their progress was slow; and the wind went down in a dead summer calm, which allowed the Spaniards to make use of their seven galleys and a host of row-boats in towing. The calm lasted during the whole night, but in the morning the regular and unfailing *vento da terra* sprung up, and carried Byng down to Cape Passaro, near to which he found the Spanish rear-admiral, De Mari, with six ships of the line and all the galleys, fire-ships, bombs, and store-ships, separated from the main body, and standing in for the Sicilian shore. Byng instantly detached Captain Walton of the Canterbury, with five more ships, to look after De Mari, while he himself, with the rest of the English fleet, stood after Castañeta, who was farther to sea, in the broad channel between Cape Passaro and Malta. Captain Falkingham in the Orford, 70-gun ship, and Captain Nicholas Haddock in the Grafton, another 70, came up first with Castañeta's main body at about ten o'clock in the morning. The Spaniards began the fire with their stern-chase guns; but Falkingham soon came to closer shots, and attacked and took the Santa Rosa of 64 guns. Captain Matthews, in the Kent, with less than a broadside, made the San Carlos strike; and the Prince of Asturias, a large 74, was crippled by Captain Haddock, who left her to be taken by the Breda, and stretched a-head after another Spaniard, which had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. At about one o'clock Captain

* Pietro Colletta, Storia del Reame di Napoli.

Matthews, in the Kent, came up with and engaged St. Philip the Royal, the admiral's ship: two heavy Spaniards rallied on their admiral's quarter, and fired into the Kent: Captain Masters, in the Superb, a 60-gun ship, bore up to the rescue of the Kent: upon this, Castañeta's ship and the two Spaniards that had stood by him hauled off, and made a running fight until about three o'clock in the afternoon. But then the Kent bore right in, crossed under Castañeta's stern, gave him a broadside, and fell to leeward; and the Superb, a minute or two after, making to lay the Spanish admiral aboard, fell upon his weather-quarter. Castañeta shifted his helm; but, the Kent ranging up under his lee-quarter, he thought himself obliged to strike, and lowered his flag accordingly. In the mean time the English admiral, in the Barfleur, had engaged the Spanish rear-admiral, Guevara, who, after giving him a broadside, clapped upon a wind, and stood in for land, with Byng after him. The English admiral thus got away from the main body of his own fleet, to which he could not return till two hours after sunset: he had no success in his pursuit of Guevara; but his captains in the main had been more successful—the Essex having taken the Juno of 36 guns; the Montague and Rupert, the Volante of 44 guns; and the Dorsetshire, Rear-admiral Delaval's ship, the Isabella of 60 guns. The English ships had received but little damage. The Grafton, the best sailer in the fleet, suffered most, her brave captain (Nicholas Haddock) having always pursued the headmost, engaging several of the enemy one after the other, and leaving the ships he had disabled or damaged to be taken by those that followed him, while he made way after the best sailing Spaniards that were attempting to escape. This action, which was chiefly decided off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues from the Sicilian shore, was fought on the 11th of August. Five days after, Captain Walton, who had been detached after De Mari and the Spanish galleys and the six ships of the line, wrote this laconic and often-quoted dispatch to Byng:—"Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin." And Walton's margin was uncommonly well filled, for he had taken De Mari in a 60-gun ship, and had captured besides one 54, one 40, and one 24, with a bomb, and a ship laden with arms; and he had burnt and destroyed four men-of-war—one of 54 guns, two of 40, and one of 30 guns, together with a large fire-ship and a bomb; and, having done all this, he had gone quietly into the ancient port of Syracuse. The total loss sustained by the Spaniards, including ships that were so badly treated as to sink at sea, and two that were afterwards taken, amounted to seventeen ships. Alberoni's fleet, in fact, was all but annihilated at one blow; and the short-lived pride of the Spaniards was succeeded by shame and despondency.* On the other side, Byng, rejoicing in his victory, dispatched his eldest son to England with an account of the affair; and called upon the Sicilians to rise against the Spanish army on shore, and upon the allies to make a great effort to finish the war in that quarter at once. His son, who travelled overland from Naples to Hampton Court in fifteen days, was most graciously received by his majesty, who made him a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father to negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as there should be occasion. Mr. Byng was also the bearer of a royal grant to the officers and seamen of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. This reward was merited by their services and the seasonable check they had given to the growing navy of Spain. That country had certainly vast designs in view; and the armament they had fitted out was suitable to the execution of a great undertaking. "Never," says a contemporary, "had any nation, in so short a time, sent to sea an armament so numerous, so well appointed, and so provided with all necessaries for a distant expedition: the least implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of Don Jose Patiño (*the ex-Jesuit*), a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the absolute direction and management of the whole enterprise, except the military command. The world was amazed to see Spain exerting a vigour she had not shown for above a century past. Some of the principal prisoners, and Castañeta himself, assured Admiral Byng that they intended the summer following to have at sea fifty sail of the line of battle." Cardinal Alberoni felt that this defeat off Cape Passaro must, if known in Spain, spread discouragement throughout the whole nation, and destroy

* The author of "The Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily" comments like a sailor upon the conduct of the Spaniards in the battle of Passaro:—"Upon notice of the approach of the English squadron they held a consultation, in which the question was not whether they should fight or retreat, but in what station they should expect them,—whether go out from Messina to meet them, or pass through the Faro to the southward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there;—which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the admiral came up near to them, they soon abandoned their order of battle, and, falling into confusion and incertainty whether to resist or fly, by doing neither they became an easy prey, and the English might be rather said to have made a seizure than to have gotten a victory. There was, indeed, some disproportion in the strength of the two fleets, a list of both which is in the Appendix."—[According to this Appendix the English had 8885 men and 1400 guns in twenty-one ships; the Spaniards 8830 men and 1284 guns in twenty-nine ships: but, then, the Spaniards had the seven galleys, which were of great use in battle, especially in calm weather.]—"But the inequality was not such as deterred the Spaniards from a resolution of fighting, though it was but ill supported afterwards in the execution. But this justice is due to the admiral Castañeta, and to Rear-Admiral Chacon, that they made as good a defence with their own ships as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported that, at a consultation of the Spanish admirals, Rear-Admiral Cammock gave his opinion that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradiso, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast is so bold that the biggest ships could ride with a cable ashore, and farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle: besides, they lay so near the shore, and could have received such assistance of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents; which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear."

his ministry; and, therefore, he had recourse to the absurd expedient of publishing an edict by beat of drum, in the streets of Madrid, prohibiting all discourse about the disaster of the fleet. He wrote to Monteleone, who was still ambassador at the court of St. James's, complaining loudly of what he called the breach of faith of the English in attacking his fleet before they declared war, and commanding him to quit England immediately. The cardinal also wrote to Secretary Craggs; and both these letters were made public in London, in the view of exciting a ferment against the cabinet, and giving to the sea-victory an unfair and dishonourable character. At the same time he seized all the British goods and vessels in the ports of Spain, imprisoned or dismissed all the British consuls, and gave letters of marque to privateers. In some respects the battle off Cape Passaro is a parallel to the modern affair at Navarino. Admiral Byng not only had no declaration of war, but he also pretended that his destruction of the Spanish fleet was not to be interpreted into such a declaration. He represented to the Marquess Lede that the Spaniards had begun the battle by firing first upon his ships; and that this *accident* ought not to be looked upon as a rupture between the two nations. Byng's instructions, however, seem to have been positive; and, fortunately for him, there happened no ministerial changes at home to tarnish his laurels and designate his victory an untoward event. Lord Stanhope, who had left Madrid before the news of the battle was received there, wrote to the admiral from Bayonne, on the 2nd of September, recommending the very course which Byng had already taken. "Nothing," says his lordship, "has passed at Madrid which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have. . . . . If you should have an opportunity of attacking the Spanish fleet, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I perfectly agree in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the first blow you give should, if possible, be decisive." This was sufficiently plain, and the person who thus wrote was, in effect, prime minister of England.

Coupled with the instruction to destroy the Spanish fleet, Byng had orders to make good, if possible, such a footing in Sicily as might enable England and her allies to land an army there; and that brave and skilful officer did his best to save the citadel and recover the town of Messina. On the 23rd of August he sailed from Syracuse; and on the 26th he arrived at Reggio, where he found General Wetzell with the Austrian and Neapolitan army. Wetzell proposed throwing troops across the strait into the citadel of Messina, if the English fleet would remain in that water to co-operate. Authorised by his instructions, Byng remained. The court of Turin for some time knew neither how to accept nor how to decline the Quadruple alliance: at the first landing of the Spaniards in their new dominion, the Savoyards, unable to support the struggle, solicited the emperor for his assistance, and a convention had been made between Count Daun, the viceroy of Naples, the Count de Borgo, resident of Savoy, and the Count Maffei, the Duke of Savoy's viceroy of Sicily: but the success of the British fleet raised such a confidence in the Savoyards, that the resident endeavoured to elude this convention, the necessity of which he thought no longer existed. De Borgo thought that he should reap all the benefits of the victory off Cape Passaro without tying himself to the allies; and he pretended want of powers—a reluctance to treat without an equivalent—a doubt whether he ought to admit the troops of the emperor into Messina or any other Sicilian fortress: and he alleged that he must have at least time to lay the matter before the cabinet at Turin. Byng heard him, and then acted like a good diplomatist, representing to the count "the unfairness of such a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himself had agreed to in their conference together the day before upon that subject:—that such a disagreement, at a time that the citadel was so vigorously attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the English fleet would not suffer him to be an idle spectator of; and, therefore, if he was resolved to stay till he had instructions from the court of Turin, he (Byng) should likewise send to his court for further orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the island to some other place to refresh his men and refit his ships, till he should receive new directions from England." This had its proper effect, and Maffei, the viceroy of Sicily, seeing that he would not be allowed to temporise, gave immediate orders for carrying the convention into execution, and for admitting German troops into the citadel of Messina. General Wetzell, however, had not yet received all his troops from Naples; and when they came the greater part of them were worth very little. Byng did what service he could, in throwing reinforcements and provisions into the citadel, and in molesting the Spaniards in their siege of it. The Spaniards, in fact, were in the curious position of being at once besiegers and besieged: but Lede was no common officer, and the Neapolitans, Austrians, and Savoyards could not or would not act with good concert against him; and he not only kept the town of Messina, but pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that the Savoyard governors surrendered it by capitulation on the 29th of September, to the great surprise and mortification of the Imperialists. Byng, equally dissatisfied, sailed over to Malta, where Rear-Admiral Cammock was lying with three Spanish ships of the line, and as many frigates, which had escaped from the battle: he made all the haste he could, as the Spaniards had seized a rich English merchant-ship homeward bound from Turkey, and three or four other vessels. But Cammock had sailed before he could reach Malta; he, however, recovered the Turkey ship, liberated some Sicilian

galleys, and read the grand master of the Knights of St. John a severe lesson for his partiality to the Spaniards, his breaches of neutrality, and his ill usage of such of the Sicilians as adhered to the allies. He told those military monks that, if they continued this course, and made their harbour a lurking-place for the enemies of the allies, he would fight his way into their port and burn every ship he found in it. The grand master made apologies and promises; and then the admiral returned to Naples, where he received a most gracious letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, thanking him for his valour, conduct, and zeal in the common cause: this imperial letter was accompanied with a portrait set round with diamonds. At the end of the year's campaign the Spaniards were masters of all Sicily except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, in which three places the Duke of Savoy had considerable garrisons, and which he scrupled to give up to the allies without an equivalent. The Spanish army was numerous and well appointed; and the affections of the Sicilians seemed rather to incline to their old masters than to the Savoyards or Germans. The Quadruple alliance had given the island to the emperor; but it was clear to everybody that the emperor would never get possession of it except by means of the moral superiority of England.* Victor Amadeus, who had been again trimming, and again listening to the cajoling voice of Alberoni, saw that in no case the island could be kept by him or would be left to him; and at last he acceded to the Quadruple alliance, and consented to put the places he held into the hands of the emperor's troops.

On the 11th of December Charles XII. was killed before the "petty fortress" of Fredericks-hal, in Norway; and his death put an end to Alberoni's northern intrigues and to the sundry fears or misgivings in relation to that quarter which had agitated the mind of George I. and his cabinet. A short time before, the Duke of Ormond had been in Russia as plenipotentiary of the Pretender; negotiations between Charles and Peter had been opened, and it had been agreed between those rivals that there should henceforward be peace and a unity of purpose between them; that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, and other Swedish territories; that his Swedish majesty should conquer and keep Norway, and also Bremen and Verden; and that both should co-operate for the restoration of King Stanislaus in Poland, and of the House of Stuart in England. But the musket-ball from the unknown hand that laid the Swedish hero or madman in the grave destroyed all these schemes: Charles's sister, Ulrica, who ascended the throne, had neither the inclination nor the power to remain at war; the whole ministry and the very form of the monarchy were completely changed; and Gortz, who, more than any one, had framed the project against England, was presently executed on a scaffold. But there were in Europe many political adventurers as daring as Gortz; and Alberoni had been diplomatising and intriguing in other countries beside Russia and Sweden. In France there were numerous and increasing discontents against the regent. A part of the nation were incensed at what they called the unnatural alliance between France and England, and a still greater portion inveighed against the terrible profligacy and the immense power of the Abbé Dubois. The Duke of Maine, or rather his imperious duchess, longed for the power and profits of the regency, and entered into plots with the Prince of Cellamare, with the Jesuits and others, who were all abetted and set on by Alberoni and the court of Madrid. After many schemes had been proposed and abandoned, it was resolved to seize the Duke of Orleans while engaged in some of his usual orgies, to shut him up in the Bastile, to convoke the States-General, and to proclaim Philip king of Spain regent, with the Duke of Maine for his deputy. The pleasure-loving and dissolute Orleans was warned of these machinations both by friends in England and by friends at Madrid, who could not, however, speak positively as to the real design, the time, or the mode of execution. The regent continued to divert himself as before, and, to all appearance, had no suspicion and no anxiety; but the keen eye of Dubois was watching all the while; and the rash conspirators were soon betrayed—by means, it is said, of a "distinguished procuress" and a young prostitute. Dubois learned that a young Spanish abbé, Don Vicente Portocarrero, and a son of the Marquess of Monteleone, the ambassador in England, were carrying papers and manifestos to Madrid: he gave orders to pursue them, and Portocarrero was arrested at Poictiers with his dispatches. Dubois laid these papers before the regent, who gladly left the management of the business in his hands. Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, was put under arrest, but not before he had contrived to conceal or destroy his most important papers. There was, however, enough, and more than enough, to prove the designs of the Duke and Duchess of Maine, who, if they had not actually contemplated the death of the regent, seem to have been perfectly indifferent as to the chances of such a catastrophe. The Duke of Orleans was a libertine, a sluggard, a gross sensualist, but he was neither cowardly nor cruel; and he contented himself with relegating the Duke of Maine to Dourlans in Picardy, and sending the duchess to the castle of Dijon in Burgundy. He also, however, exiled from Paris Cardinal Polignac, who had employed his pen in drawing up manifestos and addresses, M. de Pompadour, the Count d'Eu, and several others, who had been engaged chiefly by the Duchess of Maine. Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, a principal in the plot, was merely escorted to the frontiers; and not a drop of blood was shed in an affair which, under almost any other prince, would have found ample work for the executioner. Nearly at the

* Account of the Expedition, &c.

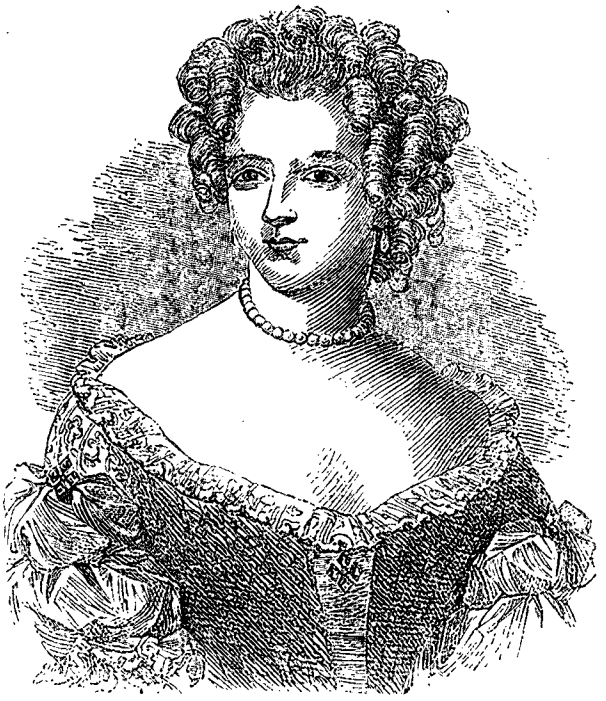
same moment that the Abbé Dubois was pursuing Portocarrero, Cardinal Alberoni was trying to hunt down the Duke de St. Aignan, the French ambassador at Madrid, who, perceiving that there was a great storm brewing at Paris, and that the cardinal was resolved to detain him in Spain, set out clandestinely without passport or leave-taking. Alberoni, as much enraged as when the old grandee caned him, gave fiery hot orders to pursue and arrest the Frenchman; but St. Aignan knew the man he had to deal with, got quietly out of his carriage near Pamplona, left a footman behind him in the vehicle to pass for an ambassador, and then pushed across the Pyrenees upon a mule. The real ambassador got safely to the French side of the frontiers; but his representative, the valet, was seized and detained. For some days the Spaniards did not discover this little piece of masquerade; but when the cardinal came to learn the trick which had been put upon him he was furious; and, being fully aware that the Regent of France would no longer keep terms with him, he hastened to recal Cellamare, or rather to tell that plotting ambassador, in case he should be obliged to quit France, "first to set fire to all the mines." This letter, which did not arrive till after the discovery of the plot and the seizure of Portocarrero, was intercepted by the French government. Thus proof was added to proof, and all doubt removed as to the intentions of the court of Madrid, and their co-operation or connivance with all the conspirators in France. Instead of attempting a denial which would have been useless, the cardinal, upon being informed that the game was up and the conspirators prisoners, prevailed upon his master King Philip to issue a manifesto, justifying all the measures that had been taken to overthrow the regency of the Duke of Orleans, which was represented as illegal in its origin and atrocious or dishonourable to France in all its proceedings. Hereupon the French regent regularly declared war against Spain, being supported by a similar declaration on the part of England, which was issued nearly at the same moment, or on the 17th of December.

The British parliament had assembled on the preceding 11th of November, and the anomalous position in which the country stood with relation to Spain had given rise to long and violent debates. Lord Stanhope, in the Upper House, justified the course which had been taken, and gave an account of his journey to Madrid, stating that it was high time for Great Britain to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect the trade of British subjects, who had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards;* that he thought it an honour to have been amongst those who advised Sir George Byng's instructions, for which he was ready to answer with his head. When it came to the vote, Lord Stanhope and his friends had a majority of 83 to 50. Walpole, in the Commons, exclaimed and declaimed with all imaginable vehemence against the whole Quadruple alliance and everything which had resulted from it. The late measures, he said, were against the law of nations, a breach of solemn treaties—treacherous—unpardonable! and ministers, conscious of having done amiss and of having begun a war with Spain irregularly and unjustifiably, now wanted to screen themselves under a parliamentary sanction. Walpole, however, found himself left in a minority of 155 to 216. And, when the declaration of war fell under discussion, ministers were still more triumphant. Stanhope, who had a greater mind than most of his colleagues, who was from conviction and temperament the friend of religious toleration, and who, moreover, for political purposes, had professed himself the friend of the dissenters, conceived the bold idea of doing away with all religio-political distinctions whatsoever, so as to admit even Roman Catholics to their fair share of the privileges of the constitution. He held long conferences with the nonconformists and with his colleague in office, Sunderland, who was equally tolerant, but far from being so sanguine of making toleration the general rule of the government. "It would be difficult enough," said Sunderland, "to repeal the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, but any attack upon the Test Act would surely ruin all." Walpole and "the prince's people," as the partisans of the Prince of Wales were called, were resolved to oppose any scheme of the kind, and hoped to overthrow the ministry by a new cry of the church in danger: it was known that most if not all the Whigs in opposition, disregarding some of the foremost and best principles of their party, would join the Tories and high churchmen; and therefore it was resolved by Stanhope and Sunderland to leave the repeal of the Test Act to some more favourable opportunity, advising the

* The cardinal had thrown off the mask too soon; and before the battle off Cape Passaro, and even before Byng's departure from Portsmouth, he had insulted our flag in a way that could be neither overlooked nor pardoned. "It should seem," says the writer of the account of Byng's expedition, "but ill policy in a court intent on such mighty designs to provoke and irritate, without cause, a nation the most capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they seemed to make it a studied point to vex and distress the English by all manner of ways in their commerce, insomuch that their trade with Spain was almost ruined and lost. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the English factors residing in their ports, from which the treaties expressly exempted them; and, upon refusal of payment, their houses were surrounded by soldiers, their warehouses and chests broken open, and their goods sold at public outcry. The royal officers used them with such injustice and insolence as if they knew they made their court by doing so. Every post brought complaints to the English minister at Madrid of new grievances and oppressions. The memorials delivered to that court for redress were numberless, without the least regard shown to them. When any transportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the English merchants' ships in their ports, compelling their masters, with great circumstances of severity, to enter into their service, imprisoning them in common gaols if they refused, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though perishable, and consigned to other markets. They proceeded so far in their unjust treatment, that their cruisers brought into the ports of Spain whatever English merchant-ships they met with in the open sea, though bound to Italy or other distant parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes and enter their service. Such as were not used by them for transports had their seamen taken away to serve in their men-of-war. Rear Admiral Cammock pressed no less than sixty for his own ship; and one of the masters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off."—[We much question these ears! A story of the kind used to come out as regularly as an *ordre-du-jour*, whenever we had a quarrel with Spain. This Rear Admiral Cammock was an Irishman.]

dissenters to have patience in the mean time; and on the 13th of December Stanhope brought forward his modified measure in the Lords. It was not called, plainly, an act for the relief of dissenters, but an act for strengthening the Protestant interest. Its real object was to repeal the intolerant Act against Occasional Conformity and the Schism Act, and also such clauses of the Test and Corporation Acts as excluded Protestant dissenters from civil offices. Stanhope laboured to show how rational and advantageous it would be to restore dissenters to their natural rights as English citizens, and to relieve them from the stigma and oppression of those laws which had been made in turbulent times and by unfair means: and he dwelt upon the happy vision of peace, and union, and Christian love, which would or ought to follow the removal of these invidious distinctions. But he soon found that, between latent bigotry and open political manœuvre, his bill, even modified as it was, would be hard to pass. The Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Nottingham spoke against it, and the Earl of Isla declared that it would be a violation of the treaty of union with Scotland. Even the liberal-minded ex-chancellor, in declaring himself favourable to the repeal of the Schism Act, combated for the continuance of the Test and Corporation Acts, which he chose to call "the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state." But it may be that Cowper, who had resigned, was as anxious as Walpole, who had been turned out, to annoy the cabinet; and that this intention had more to do with the speech than any real love of the two acts. The question was postponed from the 13th to the 18th, when the bench of bishops took up, and supported—almost by themselves—the important debate. Both the archbishops opposed Stanhope's bill. The primate, Doctor Wade, who had formerly passed for a friend to toleration, called occasional conformity a "scandalous practice," and declared that it was needless to repeal the Schism Act, since, through the great lenity of government, it was rarely or never enforced. On the other side Bishops Hoadly, Willis, Kennet, and Gibson supported the bill. Kennet, in the heat of debate, declared that the high-church party in Charles I.'s time "had promoted arbitrary measures and persecutions, until they first brought scandal and contempt upon the clergy, and at last ruin both upon church and state." There was no denying the fact; but the truth was very unpalatable, and got Kennet a very ill name. Bishop Hoadly denounced the acts styled by the primate the bulwarks of the church as acts of real persecution; and declared that, "if the mere pretext of self-preservation, or self-defence, was once admitted as a sufficient ground for passing laws of this nature, all the heathen persecutions against Christians, and all the Popish persecutions against Protestants, would be justifiable; that he trusted the Church of England would never stand in need of such miserable supports; that toleration was not a favour or indulgence, but a natural right; and that the safety of the church would be best secured by a regard to the just and and equitable claims of their fellow Christians and fellow citizens; . . . . . that he feared that the ardent and intemperate zeal which many displayed for the interests of the church was principally incited by a regard to their own interests, and by a secret and fond attachment to the powers, the honours, and the emoluments which appertain to it." The debate was continued on the 19th, when the second reading of the bill was carried in the Lords by a majority of 86 to 68. Influenced by this large minority, or by a fear of what would happen in the Lower House, ministers consented in committee to strike out all the clauses which referred to the Test and Corporation Acts. Thus mutilated, Stanhope's bill was sent down to the Commons, where it was opposed by Walpole and his friends, and where it was passed by a majority of no more than 243 to 202—thirty-four of the thirty-seven Scottish members that were in the House voting with ministers for the bill.

A.D. 1719.—In the month of March a bill, generally attributed to Sunderland, was brought into the Lords,—"to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six of the present number, which, upon failure of issue male, might be supplied by new creations; that, instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage." This looked like depriving the crown of its important prerogative of making peers at will; but George, it is said, went into it in order to take vengeance upon his son the Prince of Wales, and to weaken his party; while Sunderland, who had offended the Prince of Wales beyond hope of pardon or reconciliation, was also anxious to restrain the power of that prince when he came to the throne. If George II. should create peers a dozen at a time, as Queen Anne had done, there could be no security as to the principles or votes of the House of Lords, and the obnoxious Sunderland might in such case have cause to fear impeachment and attainder. As Anne's sudden creation, for the avowed purpose of obtaining a Tory majority in the Lords, had been the subject of such vehement and incessant declamation on the part of the Whigs, it was concluded that, with a few exceptions, the Whigs would give all their countenance and support to the present bill; for Sunderland and his colleagues could not have forgotten the repeated asseverations of the Whig party, that the crown ought in future to be deprived of a prerogative in the employment of which Anne and her Jacobite ministry had dishonoured Great Britain and endangered the liberties of Europe. Yet, as soon as the present bill was in the House of Lords, the great Whigs, Cowper and Townshend, joined the Tory Nottingham in reprobating it as destruc-



Sophia of Zell, Wife of George I.
From the Strawberry-Hill Drawing.

tive of the very principle of monarchy. It was twice read, indeed, without a division; but, on the day appointed for the third reading, Stanhope stood up to give it its quietus, by observing "that, the bill having made a great noise and raised strange apprehensions, and since the design of it had been so much misrepresented and misunderstood that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other House, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity." But Sunderland would not so easily relinquish a measure upon which he had set his heart; and from this time to the next session of parliament great efforts were made by him and his party to remove the opposition to this peerage bill. It was a subject that divided some of the most honest of the Whigs, and it interrupted the friendship between Addison and Steele, as the author of the Spectator was for the bill, which he defended in a paper called The Old Whig, and the author of The Tatler was against it, and attacked it in a pamphlet entitled The Plebeian. Walpole also took up the pen and published a pamphlet against the bill; and a vast quantity of ink was shed on either side by less conspicuous writers. Sunderland declared that the peerage bill had originated with the king rather than with the ministers; that the king wished well to the constitution and to the country, and therefore was anxious to limit the future government of his son, who was rash and headstrong, and quite capable *of doing mad things.* In a long conversation he held with Middleton, the chancellor of Ireland, who had refused to support the bill, Sunderland was so excited that the blood gushed from his nose.* On the 18th of April parliament was prorogued; and early in May the king, accompanied by Stanhope, set off for his continental dominions. In appointing the regency or lords justices that were to attend to affairs in his majesty's absence, no mention was made of the Prince and Princess of Wales, nor were they even deputed to hold levies, that duty, "to the great scandal of the public, and further divulgement of family discord," being assigned to the young princesses.†

As Cardinal Alberoni had utterly failed in France, and as he had lost his mad hero Charles XII., he determined to take up with the Pretender, who had been passing his time pleasantly enough in Italy, residing alternately at Rome and Urbino. He had lately contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland; but, as that princess was on her way to Italy to join her betrothed, she was arrested by the emperor's orders in the Tyrol, and detained in the emperor's castle of Inspruck. This was base and dishonourable in the emperor who did it, and scarcely less so in the English government that asked it. The Pretender appears to have been apprehensive for his own liberty, as the Austrians had now the com-

* Lord Middleton's *Correspondence.* † Lord Mahon.

plete ascendancy in the Italian peninsula, and as the English fleet was riding victorious off its shores, when he received and accepted the invitation of Alberoni to go into Spain. To delude the Austrians, he pretended to set out for Tuscany and Lombardy, as if he were going to make the whole journey by land; but in reality he lay concealed in the Papal States, while the Earls of Mar and Perth, with a party of his suite, crossed the Apennines and went into the emperor's dominions of Lombardy. The two lords were presently seized and made fast in the castle of Milan; and, as people there had not the felicity of being acquainted with the person and face of the Stuart, it was reported and believed that they had got the Pretender. Lord Stair joyfully announced from Paris to the ministers in London that this was the case; and then, while he was believed to be in an Austrian dungeon at Milan, where many a better man has pined away, the Pretender slipped down to the Pope's little port of Nettuno, near the mouth of the Tiber, and got secretly on board a vessel which carried him safely to the coast of Catalonia. There the fugitive threw off his disguise; and at Madrid he was received most royally as legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. The palace of Buen Retiro was allotted for his residence, and he received the visits of Philip and his queen and of all the grandees that had not quarrelled with the cardinal. Before James arrived at Madrid the Duke of Ormond, disguised as a valet, had crossed the Pyrenees, to take the command of a formidable armament which the cardinal had prepared at Cadiz for the purpose of invading England and enthroning the Pretender! The last time Ormond had been in Spain was with an English fleet and army to storm Vigo and bombard Cadiz for Queen Anne! The admiring Jacobites compared him to Coriolanus retiring to the Volsci; but, in sober truth, Ormond was little like the hero of Corioli, and it mattered little where he went. He was to bear the title of captain-general of the king of Spain; and he was provided with a proclamation, to be published at his landing, in the name of Philip, declaring that his most Catholic majesty had sent these forces as auxiliaries to the rightful King James, hoping that Providence would favour so just a cause; but assuring the insurgents that, if they should be unsuccessful, he would give a secure retreat in his own dominions to all that should join; and engaging his royal word, in case they should be driven to expatriation, that he would give in Spain to every sea or land officer the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and that the common soldiers should be received and treated as though they were his own. This was not badly devised; but the cardinal was embarrassed about the Pretender, who had played his part so miserably in Scotland, and who seemed but little inclined to risk his person again. Madrid and Cadiz were crowded with Scottish and English exiles, who hoped to retrieve the misfortunes of 1715, but who seem to have been divided in opinion as to whether the Pretender should go with them or stay behind till they should make his path easy. But at last it was determined that James should stay in Spain, and that Ormond should have the undivided command. In the mean while the Abbé Dubois had obtained full and precise information as to all these Spanish schemes, and by the command of the regent he had imparted all his discoveries to Stanhope, togegether with the offer of some French troops. The English government politely declined receiving the French, but they accepted and brought over six battalions of Austrians from the Netherlands and two thousand Dutch. A good squadron of ships was put to sea to secure the Channel; the few English troops were cantoned in the most Jacobite districts in the North and West; both Houses of Parliament, which was then sitting, assured the king of their loyalty and determination to support him to the extent of their lives and fortunes; and a proclamation was issued offering 10,000*l.* for the apprehension of the traitor Ormond, the commander of the Spanish army of invasion. As the Scots had paid rather dearly for their rising in "the fifteen," a resolution had been universally taken not to move in Scotland till England was fairly engaged:* but upon the 16th of April two frigates put into the port of Kintail, in Ross-shire, landed about three hundred Spanish soldiers, a few gentlemen, and some arms, and then instantly left the coast and put out to sea. Among the gentlemen were the Earls Marshal and Seaforth and the Marquess of Tullibardine, who concealed themselves in the country to await the arrival of the Duke of Ormond in England. But Ormond never came: a storm in the Bay of Biscay had driven him back to Spain, and had entirely frustrated Alberoni's expedition. Many of the ships were lost; others were saved by throwing overboard the guns, the stands of arms, the horses and the stores provided for the campaign; and of five ships of the line and twenty transports, and five thousand soldiers, partly Irish, only the two frigates and the three hundred men with the Earl Marshal ever reached the British coast. But if they had all come they would only have come to destruction:

* Lockhart, Memoirs. The Jacobites in Spain had kept their brethren both in England and Scotland perfectly well informed of their intentions and preparations. "The king's (*the Pretender's*) affairs for a long time made little or no noise, but, on the breaking out of the war with Spain, people began to hope that something in his favour *would cast up*; and, whilst we were fed with these hopes in very general terms with letters from abroad, all of a sudden we received the joyful news of the King of Spain's having declared for our king. What correspondence King Philip had in England I cannot particularly tell, but sure I am there was not the least intimation of such a design to any in Scotland, until a very little before it was public over all Europe. About which time the Earl of Wigtoun *writ a letter to* me from his country-house, desiring me to meet him without fail next day exactly at four in the afternoon, at a certain private place in Edinburgh; and, I having accordingly kept the tryst, his lordship introduced me to Mr. Francis Kennedy: this gentleman was sent express to acquaint the king's friends of the attempt that was to be made by Spain on Britain, and he was directed to go first to my Lord Wigtoun, who thought fit to call me to be present at the conference. Mr. Kennedy produced a small piece of parchment, writ and signed by the Duke of Ormond, desiring entire credit might be given to the bearer thereof; and then he told us that the duke was actually embarked with a considerable body of Spanish troops, designing to land them in England."—*Lockhart Papers.*

Ormond's heart had completely failed him before he began the voyage, and he had actually written to Alberoni to request the postponement or the relinquishment of the expedition, as he knew its design was no longer a secret to France and England, and as he could not, he said, be so imprudent as to propose to attack England with five thousand men, unless by surprise.* While the Earl Marshal and the Marquess of Tullibardine lay close at Kintail, Lord Seaforth, in disguise, ventured up the country to confer with some of the Highland clans; and some hard-drinking Jacobite lords saw in their cups Ormond's fleet, which had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, or back to the Spanish ports, riding triumphantly on the coast of Scotland: but sleep and daylight dissipated this vision; and, as some of the Highlanders had begun to muster, and had taken one or two insignificant places, the government, which at first had thought that the two Spanish frigates had carried back in them all the persons and things they had brought, became aware that there was an enemy in the land, and that some of the Jacobite lords had not gone back to Spain. Upon this discovery, some English ships of war were brought down to the coast, and General Wightman, with about a thousand men, moved from Inverness in quest of the insurgents, whom he soon found advantageously posted at Glenshiel. They were estimated at two thousand men; but Wightman, relying on the discipline of his troops, fell upon them on the evening of the 10th of June, the Pretender's birthday, and gave them a complete defeat. The light-footed Highlanders dispersed and ran home to their mountains; the three hundred Spaniards, who kept together, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The Earl Marshal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine were fortunate enough to escape with their clans from the field of battle, and they, with other persons of note, remained lurking in the Highlands till ships were provided to carry them back to Spain. While the Jacobites of Edinburgh were treating the Spanish prisoners, who were sent to the castle there, with rare civility and liberality, the victorious Wightman made a tour through all the difficult passes of Lord Seaforth's country, "to terrify the rebels by burning the houses of the guilty, and preserving those of the honest."† The determined Jacobite that relates most circumstantially all these events confesses that the expedition was miserably managed, and that few really joined it. "I do not pretend," he says, "to give an account of my Lord Marshal's proceedings; one thing is sure, that he and Tullibardine were soon at variance about the command; and it seemed very odd that such matters were not adjusted before their embarkation. The Highlanders, being formerly heartily bit, resolved not to move till they heard of Ormond's being landed, so that few, except Seaforth's clan, joined this little army, which, however, kept together till General Wightman marched against them." This busy plotter was, notwithstanding, of opinion that the Pretender had still a good chance in Scotland if he and his advisers would only make a proper use of their opportunities and advantages. Saying nothing of the undisputed Jacobitism of the Highlanders, Lockhart endeavoured to show, in a memorial which he sent to the Earl Marshal during his short stay in the country, that the Lowlanders, at least in good part, were equally averse to the House of Hanover. "The king's friends," said he, "are far from being diminished on the south side of Forth, and are abundantly willing to venture all in his service; but they have been kept so much under these three or four years bypast, and so little expected what has of late occurred, that most of them want horses and arms, and it will be no easy matter to procure them; and, as they are surrounded with spies and enemies, and cannot propose to make such a body as can resist the force that will be sent against them if they take to the fields, it is not to be desired or expected they should rise in arms until there be such a number of forces near them as can make a stand, and to which they may resort. Though the king does not want some friends in the western shires, yet the gross of the people, both gentry and commons, are either Presbyterians favourably disposed towards the present government, or pretty indifferent as to all governments whatsoever; but, as the far greatest part of both have a hearty aversion to the Union, if once they were thoroughly convinced that the king's prosperity would terminate in the dissolution thereof, there is reason to believe a great many of the first would be converted, at least so far as to be neutral, and most of the others declare for him." He proposed in this paper that the Earl Marshal should publish a manifesto, in which, after enumerating the many grievances which had attended the Union, such as the decay of trade, the violation of the liberties and the civil rights of the Scots, &c., he should declare that it was King James's intention to restore them to their ancient and independent state—that it was for this object that he and the lords and gentlemen with him were again up in arms. And Lockhart further recommended that, in this manifesto, full assurances should be given as to the early meeting of a Scottish parliament, and that the several electors in the Scottish shires and burghs should be earnestly recommended "to have their thoughts on persons fit to be appointed their representatives." "At present," adds Lockhart, "there is none on the south of Forth to whom King James's friends can repair for intelligence, or to have instructions and directions as to their conduct and measures; and hence it is that there is no correspondence nor concert amongst them." To make up this deficiency, he proposed that the Earl Marshal should appoint a small number of persons to meet together and concert the general measures; and, as

* Stuart Papers.—Letter from Ormond to Alberoni, dated Corunna, March 22nd, as cited by Lord Mahon, Hist. from Peace of Utrecht.

† Lockhart, Memoirs and Papers.

the earl could not be supposed to be so well acquainted with the present state of parties as he (Lockhart) was, he thought "it would not be amiss to mention to him the Earls of Eglintoun and Wigtoun, the Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Paterson, as persons that would be faithful to the king and agreeable to his friends." And when all was over, Lockhart pretended that, if his advice had only been followed, and if the king's friends had only acted with concert, "this Spanish affair" would have had a very different result.*

Cardinal Alberoni, seeing that this card had failed him, was anxious to get the Pretender back to Rome as soon as possible, for his stay at Madrid was rather costly, and it might also tend to embarrass negotiations if the cardinal should be obliged to lay down the sword and trust to diplomacy. Fortunately for him there arrived news that the captive bride, the Princess Clementina Sobieski, had escaped disguised as a servant-maid from Inspruck, and had reached in safety the pope's city of Bologna: and upon this news the Stuart took leave of the cardinal and Spanish court, and returned to Italy to complete his marriage.

As France had made a regular declaration of war against Spain, it was necessary for the regent to exert himself, and, if he did no more, to secure his frontier on the side of the Pyrenees. He had, in effect, raised an army of 30,000 men to serve in that quarter; and, upon the refusal of old Marshal Villars, he had given the command of it to the Duke of Berwick, the half-brother of the Pretender, the victor of Almanza, the real hero, on the Bourbon side, of the war of the succession in Spain, and then the highly-prized and apparently most devoted servant of his majesty King Philip. Berwick, who owed his fortune to his sword, and whose fortune was entirely in France, in all probability fought like a mercenary Swiss, and would have fought against his half-brother himself if necessary: but his admirers and apologists give sundry reasons for the anomalous position into which he now threw himself. "The Marshal of Berwick was pitched upon to command the army from the extraordinary confidence placed in him on every account by the regent; yet there was not a Frenchman more affected with this breach, however just and necessary on the part of France. Beside the reasons which he had in common with every Frenchman, there were others peculiar to himself: he had been twice the instrument of preserving Spain; and the favours he had received from Philip V. attached him more immediately to that prince. On the other hand, he had obligations to the regent, who was personally attacked in this war; but all these were inferior considerations with the Marshal of Berwick, and were made subservient to the great line of duty. He thought himself bound indispensably, as governor of Guienne, upon the frontiers of Spain, to execute, without remonstrance, the orders he received for invading that kingdom. A refusal to serve would have been a breach of an immediate duty, from which he had, at that time, no right to excuse himself: it would have been a dangerous example, and might have even admitted a construction of criminality, if it had been followed by others: he obeyed, therefore, because it was his duty to obey."*

While Berwick was lying on the frontier, king Philip put himself at the head of a very indifferent Spanish army—the best of his forces were in Sicily and Sardinia—and advanced to the Pyrenees. Philip was no soldier; he was not even gifted with the very common attribute of personal courage; but he fondly fancied that there would be no fighting, that the French army under Berwick would desert, and join him as their rightful regent, and the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV: and for this purpose he had come to the army with his queen, his young son, his prime minister the cardinal, and a good stock of manifestos and proclamations to the French soldiery. But these proclamations, when dispersed in Berwick's camp, failed of their effect; and instead of going over to Philip, the French troops began to take his towns and castles almost under his eye. No part of Spain had displayed such activity and energy in seconding the great maritime schemes of the cardinal as the industrious Biscayan provinces. At every port on that coast ships had been built, or were in process of building. All this had been watched with a jealous eye by the French as well as by the English, and an important part of Berwick's instructions was that he should destroy these dockyards and arsenals. Colonel William Stanhope, who had been sent on a mission to Berwick's army, accompanied a detachment of it to Port Passages, serving as a volunteer, and had the satisfaction of seeing one new ship of 70 guns, two of 60 guns, and some other vessels recently built, together with a vast quantity of timber and naval stores, burnt to ashes. The French then invested Fuenterabia, which surrendered on the 18th of June. An English squadron was cooperating on the coast; and now it took on board about a thousand French soldiers, and sailed for Santona, where three fine new ships of the line were on the stocks, and where materials were collected for the building of seven more. The French soldiers and the English sailors landed together, and in a few hours everything was destroyed. The loss of the Spaniards in money alone was estimated at millions of dollars; but the moral loss and depression was still more important. Berwick carried the strong town of St. Sebastian on the 2nd of August, and compelled the citadel to surrender on the 17th of the same month. Philip in the mean while had taken the road to Madrid, helpless and hopeless.

* Lockhart Papers.

* An abridged continuation of the Memoirs, taken from the letters of the Duke of Berwick, and principally from his correspondence with the French ministry, appended to Berwick's autobiographical Memoirs.

The whole of Guipuscoa was occupied or overrun; and the states of that province, incensed by innovations on their ancient laws and usages, and by arbitrary attempts made by Alberoni to assimilate the Biscayan provinces with the rest of Spain, offered to acknowledge the dominion of the French upon condition of security to their ancient rights and liberties.* In another direction the French continued their conquests without interruption; they entered Catalonia, took several forts, and made an attempt upon Rosas. Nor was the British fleet idle in other quarters; in the end of September a strong squadron with 4,000 troops on board, commanded by Lord Cobham, appeared off Corunna, to take vengeance on that port, from which Ormond had sailed with his unfortunate expedition. Corunna, however, seemed too well defended, and Cobham ran along the coast to Vigo, where many of Ormond's stores still remained. The British troops landed at three miles from the town, and encountered no enemy except a body of peasants who fired from the hills without coming near enough to hit or to be hit. The garrison of Vigo spiked their guns in the town and retired into the citadel, where they were compelled to surrender by the middle of October. Cobham found 43 pieces of ordnance, 8,000 muskets, 2,000 barrels of powder, and seven sloops, which were all seized and carried off. The neighbouring towns and little sea-ports were also sacked by the troops, who "abused themselves much with wine," and then this "important and secret expedition," as it had been called, returned to England. As so much had been said about it, the cardinal seems to have expected that it was really destined to occupy whole provinces or kingdoms! In Sicily, for which everything had been sacrificed, the course of the war was equally unfavourable to Spain, and the services of the British navy much more conspicuous. The Duke of Savoy, seeing that the Spaniards on the one hand were taking everything from him in Sicily, and that the emperor on the other, by virtue of the Quadruple Alliance was demanding the two or three towns he still held there, whilst the island of Sardinia, allotted to Savoy by the same treaty, remained in the hands of the Spaniards, began to suspect that, unless he made his bargain now, the imperialists would get and keep possession of Sicily, and then, with the rest of the allies, leave him to get Sardinia as he could. And he proposed, in the course of the preceding autumn, that, while operations were going on in Sicily for the emperor, others should be commenced in Sardinia for himself. After some delay, a convention was signed at Vienna, on the 29th of December (1718), between his imperial majesty and Savoy, whereby it was agreed to form an army for the reduction of Sardinia as soon as possible; that the emperor should furnish, at his own expense, 6500 foot and 600 horse for the expedition, in return for which the Duke of Savoy's troops in Sicily were to co-operate with the Germans and Neapolitans against the common enemy, and then, when the Spaniards were driven out, entirely to evacuate that island, and leave it to the emperor. The means of carrying out this convention were debated upon in the city of Naples by the emperor's viceroy, the Savoyard minister, and the English admiral, who could not agree in opinion, and who found the business perplexed with difficulties, as the court of Turin again wavered and seemed to distrust the emperor. But at last Sir George Byng removed all scruples, and obtained a written order from Turin to Count Maffei, to put the Imperialists in possession of the towns he held. In the mean while, Lede, the Spanish general, moving with a part of his forces from Messina, had undertaken the siege of Melazzo, a very important and well fortified place, built upon a narrow tongue of land which juts far out into the sea, towards the Lipari islands. As the allies, thanks to Byng, had the complete mastery at sea, troops both German and Neapolitan had been carried across the straits of Messina from Reggio and from Scylla, and landed on the mole-head of Melazzo; and the garrison had found itself sufficiently strong to make several destructive sorties, being led by General Caraffa, a brave Neapolitan officer. Caraffa had been recalled to Naples in the month of December, when the defence of Melazzo was intrusted to three Austrian generals, who had brought over considerable reinforcements from Italy. The siege then assumed a new and singular character; for, as the town was small, and afforded scanty accommodations for so large a force, the Austrians and Neapolitans threw up intrenchments considerably in advance of it, and there lodged themselves between the Spaniards and the town walls; while Lede, on the other hand, drew intrenchments round his own camp, and attended rather to maintaining his position there, than to the carrying of the town. Thus the two armies lay within musket shot of each other during the whole winter; both suffering severely from the marshy nature of the soil, and the continual damp that afflicted that low bad ground, where the trenches were alternately filled with water from the sky in rainy weather, and with sea water in blowing weather. Great numbers perished on both sides of disease and hunger, or of bad unwholesome provisions.* The Germans and Neapolitans had no provisions but what came over from time to time in small embarkations from Calabria, and the

* Alberoni, among other things, had insisted upon establishing in every part of Spain a uniform tariff, in order to efface the inland custom-houses established between the various old kingdoms which constituted the monarchy. The plan was good, but the people were not prepared for it; and it was a madness then on the part of the cardinal, as it has been since on the side of the Spanish liberals (both in 1820 and at present), to alienate by a too sudden reform the bravest or most energetic part of the nation at the very moment of the extremest difficulty.

* Lord Mahon says, "that both suffered alike from malaria;" but his lordship as a traveller ought to know, that malaria only prevails in summer and autumn, and that even the Pontine marshes and the Maremma are wholly free from it, from the end of September to the middle of May or the beginning of June.

inhabitants of the Lipari islands, who were bold mariners, and who had many light armed vessels, finding it extremely profitable to own and carry the Spanish flag, intercepted a great many of these feluccas and speronaras, and carried home their cargoes of provisions to the islands and islets that lie scattered between the ever-burning Stromboli and the Sicilian shore. Byng's fleet did its best. "It was very hard service," says the English narrator of these Sicilian wars, "and one that was unknown and astonishing to the pilots of that country, to employ ships cruising in those dangerous seas during the rigour of the winter; for, when the westerly or northerly winds blow, there is so little sea-room in that narrow station, and the currents set in so strong upon the Calabrian shore, accompanied with a vast rolling sea, that it is extremely difficult for ships to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid straining on a lee shore."* The admiral had appointed a squadron under the command of Captain Walton, of the Canterbury,—the author of the laconic dispatch after the battle off Cape Passaro,—to cruise upon this station, and to hinder rear-admiral Cammock from coming out of the Faro of Messina, as also to secure the passage of the provision boats for the allies at Melazzo. But it happened that Walton was blown from his station by a tremendous storm, and kept at a distance from it, without being seen or heard of for six and twenty days. Cammock, the brave and adroit Irishman, seized his opportunity to get out of Messina the moment the storm abated; and then, running down the Calabrian coast, he appeared before Tropea, the port in which provisions had been collected, to be sent when the weather should permit to the famishing Austrians and Neapolitans. Cammock hoisted English colours, and sent a letter ashore to the Governor of Tropea, under the name of one of the English captains, acquainting the Neapolitan that he was appointed by admiral Byng to convoy the provision vessels to Melazzo. Had this stratagem succeeded, the force at Melazzo would, in all probability, have been compelled by hunger to surrender; but the governor of Tropea happened to be a wary and acute man, and, observing that Cammock's letter was not written on English but on Genoa paper, he conceived a suspicion, and refused to send out the embarkations. A few days after Walton recovered his station, and then Cammock ran back into Messina. In the mean while Byng, being informed of the extremities the Germans and Neapolitans were reduced to, sent four English men-of-war, which had just arrived at Naples from Port Mahon, to carry provisions to Melazzo, directing the captains, at all hazards, to make that port. One of these men-of-war was disabled in a storm, but the three others relieved the garrison at a very critical moment. Still, however, the Spaniards continued in their intrenchments, working hard in order so to strengthen their position as not only to keep the Germans and Neapolitans penned up in the town, but also to hinder the descent of an army expected in the spring. When Byng thought of retiring to refit at Port Mahon—the convenience of which place was inestimable during this war—the viceroy of Naples entreated him to attend at a conference held at the palace: Byng consented, and there met Caraffa, Wetzell, and the Marquis de Fuencalada, general of the Neapolitan gallies. The viceroy informed Byng and the rest that, the emperor having concluded a truce with the Turks, Prince Eugene, who had been gathering fresh laurels on the Danube, was about sending from Hungary an army of 16,000 horse and foot, which, being added to the troops actually in Melazzo, was considered a force sufficient for the conquest of the whole island of Sicily. These imperialists, it was stated, would arrive at Naples by the beginning of March, and the important point to decide in this conference was, how and where they should be landed in Sicily. General Caraffa objected strongly to landing at Syracuse; General Wetzell thought that Syracuse would be the best of all landing places; and the general of the Neapolitan gallies excused himself from giving any opinion upon a subject that related to the land service, and, referring himself to what Caraffa and Wetzell had said before him, oracularly concluded that great caution ought to be taken, whichever opinion should be followed. Byng, in few words, told them that land forces should be trusted to the sea as little as possible, especially in that early and uncertain season; and that the troops they expected were not in his opinion sufficient to recover the island. "That it was a great error to hold the Spaniards in contempt, whose behaviour hitherto in Sicily had given no reason for it: that they were become used to arms and hardships, and the Germans would find them like other men: that, according to a calculation he had made, when those troops should be joined to the forces in Melazzo, they would not be able, after leaving the necessary garrisons in the towns which the Duke of Savoy was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the Spanish army was reported to be; and that without a considerable superiority, little success was to be expected in a country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclinations to the Spaniards were so very evident, that they were to hope for no assistance, but expect every distress from them: . . . . that they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army; for, notwithstanding all the care of his cruisers, they received frequent recruits from Spain and Sardinia, and even from Italy in open vessels and boats; which was not always in his power to prevent: and besides the Marquis de Lede had lately raised *four regiments of foot and one of horse in the island itself.*"* Having recommended the bay of Patti, a little to the westward of Melazzo, as the

* An Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c.

* An Account of the Expedition, &c.

proper landing place, the English admiral, in the month of February, ran down to Port Mahon,* hoping that his suggestions would be attended to, and that the emperor would authorise Prince Eugene to send a sufficient force to finish the war in Sicily at once. But when the Imperialists arrived at Naples, in the month of May, they were fewer even than the number which Byng had declared to be insufficient, amounting not to sixteen thousand, but only to thirteen thousand; and these were badly provided, particularly in the article of money. The chief command was in the hands of the Count de Mercy, a native of Lorraine, but brought up in the emperor's service, and a personal favourite of Prince Eugene. Byng, who had returned to the bay of Naples in the beginning of April, and who had been waiting impatiently nearly a month, took these troops from Hungary on board his fleet; sailed from Baiæ, and on the evening of the 27th of May appeared off Melazzo. Officers came on board from the town with information that the coast to the eastward was well guarded by the Spaniards, but that to the westward all was open; —and thereupon Byng ran into the bay of Patti, and landed the troops with what was then considered a wonderful celerity.† A train of artillery with powder and ball were supplied by the English admiral out of his Spanish prizes; for de Mercy had scarcely a cannon or a barrel of gunpowder of his own. The Spaniards entrenched before Melazzo, though twenty miles off, decamped with precipitation as soon as they heard of the landing at Patti, and marched without halting some thirty-two miles to Franca Villa, an inland town in a hilly country, whence three roads branch off to Palermo, Messina and Syracuse. They left behind them their sick, a part of their artillery, most of their powder and ball, and 2000 sacks of flour; all which were found by de Mercy and the Austrians, who advanced from Patti to Melazzo by easy marches; the English fleet coasting along with the army, and coming to anchor as it came to a halt. Count Seckendorf was then detached with 2500 foot and 150 horse to reduce the troublesome Islanders of the Lipari group, who had done so much mischief, and who seemed disposed still to continue the profitable business of privateering. Seckendorf's success was easy and complete, and the flag of the emperor was raised on those volcanic isles. But it was the 17th of June before de Mercy began to look after Lede, his opponent, and once his friend and school-fellow. He then moved from Melazzo with about 21,000 men, imagining, from their hasty and panic-looking retreat from their entrenchments, that the Spaniards would not make any great stand at Franca Villa. His men suffered exceedingly from thirst, the burning sun, and the armed and hostile peasantry of Sicily. The Spaniards, unencumbered with baggage-waggons and baggage-mules, and marching as no other troops marched, had gone over the ground in a day; but the Austrians laboured "for three days through wild unknown roads, broken up, and rendered almost impassable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over cragged rocks and precipices; the soldiers all the while oppressed with the weight of their ammunition, and six days' bread which they carried, besides their arms; a fiery sun burning over their heads, and they being harassed and assaulted all along from the heights and eminences by the peasants of the country, mixed with some Spanish foot." At last, however, they reached the ridge of Tre Fontane, and discovered the Spaniards encamped below in the plain of Franca Villa. At this sight a shout of joy ran through the whole imperial army; for fighting seemed better than marching in such a country, and no doubt was entertained of a speedy and decisive victory. But though in a dead level, with the Austrians hanging over him and ready to charge down hill, Lede felt pretty confident in his position; for his front was protected by the steep rocky banks of the river Alcantara;* his rear was defended by the little town of Franca Villa and a ridge of hills covered with armed peasantry; and his two wings rested upon an irregular hill and entrenchments and stone walls. In advance of him, and on the other side of the river Alcantara, but joined by a bridge to the town of Franca Villa, was a steep isolated rock, with a convent of Capuchins upon it: and here de Lede placed five battalions of his best troops, under the command of the gallant Villadarias. Count de Mercy is described as being "short-sighted almost to pur-blindness," full of fire, bold and resolute, but exceedingly rash. To add to the misfortune of the Austrians, not one deserter, not even a peasant—they were all up in arms in favour of the Spaniards—went over to give them the least information, so that they knew little of the strength and advantage of Lede's position till they got into action and were within musket-shot of the Spanish trenches. At first de Mercy intended to attack at three different points that evening; but the movements of the Austrians were slow, and night fell before they were ready. On the following morning, however, as soon as day dawned the three attacking columns moved and came to blows on three different points. Secken-

* Byng left behind him Captain Matthews with a squadron to observe Cammock, and, if possible, hinder his escaping out of Messina to the southward. Matthews had the good fortune to run the Santa Rosalia, *of 64 guns, ashore*; the San Pedro, *of 60 guns*, was cast away in the Gulf of Tarento; and Cammock, endeavouring to escape to Spain in a small frigate, was chased, and escaped with extreme difficulty in a boat to Catania, leaving his frigate with all his effects and papers to be taken by Captain Matthews. Among his papers was a commission from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the White. Cammock, it appears, had assured the ex-Jesuit Patino that he could put most of the English fleet into his hands; and "in that senseless confidence," he had written to *Byng to let* him know that he had *King James's* command to assure him that if he would bring over his fleet to Messina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albemarle, give him a hundred thousand pounds to support that rank, and reward proportionately every captain and every seaman in the fleet.

† All the foot, it is said, was landed in less than *two* hours, and most of the cavalry in *nine* hours.

* The Alcantara, like nearly all the so-called rivers in the island, is rather a *fiumaro*, or water-course for the winter torrents, than a real river. Long before the end of June the water is dry in nearly every part of it: but the bed is rugged and difficult to pass, and the bare steep banks, running from six to eight feet in height, are at this point hard to climb.

dorf was rather successful: he drove the Spaniards behind their entrenchments; and the dragoons of Anspach charged very brilliantly and gained some advantages. But in the afternoon, when the Austrians concentrated and advanced towards the rock on which the Capuchin convent stood, they were received with such vigour, and they found the ground so difficult, that they were obliged to give way. De Mercy threw forward fresh corps to support them; and attack after attack was made upon the convent by the choicest of the emperor's troops. Villadarias repelled them all. Seeing that another night was about closing in, de Mercy put himself at the head of two fresh battalions to make another charge; but, after having one horse killed under him and two other horses disabled, he was dangerously wounded himself by a musket ball, and carried off the field. Darkness put an end to the action, and left things undecided: the Spaniards had suffered least; but the Germans retained several small posts which they had carried.* On the morrow de Mercy drew up his army as if to renew the attack on the fatal Capuchin convent, under whose rocks and walls nearly all the mischief had been sustained; but the other generals had become convinced of the strength of that position, and, perceiving that the men were dispirited, they with great difficulty prevailed upon *him not* to persist. De Mercy then withdrew in good order, hoping to re-establish his communication with the English fleet, and to cut off Lede and his army from Messina. The fate of the war was in the hands of Byng and his sailors; the Austrians could scarcely find a mouthful of bread in the interior of the island. But the English admiral did more than furnish provisions and secure communications: he prevailed upon Count Daun, the viceroy of Naples, to represent or to get it hinted both at Turin and at Vienna that all thoughts of an expedition to Sardinia—the expedition agreed upon in the convention between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy—ought to be laid aside for the present, and that the troops which could be spared should be sent immediately into Sicily. And then, attending to an earnest invitation sent to him by the wounded and much suffering de Mercy, and "forgetting for a while his own station and element," the admiral set out on horseback for the Austrian camp—and, "passing through roads strewed with dead bodies of men and horses that had fallen in skirmishes the day before between the sea-side and the camp, he alighted at the count's tent."† As usual, he found the Austrian generals laying the blame upon one another, and insisting, each of them, that if his particular opinion had been taken the battle of Franca Villa would have been a decisive victory. Byng very properly directed their attention to the future. De Mercy now proposed that the army should march into the fertile country about Catania and the declivities of Mount Etna, or else go into cantonments round Syracuse (where they must have perished of malaria), waiting in either case for reinforcements from Germany. The English admiral agreed with him in opinion that the army could not continue where it was; that it was insufficient for any speedy conquest of the island; and that reinforcements ought to arrive before any extensive operations were undertaken: but he strongly opposed the march to Catania and the cantonment at Syracuse, as things "that would give the world a worse opinion of the late action at Franca Villa than it deserved, and make it be concluded that they had been defeated and disabled, which would blemish the credit of their arms, and give too much spirit to the enemy and to the Sicilians in their interest." He as earnestly recommended to de Mercy the siege of Messina, which would support the reputation of his army, and greatly facilitate the reduction of the rest of the island: nay, Byng insisted upon this siege for his own sake, saying, that his experience, the last winter, in keeping two squadrons, one within, the other without, the Faro, to block up the Spanish ships in Messina, and secure the passage of provisions to the army at Melazzo, had determined him never again to hazard the destruction of the king his master's ships on a service of such evident danger in that tempestuous season, without having a port to shelter or befriend him; that the reduction of Messina would enable him to do far more for the common cause than he had hitherto done; and, the necessity of the blockade being removed, he should at once be able to send a detachment to cruise on the coast of Spain, which would distress the enemy at home, and hinder their sending further succours into Sicily. The Austrians unanimously agreed with the admiral; and they heard with extreme pleasure that he had already taken it upon himself to recommend, indirectly, to the emperor and the Duke of Savoy that the army intended for the reduction of Sardinia should pass first into Sicily, which, as matters stood, was the nearest way to the conquest of both islands. A

* The Imperialists are said to have lost 846 in killed, and to have had 2400 wounded: the loss of the Spaniards is set down at about 1500 *men in* killed and wounded. *Among* the wounded on the side of the allies was Admiral Byng's second son, who was serving as a volunteer.

† After anxious consultations with de Mercy, the admiral went to visit his own son who had been wounded at Franca Villa. "He found him languishing in his tent, in a way that gave little hopes of his recovery; not so much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unskilfulness of those who attended him." We know from other quarters that the following remarks proceeded from no spirit of exaggeration—that long after the Sicilian war the medical staff of Austrian armies was disgraceful: "It may be wondered that the emperor is so well served in the courage of his troops, when so little care is generally taken of their preservation in accidents of wounds or sickness. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed *in action*, except that of a lingering or a sudden death. After the battle of Franca Villa the wounded men were laid on the *ground* with their ammunition bread set by them, and left exposed to the sun and fortune. The general himself had only his own valet-de-chambre to dress his wound and attend him. It was a moving spectacle to the admiral to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, some endeavouring, with the support of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the sea-side, in order to get a passage over from Reggio; others unable to go on from pain or faintness, falling down on the earth and left to die there. This is a great blemish on their service, and gives handle to the maxim which *their enemies* would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than cure one, and so give themselves little concern for his recovery."—*Account of the Expedition, &c.*

remaining objection of the Austrians was removed by Byng's agreeing to spare them some fifty of his cannon, with a proportionate quantity of powder and ball, and by his undertaking to solicit personally at Naples for everything necessary to carry on that important service with honour and success. The whole of Byng's conduct in this little known but very curious war seems to have been that of an excellent officer and diplomatist. As soon as this conference was over he rode back to the coast, sailed away with two ships only, and, after a tedious and painful passage, got to Naples, where, to his great surprise and concern, he learned that his old friend Count Daun was removed from the government, and succeeded by Count Gallas, who was a good ambassador but no soldier, and wholly ignorant of military operations and the means by which they are to be carried on. Byng frankly and manfully told Gallas that the Spaniards in Sicily were favoured and assisted by the natives, and held Palermo, Messina, and nearly every other important city; that the Austrians, on the contrary, were disliked by the natives, and had an enemy in every Sicilian they met; that they had been entangled among barren mountains, and were actually depending on a precarious assistance from the sea; and, finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conquest of Sicily was impracticable. Byng knew that the Imperial force collected for Sardinia lay ready in Lombardy and Piedmont; but he also knew that his own court, as well as the courts of Versailles and Turin, had just been eagerly and unwisely pressing for the embarkation of that force for its original destination: yet, notwithstanding the latter embarrassing circumstance, "he spoke out his opinion plainly to the viceroy, that the expedition to Sardinia ought to be laid aside for the present; that the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the shortest way of getting both islands was to conquer one first." Count Gallas had the good sense to see that this was the proper course, but he feared that Austria was not at liberty to divert those troops from Sardinia without the consent of the Duke of Savoy, who was to get and keep Sardinia, and of the other courts in the alliance; and he begged the admiral to make representations to Turin, Paris, and London, while he should himself make them to the emperor. And, in effect, Gallas instantly dispatched the Count de Ligneville to the emperor, to urge the good arguments of Byng. Naples was at this moment the great centre of affairs in Europe: all the powers in the Quadruple Alliance, as well as the minor states concerned for or with them, had their ministers and agents there to watch over their respective interests, to discover intrigues, or to make new ones. The English admiral had the good fortune to remove the jealousy of the Savoyards, who suspected that the emperor, in the matter of Sicily, was to be served first, and their own sovereign, in the matter of Sardinia, served last, or not at all; and he fully convinced the Duke of Savoy's minister that the expedient of sending the troops designed for Sardinia into Sicily was the effect of hard necessity, and not a pretence for postponing his master's interests, which the courts of England and France had as much at heart as the interests of the emperor;—and, in the end, the court of Turin gave its concurrence to Byng's scheme. While the admiral remained at Naples Captain Haddock, of the Grafton, brought into the bay two large Genoese ships, which he had taken off Palermo, with six hundred Swiss recruits on board for the Spanish army; Captain Strickland, of the Lennox, had driven a third Genoese on shore, and then burnt her, but about two hundred recruits and most of the sailors had escaped. Byng was now anxious to return to Messina—for he knew his assistance would be wanted. His leave-taking with Gallas, the new viceroy, was remarkable: he was himself ill of a fever, and the viceroy was dying of malaria;* unable to walk, and scarcely able to stand, he caused himself to be carried to the bedside of Count Gallas, and there, being seated, they held a short conference about the best means of carrying on the war, and then bade each other farewell. The viceroy died two days after; but the sea voyage restored Byng; and when, after five days (on the 28th of July) he came to anchor off the Faro Point near to Messina, though too weak to go out of his ship, he was out of all danger. The Austrians again wanted gunpowder, and he gave it them. They had not been idle:—General Wachtendonck had taken by stratagem the town of Taormina, a strong pass in the way to Messina, and then the main body had advanced without opposition by the passes of La Scaletta, suffering extremely from the heat, but being assisted by the transports, which coasted along in a line with them, carrying their artillery, heavy baggage, and provisions. De Mercy, who never saw well, had been struck with a temporary blindness; and he had retired across the straits to Reggio, to the cool and pleasant orange-groves on the Calabrian coast; leaving the command of the army to General Zumjungen, who, eight days before Byng's arrival, had begun the siege of Messina. But de Mercy's impatience would not permit him to lie idle at Reggio, and, notwithstanding the anguish of the wound he had received at Franca Villa—the unskilful surgeons had not yet been able to get the ball out of his body—as soon as he could see a little with one eye he recrossed the strait, and arrived at Messina nearly at the same time as the English admiral. That place was defended for Spain by the Marquess Spinola, the inheritor of a great military name, and himself an officer of high reputation; but he had only three thousand men, a force unequal to the extent of the works to be defended. The imperialists soon took the castle of Gonzaga, which stood on a hill immediately behind the town, and commanded the port and

* The Italians attributed the viceroy's malady to his travelling through the Campagna of Rome in the dog-days.

nearly every part of the city; and they also effected a considerable breach in one of the bastions of the town. Hereupon Spinola withdrew his troops from the town into the compact and exceedingly strong citadel; and then the senate of Messina sent to propose a capitulation for the town. De Mercy asked them whether he was to treat with them as subjects of his master the emperor, or as enemies: the poor Messinese thought it best to be considered as loyal Austrian subjects; and on the following day—the 8th of August—they opened their gates to his army, and relied on the clemency of the emperor. This sudden kind of change soon became very general; and the Sicilians, who had sworn fealty to his most Catholic majesty, hastened to declare that his imperial majesty was their true and lawful sovereign.* As soon as the city was taken, Byng landed some English sailors and grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro, and opened a free passage for his ships. The admiral then came round to anchor almost at the mouth of the fine harbour of Messina, where he saw the Spanish men-of-war striking their masts and removing their rigging. It was quite clear that these Spanish ships could never get to sea; but they were, nevertheless, well-nigh being the cause of mischief to the allies. The case was curious:—an officer of the Duke of Savoy, whom we may henceforth call by his new and lasting title of King of Sardinia, claimed for his master two of the best ships which had formerly belonged to him, and which had been seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo: Byng, on the other hand, declared that he could not think the king of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; that the ships had been taken by the Spaniards, had been fitted out and armed at their expense, and had fought under their colours; that even now they could and would most assuredly put out to sea, if the English fleet did not hinder them; and that he could not consider them in any other light than as the ships of an enemy, that were, or at least presently would be, his fair prize. But while these conflicting claims were irreconcilable, de Mercy put in a third claim for his master, the emperor, pretending that, as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, they must, according to the law of nations, belong to his imperial majesty. To this claim of the Austrian general the English admiral replied, that, if it had not been for his two squadrons which he had employed on purpose and at a great hazard, there could have been no blockade of Messina, and there would have been no ships at all within the port to dispute about; adding that, if, even now, he were to withdraw his fleet, the Spaniards would be able to get to sea and out of the reach of the emperor's land forces; though he (Byng) with his ships would, in that case, have a good chance of falling in with them and capturing them all. Both Savoyards and Austrians, however, stuck to their claim; and the English admiral reflected that, possibly, the Spanish garrison in the citadel of Messina might capitulate for the safe return of those ships to Spain, "*which he was determined never to suffer*"—that the right of possession might lead to very inconvenient disputes, and that, if it should turn out "that they did not belong to England, *it were better they belonged to nobody*:" and, as the proper undoing of this Gordian knot, he proposed to de Mercy to set up a good battery and destroy the ships in the harbour as they lay. The general did not like this plan, and wanted time to write to Vienna for instructions; but the admiral, with some heat, assured him that no instructions were wanting to destroy everything that belonged to the enemy; and he insisted so firmly, that de Mercy, notwithstanding the representations and protests of the King of Sardinia's agent, consented to the erecting of a terrible battery, which, in a brief space of time, sunk and destroyed the much disputed ships, and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. Five days after the surrender of the city, the port of Castellazzo and the old Norman castle of Matta-Griffone were reduced by the Imperialists, aided by the British sailors and grenadiers. But the strong citadel was exceedingly well provided, the Germans were slow in their operations, and everything seemed to promise a long siege. On the 13th of August the Count de Ligneville arrived in the camp from Vienna, with the good news of the emperor's having dispatched orders that the little army designed for Sardinia should be embarked at Vado, and conveyed immediately to Sicily. The count was also the bearer of a gracious letter from the emperor to the English admiral, who was cordially thanked for his zeal and most valuable services. Byng determined to run over to the continent in order to superintend the embarkation of the troops; "well knowing, from his experience of the slowness of the Germans in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were necessary to give their motions that quickness which their affairs required." De Mercy begged him to take Naples in his way, and there to represent plainly to the emperor's government the many and great wants of the besieging army.* By the 23rd of August Byng was again in the bay of Naples. He found that the emperor had appointed a cardinal to be viceroy in lieu of Gallas; and that Schrottenbach had just arrived in that quality from Rome. The cardinal "was an honest, good-natured man, and very willing to forward business, but had no great talent for it." When the admiral gave him de Mercy's list of wants, and explained how much that general needed artillery, the churchman told him that there was no artillery or ammunition to spare at Naples; that he would send to Mantua for some cannon, which might be transported down the Po into the Adriatic, and so round by

* Pietro Colletta.

* In giving Byng a list of the particular things he wanted, de Mercy told the admiral, "that, as the siege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurse it, as well for his own sake as for the common interest."—*Account of the Expedition, &c.*

sea to Messina, where, possibly, if no cross accidents happened, they might arrive in *two months' time*. Byng happened to know that these cannon at Mantua were unprovided with carriages; but the cardinal thought to make him easy on this point, by telling him that he would send some carpenters up into the woods of Abruzzo to cut down timber for gun-carriages. "These and the like unsoldierlike proposals gave the admiral a sensible regret of the loss of Count Daun, in whose room he found himself co-operating with a viceroy better qualified for his breviary than for counsel in operations of war, and whose court was crowded with monks and priests, and *such like disagreeable objects*, instead of men of business and service." His eminence, the cardinal, however, called together a number of Neapolitan and German officers, and bade them consult and do their best with Byng. These officers did not find much difficulty as to the articles of corn and recruits; but guns, they said, were guns at Naples, and not to be risked in Sicily lightly. The admiral told him that de Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery; that he was within two hundred paces of the counterscarp of the citadel of Messina, and would certainly be forced to stop for want of necessary supplies. At last he told them that he would be contented if they could but send ten or twelve cannon, with a proportionate quantity of powder and ball. The Neapolitan who had charge of the ordnance said that perhaps eight guns might be spared from the mole and battery in the city; but, upon inquiry, Byng found that these guns were fifty and sixty pounders; some without ball to fit them, others without carriages, and all of them unwieldy and unfit for battery! And, upon further examination, the general officers assembled confessed, one and all, that the whole kingdom of Naples could not furnish the paltry supply of cannon and ammunition which de Mercy wanted. "This," says the narrator of these events, who we believe was one of Byng's sons, "was such a declaration of weakness as was not to be expected in so fine a kingdom." As the only resource, the British admiral stripped still further his Spanish prizes; sent de Mercy twenty-four eighteen pounders, with powder and shot; and wrote to Genoa and Leghorn to purchase a thousand barrels more powder, engaging his own credit for the payment. After extraordinary exertions he got together a number of transports, and with these he sailed down to Vado, near Genoa, where he hoped to find the Sardinian army ready, and the commander of it disposed to co-operate with de Mercy at Messina. But here Byng was doubly disappointed: the troops were not ready—they had not even begun to march down to the coast—and their general, Count de Bonneval, when he arrived, talked like a braggart and a fool, telling him that he could not co-operate with de Mercy—that *his* army was upon an independent establishment, and was to act under his own separate command—that it was for de Mercy to reinforce him, and to march with him to reduce Palermo and all that part of Sicily—that he could spare no guns, no gunpowder, no carriages—and that, as for men, de Mercy had surely already enough to take the citadel of Messina. When Byng endeavoured to expose the absurdity of this conduct, and to show that there ought to be no separate command or separate projects till the citadel of Messina had fallen, and that de Mercy ought instantly and at all hazards to be well supplied, Bonneval began to rail against Count Coloredo, the governor of Milan, to whom he imputed all the delays, obstructions, and insufficiencies. But, on the other hand, Count Coloredo, by means of his secretary and adjutant-general, justified himself; only admitting "that his good intentions were ill seconded by the sloth or knavery of the commissaries." With infinite trouble Byng got two vessels sent away, under convoy of one of his ships, with some artillery and ammunition for Messina; but he saw no signs of their victualling the transports, or fitting them up for the reception of troops when they should arrive. He complained to Bonneval, who, in his turn, laid all the blame upon the commissaries; "who," he said, "would do what they pleased, in spite of all that he could say to them, and, being appointed by the Aulic council of war at Vienna, had no regard to his authority or orders." Councils and conferences followed, and did nothing: some columns had arrived, and the rest were on their way from Milan; and still no preparations were made—there was not bread for the men to eat. The English admiral at last told these precious generals and commissaries that, if they continued thus to hinder the embarking of the troops, he would sail away for Messina, where his presence was wanted, and leave the army to follow as it could. The threat had some effect; and he was assured that everything should be ready by the 23rd of September. Yet on the 23rd, when the troops had all arrived, and while Byng was making the best dispositions for embarking them in the transports, he learned that most of the biscuit and wine was wanting; that there was no salt, oil, brandy, or tobacco; nor any hay or oats! He sent his first captain to remonstrate with the chief commissary; but that functionary skulked out of the way, and hid himself. But at last Byng's threats were so loud and terrible that both Bonneval and the commissariat thought it expedient to attend to their duty; and on the 27th of September about six thousand men were shipped off for Sicily with such provisions as could be got. On the 8th of October the admiral with his convoy arrived before Messina, which so elevated the spirits of the besieging army that they instantly attacked a half-moon, and carried it, after losing a hundred men in killed and more than eight hundred in wounded. Byng landed while this work was doing, or just after it was done, and was received with infinite joy by de Mercy and his troops, who considered him as the man that always brought them relief and success, and every good thing that attended

the war. The siege was prosecuted with vigour. On the 18th the governor of the citadel, who had acquitted himself with great honour, beat a parley, and surrendered upon articles: on the 19th the emperor's grenadiers marched in and took possession of a gate of the citadel; and on the 21st the brave Spanish garrison marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea, under an English convoy, to Augusta. And thus ended the siege of Messina, which had lasted three months, and which had occasioned the Germans a tremendous loss in killed and wounded. Bonneval, finding his troops incorporated with those of de Mercy, pretended sickness, passed over to Reggio, and presently made his way back to Vienna, to endeavour to obtain a separate command or the recall of de Mercy. He never returned to Sicily, and it was well that he did not. During the siege, and nearly a month before the arrival of Byng and the six thousand men, Lede and his Spaniards had fortified themselves in a strong and advantageous post at Castro Giovanni, in the centre of the island, and begun to lay in supplies of provisions: they had at one moment threatened to raise the siege of the citadel at Messina, and had even appeared upon the hills in sight of the imperialists' camp.

After the Germans had spent some time in levelling the lines, trenches, and batteries before Messina, and in putting that place into a good posture of defence, they began to concert what they should do next. As usual, a council was called. To march after the Spaniards in the wintry season, with half-starved horses and half-starved men, through an adverse country, mountainous and barren, seemed rather desperate: and at the end of this march was the fortified camp of Castro Giovanni; a position, at the very least, as formidable as that of Franca Villa, where the Imperialists had suffered so severely. There was another line of march along the northern coast to Palermo, and to get possession of that capital might decide the war: but the roads were longer and equally mountainous—the country barren by nature or laid bare by man—the inhabitants hostile—in many places the path or tract (for there was nothing that really merited the name of a road) was so narrow that two men could hardly go abreast—there was no forage for their horses, no magazines in the way, few beasts of burden to carry provisions along with them, and no money to buy them if they could be got—and therefore this project was abandoned also. The next project was to go to Trapani, where the Duke of Savoy or King of Sardinia had a garrison of Piedmontese. At Trapani, instead of being cooped up and famished among mountains, they would be in an open and a plentiful country; but to advance thither by land seemed impracticable, and there were not transports enough to carry the troops by sea; and the Austrians feared that, if they were sent in separate detachments, the Spaniards might destroy them one by one. Syracuse seemed open, and to offer advantages; but the autumnal rains had swelled all the *fiumari*, and there they would not only be at a greater distance from Palermo, but also widely separated from the great *caricatori*, or magazines where the inhabitants usually lay up their corn. After several days had passed in debate and uncertainty, de Mercy and the Austrian generals went one evening on board the English fleet to consult with the admiral. They told him, in a desponding manner, that, as they could neither find subsistence nor undertake any important action where they were, they had come to the resolution to leave a strong garrison in Messina, to transport the horse across the straits to Calabria, where they would find forage, and to send part of the foot by sea to Syracuse, where they might maintain themselves during the winter, and be ready to take the field in the spring. It scarcely required the penetration and ability of Byng to perceive that this scheme was a most mischievous one—a thing that would look like retreat and defeat. It was easy for him to point out a better; and he not only did this, but, what was more, he engaged to facilitate its execution. Indeed, without him, it would have been impracticable. He told de Mercy that a division of the army ought to be sent by sea to Trapani; and, as that division would be too weak to extend itself into the fertile country till other detachments arrived, and might so be starved, he would send his secretary to Tunis, the nearest African port, to buy up corn and transport it instantly to Trapani: adding, "that he knew very well they had no money; and therefore he would employ his own cash and credit to procure this supply, depending upon their honour for repayment, and not doubting to lodge the corn at Trapani before the first detachment of troops arrived there." He showed them that the occupying the isthmus on which Trapani is situated would turn the winter difficulties of the war upon the Spaniards, by obliging them to make long and difficult marches, and to keep the field; that when the whole imperial army was collected at Trapani they would be enabled to enlarge their quarters, to take possession of the plentiful country and the granaries of corn, and to overawe Palermo by their vicinity to it, till the season should favour their march upon that capital. De Mercy embraced the English admiral in a transport of gratitude, and the admiral at once sent off his secretary to Tunis to buy the corn. On the 23rd of November a portion of the Imperialists, horse and foot, sailed for Trapani, where they arrived in three days, and where they found an abundant supply of Byng's Barbary corn ready for them. The transports and convoy-ships then returned to Messina for more troops, which were safely landed and joined to the first division, which was then strong enough to enlarge its quarters and take possession of the neighbouring towns of Marsala and Mazzara.

A.D. 1719.—On the 19th of January, Count de Mercy and Admiral Byng departed from Messina with the last convoy, which consisted of 5400 foot

and 1100 horse. This voyage, unlike the preceding ones, was disastrous: off the isle of Alicudi they were overtaken by a terrible storm, which drove all the transports back to Melazzo and Messina. The admiral, with the general on board his ship, got with great difficulty into Trapani on the 29th; but the whole of the convoy did not arrive till the end of February, and, as it always happened when troops were kept for any length of time on board a ship, many of the soldiers died on this short but rough passage. Still, however, de Mercy mustered, at his first general review near Trapani, 14,000 foot and 3000 horse; and he had left behind him good garrisons in Melazzo, Messina, and one or two other places. He was soon emboldened to advance his outposts within sight of the gulf of Castel Amare; and his foraging parties occasionally looked down from the heights about Monreale upon the beautiful bay and city of Palermo. Lede and the Spaniards, meanwhile, quitted the posts of Mola, Taormina, and Catania; and, leaving a detachment in the fortified camp of Castro Giovanni to secure the magazines he had formed there, and, marching his troops from Valdemone through the island, Lede formed a line running from Alcamo to Salemi, and thence to Castel Vetrano, where he fixed his head-quarters, intending, if possible, to shut up the Imperialists in the north-western corner of the island, and prevent their approach to the capital. At first he was strong enough to keep these lines, and to throw out detachments to lay waste the country about Mazzara, Marsala, and Trapani, and to carry off or destroy cattle, corn, and wine; but in the spring, when de Mercy had collected all his men, and had been strengthened with fresh supplies by sea, the Spaniards were obliged to give ground, and Lede was reduced to fortify his camp at Castel Vetrano, and there to remain almost inactive. De Mercy soon made a movement which seemed to threaten Palermo; and then Lede, moving along the lines he had attempted to occupy, fixed himself at Alcamo, at the opposite extremity of those lines, and near to the capital. But the turns the war had taken had greatly discouraged the partisans of Spain; the peasantry no longer stood by Lede; the rabble of Palermo, always fierce and turbulent, seemed disposed to rise against him; and, cut off by the English cruisers from all assistance from Spain, he renounced the idea of maintaining himself, and made overtures to de Mercy and Byng for evacuating Sicily upon condition of a free passage for himself and army back to Barcelona or some other Spanish port on the Mediterranean. The Austrians, who would thus obtain all they wanted by becoming masters of the island without any further trouble, were well disposed to entertain this proposition; but Byng protested against it, declaring that not a man of the Spanish army should quit that island until a general peace was made; for, to let Lede go as he proposed, would be to furnish Spain with the very best army she possessed, and which might be employed in disturbing England, or in acting against France, the close ally of England in this war. In making the overture, Lede had desired as a prelude that there should be an immediate suspension of hostilities in Sicily. And now de Mercy, after hearing Byng, proposed to the Spaniards that they should surrender Palermo and the sea coast all round the island, and retire into the middle of the country to Castro Giovanni their former fortified camp, or to some other defensible position, in consideration of which a truce would be granted for six weeks, during which both sides might have time to consult their respective courts. The English admiral added the restriction, that, if the Spaniards attempted to withdraw or ship off any of their troops in the interval, the truce should be void; and he sent his eldest son, Mr. Byng, to Vienna, to intimate that, if the imperial court should listen to the proposals of the Spanish general, he as the officer of England could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to quit Sicily till the King of Spain had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance. Lede next proposed treating about the surrender of Palermo with a part of the adjacent country in consideration of a three months' truce, but this negotiation was broken off in consequence of advices received from Madrid; and the Imperialists, continuing hostilities, besieged and took the castle and town of Sciacca, where they found a large and seasonable supply of Sicilian wheat. Palermo might have been taken if they had been a little more active and daring.

But while these events were in progress in Sicily, Alberoni, the father of the expedition as of the war, had been thrown from his high post in Spain. That very remarkable churchman was soon convinced that he had embarked in schemes which far exceeded the power and the means of Spain; but he had the honour of the country at heart, and a spirit that revolted at the idea of sneaking meanly out of a conflict which he had provoked. When the arms of Spain were somewhat brightened by the battle of Franca Villa, he signified that he was ready to consent to a peace upon fair conditions; and he sent his countryman the Marquess Scotti on a mission to Paris and the Hague. Scotti told the French regent that Spain wished to appoint the States General her mediators, and that she would relinquish both Sicily and Sardinia if the French would restore the conquests they had made in her Biscayan provinces, and if the English would restore Gibraltar and port Mahon. The Duke of Orleans, in reply, told Scotti that he could do nothing without consulting his allies the emperor and the King of England; and he refused the Italian noble passports to continue his journey to the Hague. The Abbé Dubois wrote instantly to Stanhope, who was with King George at Hanover. Stanhope had himself gone to Madrid with the offer of restoring Gibraltar, but he was now resolved that nothing should be restored and nothing done in the way of peace, until Alberoni was removed from the ministry, and reduced to a condition in

which he could no longer be dangerous. "We must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace," says Stanhope in his answer to Dubois, "for, as his unbounded ambition has been the sole cause of the war which he undertook in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace, he will only yield to necessity, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success. . . . . Let us, therefore, exact from Philip his dismissal from Spain. . . . When Cardinal Alberoni is once driven from Spain, the Spaniards will never consent to his again coming into administration." A prince of spirit would have risked twenty battles rather than submit to this dictation; but Philip, as soon as it was known that he might purchase a peace by sacrificing his minister, made up his mind to that price. As for the grandees of Spain they had long been incensed at the rule of the son of an Italian gardener—for the cardinal had fought his way upwards from that very humble condition—and in their pride and spite there were many of them who would gladly have seen the minister burnt in an *auto da fe*. The king's confessor, the lord chamberlain, the courtiers of all degrees and of both sexes (the ladies were particularly incensed by the cardinal's economy in the palace), united in one general and sincere effort to work his ruin; but it was an English lord—the strangest of all our many eccentric peers—and the Regent of France that struck the decisive blow. Lord Peterborough, who had again put on his travelling boots, and who was determined to do something in great state affairs though he was neither employed nor trusted by the English government, had entered during the preceding summer into a private correspondence with the Duke of Parma, uncle of the Queen of Spain, and this correspondence had led to an invitation to the court at Parma. Peterborough, whose object it was to induce the duke to use his influence with his niece, who had always been Alberoni's warmest friend, to make her abandon that minister, declined going in person to the duke's court, but agreed to meet a private agent from Parma in the little town of Novi, at the foot of the Bocchetta, between Genoa and Turin; and in consequence of this meeting the Duke of Parma actually wrote pressing letters to his niece the Queen of Spain for the removal of the cardinal, as being the great obstacle to the peace of Europe and the greatest enemy of Spain. Almost at the same moment the French regent bribed Alberoni's agent, the Marquess Scotti, with 50,000 crowns, and sent him back to Madrid to intrigue against his countryman, his friend, and employer. If the war in Sicily had been more successful, the cardinal might perhaps have been spared a little longer; but the capture of the citadel of Messina, the occupation of Trapani, the fears entertained for Palermo, and every article of news that arrived from that country seemed to prove to the Spaniards that they had made enormous efforts only to sacrifice and throw away the *finest* fleet and army they had possessed for many a year; and even the highest-minded among them, who had clung to the cardinal as a minister likely to regenerate Spain and rouse her from her long slumber, now began to renounce him as a rash and unlucky man. On the evening of the 4th of December he transacted business as usual with Philip, and the king treated him with his usual kindness and consideration; but on the very next morning he was by a royal decree dismissed from all his employments, and commanded to leave Madrid in eight days, and the territory of Spain within twenty-one. He endeavoured to obtain an audience of the king or the queen, to justify his conduct with ministers and public men, but neither the king nor the queen would receive him, nor would the public men listen to him with a decent show of patience. The cardinal, therefore, took the road back to his native country, and quitted Spain for ever within the time prescribed by the royal decree, a poorer man than when he entered it, and pursued insidiously, and, as they hoped, to his utter destruction, by the court he had served.*

A. D. 1720. Philip now hoped that he had dissipated the jealousies and apprehensions of the allies, and that he should obtain favourable terms of peace; but he continued to refuse his accession to the Quadruple Alliance, and on the 19th of January (1720) a declaration was signed at Paris not to admit of any conditions contrary to the sense of that treaty. This declaration, aided by artful representations made by the Marquess Scotti and other intriguers in the pay of Dubois and Stanhope, prevailed over the queen of Spain, and she, as usual, prevailed upon her husband, who, before the end of the month, issued a decree announcing his intention to accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

* Philip endeavoured to render the Pope the instrument of his vengeance, and transmitted numerous accusations against the cardinal together with proofs and documents to support them; and the influence of the Spanish crown was exerted to obtain his arrest, trial, and condemnation in Italy. As soon as Alberoni arrived in the territories of the republic of Genoa, he was arrested at the instance of the Pope's nuncio, who accused him as an enemy of the Holy Catholic faith, and who exhibited to the Genoese Senate the heads of accusation furnished by Spain. These were, "1. That he employed the money which he derived from the cruzadoes and other ecclesiastical taxes in making war against Catholic princes. 2. That he undertook a war against the emperor, at a moment when engaged in a contest with the Turks, to the great detriment of Italy and Europe. 3. That for his own private interests he had prohibited the subjects of Spain from soliciting bulls for the benefices conferred by the Pope." The Senate of Genoa, however, declined going into these charges, and restored Alberoni to his liberty, commanding him at the same time to quit their territories. During his short stay in that republic he wrote various defences of his conduct, and his celebrated "Apology." He threw the whole blame of the war and of the broken promises to the Pope upon the King of Spain and his Queen, exposing the intrigues and ambitious designs of the latter. His bold truths gave additional offence to the court of Madrid, which laboured to deprive him of an asylum anywhere, and to procure his degradation at Rome. The members of the sacred college, however, would not deprive him of his cardinal's hat. But his native sovereign the Duke of Parma refused him a passport, and he was obliged to seek an asylum among the Swiss bailiages on the Italian side of the Alps, where he remained more than a year in spite of several base attempts to seize his person.—*Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain.*—We shall soon meet him again busy for the Pretender.

Philip, however, declared that he was thus making a sacrifice of his rights and possessions; and it was agreed beforehand that some of these his claims should be discussed at a congress to be held as soon as convenient at Cambray. He solemnly renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised to evacuate both Sardinia and Sicily within two months.

A courier dispatched from Paris by Lord Stair informed Sir George Byng of most of these circumstances; and de Mercy received a dispatch from the emperor's minister, acquainting him that Spain had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance. The English admiral and the Austrian general sent a trumpet to Lede, who still remained in a hostile attitude at Alcamo. Lede returned for answer that he must look upon the peace as a thing concluded, and that he was therefore ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, until they should receive further orders from their respective courts. De Mercy and Byng then told him they were ready to consent to a suspension of arms upon his delivering up to them the city and castles of Palermo, at which place transports could be best provided, and other necessary measures concerted for carrying him and his army back to Spain. But Lede urged that, as the plenipotentiaries of their masters assembled at the Hague were still in treaty for settling the terms of evacuation, he could not agree to a truce on any other condition than that each party should remain on the ground they now occupied without either of them giving up anything until further orders from their courts. It was hardly to be expected that Byng and de Mercy should consent to this arrangement; for the men-of-war and transports lay very inconveniently at Trapani, an unsafe roadstead, where they had suffered considerable damage. Palermo, on the other hand, would be a secure retreat for the fleet, and the occupation would be a pledge of the sincerity of the intention of the Spaniards to evacuate the island—an intention still doubted by some of the allies. There were also other reasons for objecting to Lede's proposition; for the Imperialists would be confined in a corner of the island, while the Spaniards would be in possession of the principal caricatori and corn depôts, and at liberty to plunder and rifle a country they were bound soon to leave—nor could it be comprehended, how they, who six weeks before, had offered to leave the whole island, upon condition of being sent back to Spain, should now scruple to surrender Palermo; and therefore, as all this had the appearance of chicanery, de Mercy and Byng resolved to go on with the operations of the war. The general and admiral, however, wrote a joint letter to Lede, proposing an interview at a spot half way between the two armies. The King of Spain's general consented to this conference, and they met on the 2nd of April at the place appointed. Lede confessed that he knew the king his master had signed the Quadruple Alliance, and he added that he did not doubt of his sincere intention of evacuating Sicily; but he declared at the same time that he had received no positive orders from Spain. Being asked what proposals he meant to make for a general cessation of hostilities, he replied, as he had done before, that each army might hold what was already in its possession until further orders. De Mercy asked him whether in case they should consent to his keeping possession of Palermo, he would deliver up Augusta and the other posts the Spaniards held on that side of the island, which were now of no possible use to him, though it would be an obvious convenience to him to withdraw the garrisons he had in those parts to join his army, in order to the intended re-embarkation. Lede averred that he could not give up nor quit the possession of any part he had of the island until he received further orders from Madrid; and he read part of the instructions he had received from King Philip. De Mercy on the other side read part of the orders which he had received from the emperor, to agree to a truce in order to the evacuation, and to concert with the Marquess Lede the necessary conditions for facilitating the same; but, if the Marquess Lede should not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to send to Madrid for further instructions, and not name a reasonable time for beginning to embark his troops, then, and in that case, he was to make use of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty which the Spanish minister had signed at the Hague. De Mercy and Byng offered transports, provisions, and a convoy; but Lede maintained his point, declaring again that without fresh orders from Madrid he could give up nothing; and so the conference broke off. During the debate one of the English ships cruising off Palermo took a felucca with packets of letters from Spain to Lede; and Byng, seeing the King of Spain's seal upon the letters, generously sent them unopened to the Spanish general, and liberated the felucca and crew. Immediately after the conference Byng returned to his fleet at Trapani, and de Mercy marched towards Alcamo with the resolution of attacking the Spaniards. The Imperialists reached Alcamo on the 8th of April; but Lede had retreated the night before, leaving some of his sick behind him, and scarcely resting till he got between the heights of Monreale and behind Palermo. De Mercy instantly determined to invest Palermo, and he sent Colonel Baron Neyperg to confer with Admiral Byng, touching the necessary assistance to be rendered by the English fleet. Byng readily agreed to coast along the shore, to furnish provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, and to co-operate with the land army as though his fleet were its left wing. On the 18th of April both fleet and army were in motion, and de Mercy got as far as Sala di Partenico, near the foot of the Monreale heights, where he found that Lede had fortified the passes that led through the hills or round by the sea-shore into the narrow but beautiful plain of Palermo. He then divided the Im-

perialists into two bodies, sending one round to the sea-side with orders to force the pass of Sferra Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilst he himself with the rest of the army ascended the difficult mountains about Carina, in order to get down that way into the same plain; judging, that, if Lede moved from Monreale to defend the pass of Sferra Cavallo, he might get between him and Palermo, or at least have the advantage of falling upon his rear. With infinite toil and difficulty de Mercy gained the crest of the mountain at Carina, whence he saw the beautiful plain and city lying as it were at his feet; but he also discovered the whole Spanish army, which had wheeled round from Monreale, and was now encamped on the edge of the plain, occupying all the passes and erecting breast-works and batteries to stop his progress. De Mercy immediately recalled the principal part of the division he had sent to the sea-shore, leaving only a detachment to convey the artillery and baggage through Sferra Cavallo, which pass the Spaniards had found it necessary to abandon. On the 21st the Imperialists began to descend from Carina by rugged paths and dry water-courses, a most difficult and fatiguing march; but they got down before night and drove in all the Spanish outposts. In the mean while Byng had come to anchor off Mondello at the head of the bay of Palermo, and had taken possession of the tower and landing-place there. He had also landed some of his men, who established a communication between the shipping and de Mercy's camp. Lede now withdrew under the walls of Palermo, ranging his troops across the plain with their left to Monte Caputo, and their right on the sea near the mole-head: the Spaniards were thus in a manner covered with the cannon of the city, and they had strong intrenchments in their front, lined with forty pieces of artillery. They were well provided with all things, and seemed determined to stand the chance of a battle. De Mercy encamped on the same plain in their front and within a mile and a half distance, with his right leaning on the mountain from which he had descended, and his left extending to Monte Pellegrino, near the sea-side. Lede, who left nothing untried, and who seems up to the last moment to have been most reluctant to leave that fair island, sent off one of his aides-de-camp with a letter to Admiral Byng, enclosing a Spanish gazette, which published a treaty of suspension of arms *at sea*, concluded at the Hague between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and which had commenced on the 10th instant; and, as it was now the 22nd, Lede insisted that the English fleet ought to cease hostilities on the instant. But Byng replied that he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention published in a foreign newspaper; that the time for *beginning* the evacuation of Sicily was elapsed, and that he could not separate himself from the emperor's army until the Spaniards were more compliant. De Mercy then determined to bring on a general engagement in front of Palermo as soon as possible; and having received all his artillery and baggage by the way of Sferra Cavallo, he detached Baron Neyperg to dislodge the Spaniards from some posts they had fortified near the mole-head on the sea-side, while another of his best officers made an attempt upon Monte Pellegrino. Byng co-operated most vigorously by detaching three ships to cannonade the posts on the sea-side, where the Spaniards were soon driven from their guns. Several sanguinary attacks were subsequently made along the Spanish lines; and on the 2nd of May, while the Spanish guards were taking their *siesto*, the Germans surprised a redoubt, entered it without firing a shot, and pushed the Spaniards out at the point of the bayonet. This redoubt, though so badly guarded, commanded the whole of the Spanish line, and Lede resolved to retake it at any cost. On the other hand, de Mercy was quite as resolute to keep the point; and both armies were in motion, and on the very point of engaging in a great and decisive battle, when a little felucca shot into the bay and landed a courier from Spain with positive orders to Lede to agree about the evacuation and the transportation of the army into Spain. The marquess instantly drew off his army and sent flags of truce to the Austrians and to the English admiral. The next morning Byng repaired to the Imperialists' camp, where conventions were drawn up and signed for the immediate departure of the Spaniards. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Termini, whence the first embarkation, consisting of 12,000 foot and 600 horse, sailed on the 20th of June for Barcelona: the remainder followed at short intervals.

Nothing now remained to be done in the Mediterranean, but to put the Duke of Savoy in possession of Sardinia. In this operation the English admiral played a principal part, conducting the Savoyard troops to Cagliari, and assisting at the conferences there with the ministers and generals of the several powers concerned; and, at the instance of the court of Turin, the English did not depart till they had seen the whole treaty of surrender fully executed, the Spanish troops returned into Spain, and his majesty of Sardinia quietly possessed of this his new kingdom. The merits of Byng are scarcely exaggerated by the friendly historian of this exceedingly interesting war. "Thus," says that writer, "ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued without it. Never was any service conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe."*

* Account of the expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c. Collected from the Admiral's MSS.

The Quadruple Alliance and the friendly union of France and England gave a twelve years' peace to Europe. A storm, provoked in the north partly through the predilections of King George for continental possessions, had necessitated the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, and at one moment had threatened a fierce war between England and Russia. The new Queen of Sweden had gladly concluded a peace by yielding Bremen and Verden to the King of England, or rather to the Elector of Hanover, and Stetten and some other places to the King of Prussia. But the Czar Peter and the King of Denmark were not to be satisfied with slight sacrifices; and they sought the total ruin and dismemberment of the Swedish monarchy. The English king and the French regent united their pacific efforts, and offered themselves as mediators; but Peter received their overtures with rudeness; and as he was strongest on the Baltic he scoured those seas and committed frightful ravages on the Swedish coast. As an English ambassador—Lord Carteret—could make no impression on Peter, it was resolved to try what an English admiral could do; and Sir John Norris was dispatched to the Baltic with eleven sail of the line to protect the Queen of Sweden, who had thrown herself upon the protection and generosity of England. The czar, nevertheless, knowing that Norris was limited by his instructions, continued his ravages, burning above a thousand villages and the town of Nykoping. But at length Lord Stanhope, who was at Hanover with the king, gave Norris to understand that he must not care about declarations of war, but treat the Russian fleet in the Baltic just as Byng had treated the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean. Norris consequently joined the Swedish men-of-war at Carlscroon, and proceeded in search of the Russians. If his Danish majesty had been bold enough to join his ships with those of the Czar, a combat might have been a very serious affair to England and of doubtful issue; but he had neither faith nor affection for his ally, and he not only withdrew his fleet, but entered into negotiations with England and Sweden. Peter had then the good sense to recal his fleet with all possible haste; by which he probably saved *his* infant navy from entire destruction. The King of Denmark accepted a sum of money as an equivalent for the conquests he had made or was making; and, with the exception of the Czar Peter, all her enemies made peace with the Queen of Sweden, in terror of the arms of England and France, who, in the words of the treaty, had bound themselves and their allies to contribute "*ad coercendum Czarum Russiæ.*" The salvation of Sweden was certainly more owing to England than to any other power, or than to all the other powers put together; yet George did not enter upon it from any very high, or generous, or English motive, but merely for the obtainment of Verden and Bremen, which were absolutely ceded to him by the court of Stockholm. At the same time he was more than suspected of a not very honourable design of seizing and uniting to Hanover the duchy of Mecklenburg, the sovereign prince of which country had been suspended from his government by a sentence of the Aulic council for tyranny and maladministration. George had been invested with what was called a protectoral commission, by virtue of which he administered the affairs of the duchy. According to Lord Chesterfield this commission had been obtained from the emperor in exchange for the instructions sent to Sir George Byng in the Mediterranean! The suspended Duke of Mecklenburg could not deny that his government had been turbulent and mischievous to his people; but he solemnly declared that the troubles in his dominion had been continually fomented by the court of Hanover. All the recent transactions in the north were severely criticised in England, because the negotiations had been principally entrusted to Hanoverian ministers and favourites, and because they bound George to a complicated system of alliances and guarantees.

The king had returned to London in the autumn of the preceding year (1719), and had opened the parliament on the 23rd of November. It had pleased God, he said in his speech, to strengthen the arms of Great Britain, and to prosper the several negotiations: one Protestant kingdom—Sweden—had been already relieved by our seasonable interposition, and a foundation laid for such a union among the great Protestant princes as would tend to the security of our holy religion: and he affirmed that the *hand of God had been visibly with them* in all their undertakings. Two days after the commencement of the session the bill for limiting the peerage was again introduced; the king having strongly recommended the passing of it in his speech, and having urged parliament particularly to secure that part of the constitution which was most liable to abuse. Lord Cowper, more decided than ever in his opposition, said, "that, besides the reasons which induced him last session to oppose the bill, another now existed equal in weight to all the rest; and that was the earnestness with which it was recommended. Precipitation was always dangerous and in many cases suspicious; and he could not help being of opinion that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, it would not be pressed upon the House in this extraordinary manner." Sunderland inveighed against this insinuation, protested the singleness and integrity of his own motives, and declared that the bill was favourable to the honour and dignity of the peerage, and so ought to pass that House. As no one rejoined—as Cowper was left alone—the bill *was* passed on the 30th of November, and sent down to the Commons on the 1st of December (1719). During the recess Walpole had called a meeting of the leaders of the Whigs in opposition at Devonshire House, and had endeavoured to organise a resistance to the bill in both Houses. But he

had found that several of the Whig peers, though in opposition, secretly favoured a measure which would increase their importance; whilst others, commoners as well as peers, had declared that it would be inconsistent in them, as Whigs, to object to a bill which tended to prevent the repetition of an abuse of prerogative (the sudden making of peers for a given purpose) against which they had so often arrayed themselves in the Tory times: and, at this Devonshire House meeting, many of those who disliked the bill as much as Walpole did had declared that they would only expose themselves to defeat and to a lamentable exhibition of weakness as a party, if they attempted to throw it out of the House. But Walpole, who was never easily moved from his purpose, and who well knew how odious the bill was to many rich country gentlemen and ladies, persisted in recommending a trial of strength upon it, assuring the meeting that he would put it in such a light as to excite the indignation of every independent commoner. He told them that he had already overheard a country gentleman, a member of the Lower House, who possessed an estate of not more than 800*l.* a-year, declare, with great warmth, that, although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, yet he would never consent to the injustice of giving a perpetual exclusion to his family from the honours of the peerage. This sentiment Walpole insisted would have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; he declared that if his party deserted him on this question he would stand forth single-handed against it; and, in the end, though the Whig lords gave him little to hope, he prevailed upon his party in the Commons to agree that an opposition should be made in that House.* Accordingly, when this memorable bill came to be read a second time in the Commons, on the 8th of December, Sir John Packington, Sir Richard Steele, Methuen, Smith, and others joined Walpole in denouncing it as invidious, treacherous, and dangerous. Walpole hardly ever indulged in metaphorical display, his speeches being as plain and unornamental as a *compte rendu*; but on this occasion his speech was highly figurative and enriched with classical allusion. Taking one broad side of the peerage question, he said, in the opening of his speech—"Among the Romans, the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour, but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." After more rhetoric and some Latin quotations, Walpole continued, more in his own natural style:—"Had this bill originated with some noble peer of distinguished ancestry, it would have excited less surprise; a desire to exclude others from a participation of honours is no novelty in persons of that class:—*Quod ex aliorum meritis sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meis ascribi nolunt.* But it is matter of just surprise, that a bill of this nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted, by a gentleman who was, not long ago, seated amongst us,* and who, having got into the House of Peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him. When great alterations in the constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time, before the proposed change is finally carried into execution, lest it should produce evil instead of good; but, in this case, when the bill is once sanctioned by parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, because the Upper House will always oppose the repeal of an act which has so considerably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords ought to inspire some jealousy in the Commons; for it must be obvious that whatever the Lords gain must be acquired at the loss of the Commons, and the diminution of the regal prerogative; and that, in all disputes between the Lords and Commons, when the House of Lords is immutable, the Commons must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede. The view of the ministry in forcing the bill is plainly nothing but to secure their power in the House of Lords. The principal argument on which the necessity of it is founded is drawn from the mischief occasioned by the creation of twelve peers during the reign of Queen Anne, for the purpose of carrying an infamous peace through the House of Lords: that was only a temporary measure, whereas the mischief to be occasioned by this bill will be perpetual. It creates thirty-one peers by authority of parliament: so extraordinary a step cannot be supposed to be taken without some sinister design in future. The ministry want no additional strength in the House of Lords for conducting the common affairs of government, as is sufficiently proved by the unanimity with which they have carried through this bill. If, therefore, they think it necessary to acquire additional strength, it must be done with views and intentions more extravagant and hostile to the constitution than any which have yet been attempted. The bill itself is of a most insidious and artful nature." He alluded to the known enmity which existed between the king and the heir to the throne in a delicate but in a very striking manner; and then he spoke with equal art of the personal character of George, and of the seeming surrender of one of the most important of his prerogatives—the faculty of making peers. "We are told," said he, "that his majesty has voluntarily consented to this limitation of his prerogative. It may be true; but may not the king have been deceived? which, if it is ever to be supposed, must be admitted in this case. . . . . The character of the king furnishes us also with a strong proof that he has been deceived; for, although it is a fact that in Hanover, where he

* Coxe.—Speaker Onslow.

* Meaning Stanhope.

possesses absolute power, he never tyrannised over his subjects, or despotically exercised his authority, yet can one instance be produced of his ever giving up a prerogative?" He exposed all the Scotch clauses of the bill, declaring that nothing could be more unfair than that particular clause which assigned to twenty-five Scottish peers hereditary seats in lieu of the sixteen elective ones—that the bill was a violation of the act of union, and would endanger the entire dissolution of it by the high offence it would give to the great body of the Scottish peerage, in thus excluding them and their posterity from all future possibility of taking their seats as British peers. The Scottish peerage had merited a terrible rebuke by their general political baseness and subservience to all ministries—and they got it. "The sixteen elective Scotch peers already admit themselves to be *a dead court weight*, yet the same sixteen are now to be made hereditary, and nine added to their number. These twenty-five, under the influence of corrupt ministers, might find their account in betraying their trust." After declaring that the bill would make the Lords masters of the king, and shut up the door of honour to the rest of the nation, Walpole said—"How can their Lordships expect the Commons to give their concurrence? .... How would they themselves receive a bill which should prevent a baron from being made a viscount, a viscount an earl, an earl a marquess, and a marquess a duke? Would they consent to limit the number of any rank of peerage? Certainly none; unless, perhaps, the dukes. If the pretence for this measure is, that it will tend to secure the freedom of parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions. That this bill will secure the liberty of parliament I totally deny: it will secure a great preponderance to the peers; it will form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude, in all cases of extinction and creation, all such persons from their body as may be obnoxious to them." Steele also delivered a remarkable speech against the bill, which, indisputably, would have brought more dangers to the constitution than it could have removed from it, and which would, indeed, have prodigiously enhanced the ambition or "the perverse haughtiness of the aristocracy." Lord Sunderland, to smooth the way for the bill, had caused it to be hinted or promised that, if the Lower House would but pass it, the Lords would consent to part with their privilege of *scandalum magnatum*, and permit the Commons to administer an oath; and that the king should give up the prerogative of pardoning after an impeachment: but the offer of these "mere trifles, in comparison with the innovations projected,"* was wholly ineffectual; nor did the speeches of Craggs, Lechmere, Aislabie, Hampden, and the other ministerial Whigs make much impression on the House after the triumphant declamation of Walpole, who, in the words of Speaker Onslow, "bore down everything before him." The bill was rejected by a majority of 269 against 177. In spite of this signal defeat ministers continued to hold office. This was no novelty, nor was it considered a dishonour; but what must have appeared dishonourable even in those days was the indisputable fact that Walpole, seeing he could not displace them, began to compromise—promised to support at least parts of this very peerage bill, and in less than six months accepted a subordinate office under them.

* Mr. Hallam.

It was during this session of parliament that the memorable South Sea Company Bill received the royal assent. Nine years before the date at which we are arrived, Harley, in the straits and difficulties in which he found himself by the decline of public credit consequent on the sudden dismission of the Whigs, formed a project which was called his master-piece. He found that the floating debt of the nation amounted to about ten millions, and to settle a fund for paying the interest of 6 per cent., he rendered permanent all the duties upon wines, vinegar, tobacco, India goods, wrought silks, whale-fins, and some other commodities; and, to allure the creditors with the hopes of inestimable advantages from a monopoly of the trade to the South Sea, he proposed that the proprietors of this funded debt, or those to whom the money was owing by the nation, should form themselves into a company to be called "The South Sea Company." The project took wonderfully with the holders of the debentures and capitalists, and under the auspices of the ministry they were incorporated by act of parliament as the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America. But the Bourbon Philip, who was allowed by the peace of Utrecht to retain Spain and the Indies, was far too jealous to admit the British to a free trade in the South Seas or to any part of his dominions; and all that the Company obtained was the nationally dishonouring assiento or contract by which they had the privilege of supplying Spanish America with negroes torn from Africa, for thirty years to come, with permission to send one ship annually with a cargo of goods for sale—which privileges had been secured to England at the peace of Utrecht, and were now made over to the new company by the government. But circumstances occurred which prevented the South Sea Company from reaping any advantages even from this foul monopoly in human flesh and this limited adventure in goods. Their first annual ship did not sail till 1717, and the very next year the trade was suppressed in consequence of Byng's operations in the Mediterranean and the open war with Spain, which led to the total suppression of the factories of the company and the seizure and detention of their servants. We were now, *indeed*, at peace with Spain, but the commercial jealousies of that country remained unaltered and unalterable; and, unless by way of conquest and perma-

nent occupation, there was scarcely a hope of securing any considerable share of the advantages of a trade in the South Seas and with her colonies; or, rather, there was no hope of being able to make a trade—for, under the miserable system which had been pursued, all commerce had remained stinted, or had died away of an atrophy, the mother-country herself deriving the least possible advantages from the rich regions she possessed, and representing to the letter the fable of the dog in the manger. Yet, with these certainties before them, with a blindness even greater than that of the enthusiastic theorist Paterson, British ministers now conceived that the South Sea Company might, by an extending trade, pay off in a trice all the national incumbrances, which in reality were only to be cleared off by slow degrees by an inviolable sinking-fund. Sir John Blunt, a leading South Sea director, a financier well read in the school of Law and Paterson, exhibited the many advantages which would result from consolidating all the funds into one; and he persuaded Stanhope, Sunderland, and Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, that his company could do the business of the government and the nation in the surest and best manner. The great object was to get rid of the irredeemable annuities which had been granted in the two last reigns, mostly for terms of ninety-nine years, and which amounted at present to nearly 800,000*l.* a-year; and Blunt and his company undertook to do this, and to liquidate the entire national debt in the course of twenty-six years, provided only that all the different public securities were reduced to one aggregate fund in their hands, that they were vested with certain commercial privileges, and authorised to take in by purchase or subscription both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. Aislabie, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened this business in the Commons in the month of February, and declared that, if the proposal was accepted, the prosperity of the nation would be marvellously increased and all her debts be paid. Secretary Craggs was equally sanguine, and thought that every member of the House must be ready and willing to embrace the proposal which had been explained to them in so clear and intelligible a manner by the chancellor of the exchequer. But when there had been a doubting silence for nearly a quarter of an hour, Mr. Thomas Broderick, member for Stockbridge, ventured to say that he quite agreed with ministers, that, until the national debt was discharged, or at least in a fair way of being so, we were not to expect to make the figure we formerly had made,—that, till this was done, we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation; but that it was to be hoped that, in order to obtain the best bargain for the nation, every other company, or any other society of men, might be at liberty to deliver in their proposals. Ministers, who had closed with Blunt and the South Sea Company before bringing the matter under discussion, were disconcerted by this almost inevitable suggestion; and, not knowing what to say, they lost their temper and talked nonsense. The chancellor of the exchequer declared that to admit of a competition would be like setting the nation up to auction; that things of this nature should be carried on with spirit. Here he was interrupted by Jekyll, who observed, "It is this spirit which has undone the nation! Our business is to consider thoroughly, deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, not with the spirit alluded to." Aislabie attempted to explain, but in his anger and confusion he only excited laughter. Walpole then rose, and, in a luminous speech, strongly recommended an open competition, and the receiving of proposals from other companies or capitalists. Lechmere replied, and fell violently upon the scheme which Walpole himself had once proposed for the payment of the national debt, declaring that the present South Sea scheme was far safer and surer, and preferable in all respects. Walpole retorted, and proved by papers and figures that Lechmere was in the wrong. That irritable member rose again, and proceeded to speak more violently than before; but he met with repeated interruptions. The chairman (the House was in committee) called to order and exclaimed, "Hear your member;" but nearly the whole House cried out, "We have heard him long enough!" The chairman quitted the chair, and as soon as the speaker had resumed it the House agreed to receive all proposals that might be offered. As the principle of competition was thus allowed, the Bank of England stepped in with proposals:* as soon as the offers of the Bank were known the South Sea Company called a meeting, and, at a general court, the directors were instructed to obtain the preference, *cost what it would.* Upon this the Bank of England raised its offers, and then the South Sea Company raised theirs; and in this manner they went on bidding against each other like two angry clowns at a country sale. When, however, the Company had risen to the enormous offer of seven millions and a half, which they represented as a gratuity to be paid to the public, the Bank stopped its bidding, and the South Sea directors remained in possession of their rash bargain. It appears that the chancellor of the exchequer thought at one time of sharing the bargain between the Bank and the Company, and that Sir John Blunt, referring to Solomon's judgment, said, "No, Sir, we will never divide the child!" The South Sea Bill, however, was still opposed in the Commons by Walpole, who apparently foresaw that the extravagant terms of the contract would never be fulfilled; that the project would only extend the pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, by diverting the genius of the

* The chancellor of the exchequer (Aislabie) afterwards said that the Bank had before "shown great backwardness in undertaking anything to reduce the public debts, and had treated the scheme with much contempt."—*Aislabie's Second Speech before the House of Lords.—Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue.*

nation from trade and industry, and exciting its contempt for slow profits and careful economy. He insisted that, if the proposal of the South Sea Company were accepted, the rise of their stock should be limited; that every care ought to be taken to prevent the artificial rise of the value of the stock by keeping up a general infatuation, and by promising dividends out of funds which would never be adequate to their payment. He endeavoured to introduce a clause into the bill, fixing how many years' purchase should be granted to the annuitants by the South Sea Company: but the Jobbers on the other side—for it is pretty certain that from the beginning there was a corrupt spirit of jobbing as well as folly and a vertigo—represented that it was the evident interest of the company to take up the annuities; and, as the annuitants were free to come in or not, there could be no doubt but that the company would offer advantageous terms; and that, therefore, the whole affair might safely be left to itself, or to be settled between the annuitants and the company. The South Sea Bill was finally passed in the Commons on the 2nd of April, by a majority of 172 to 55; and on the 4th it was carried triumphantly through the other House, where only seventeen peers opposed it, and where little attention was paid to Lord Cowper, who compared the project to the Trojan horse, which was ushered in with pomp and acclamations, but contrived for treachery and destruction. On the 7th of April the bill received the royal assent, and a few days after Walpole published a critical pamphlet entitled 'The South Sea Scheme Considered.' Yet at this moment Lord Townshend and Walpole were both negotiating with the Earl of Sunderland, whom they had charged with having treacherously supplanted them; and both were on the very eve of accepting office. Walpole, as we have said, found he was not strong enough to overthrow the ministry; and Sunderland and Stanhope, who were dreadfully hampered by the Hanoverian favourites, found that they were scarcely strong enough to do without him, as Aislabie, Craggs, and Lechmere, and their other orators in the House of Commons could never stand against him in debate. The objections of the king were removed in consequence of a reconciliation, effected chiefly by Walpole's means, with the Prince of Wales.* This reconciliation of father and son took place in May; and on the 4th of June Walpole was appointed paymaster of the forces, and on the 11th Lord Townshend was named president of the council.

The restoration of family peace at court, and the partial coalition of hostile ministers, cast a damp upon the hopes of the Jacobites. The plotting bishop Atterbury, however, and, no doubt, others of his party, took consolation in the suspicion that the royal father and son were in their hearts as much opposed to each other as ever. "The reconciliation which makes so great a noise," says the Jacobite bishop, "is, whatever may be apprehended of it, imperfect and insincere at the bottom, and calculated only to serve views at the present juncture which could not have been so well attained without it. But, in truth and at the bottom, the parties, as well the principals as those who list under them, are still as much separated in interest and inclination as ever. This is the certain state of the case at present. . . . . But, on the other side, if this opportunity be not laid hold of, matters will alter here for the worse; the seeming reconciliation will, by next winter, grow real, and the common necessity of affairs will drive these new allies into measures that may be for their mutual interest, and into a closer and sincerer conjunction; and the grand money schemes projected of late will settle and fix them in such a manner as that it will not be easy to shake them."* The parliament was prorogued, with more talk about the national prosperity; and, on the 14th of June, George departed for Hanover, adding, before he went, Lord Townshend and the Duke of Devonshire to the council of regency.

Walpole, though re-admitted to place, retired to pass the summer at Houghton. His solitude was soon disturbed by the verification of his sinister predictions about the South Sea Company. The company, in order to fulfil its engagements with government, had recourse to a system of artifice and exaggeration, representing, among other things, that they had made sure of inestimable markets and acquisitions in the South Sea; that they had discovered mines of hidden treasure; that they should be able to pay dividends of 50 per cent., &c.; and the people, in their cupidity, were dazzled by these visions, and, believing them all to be true, rushed with their money, like water through a flood-gate, to invest it all in the company. Men of good estate sold house and land in order to become great shareholders; merchants of eminence neglected their established traffic to reap 50 per cent. of profit; and the whole nation became intoxicated with per-centages, dividends, and transfers. As there was plenty of invention on one side, and the most abundant credulity on the other, it was not wonderful that the company's funds should rapidly rise from 130 to above 300. The strange and exciting drama which John Law had got up at Paris in the autumn of the preceding year (1719) was re-performed in London upon a grander scale, and with numerous additions; for, though the French were quite as sanguine and gambling as the English of that period, they had not quite so much money to throw away. Subscription succeeded subscription, each mounting above the other till the stock rose to above a thousand per cent. And the insolence and arro-

* Walpole, who had scarcely been able to keep terms with the prince when he was in power, courted his Highness's friendship when he was out of place, and became, to all appearance, a personal favourite and the prince's chief adviser. A submissive letter which the prince wrote to his father was in all probability dictated by Walpole.

* Stuart Papers, in Lord Mahon, Appendix.

gance of the governor and directors rose in proportion, until it was said by a member of the House of Commons,—"We have made them kings, and they deal with everybody as such." Stanhope and his colleagues, on the rising of parliament, foreseeing what would happen from mere force of example, had issued a royal proclamation forbidding the formation of companies or bodies corporate, and any raising of stocks or shares, without legal authority; but it was most difficult at any time to enforce such a decree in a country like England; and it was absolutely impossible, in the present frenzied state of the public mind, to prevent the formation of the bubble companies which sprung up and grew round the mighty original like mushrooms round a rotten tree. Among the objects for which joint stocks were proposed were the following:—to make salt water fresh—to make oil out of sun-flower seeds—for extracting silver out of lead—for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal—for trading in human hair—for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger breed of mules—for fatting of hogs—and for a wheel for perpetual motion! "To speak in a gaming style," said a sober financier of the day, "the South Sea stock must be allowed the honour of being the gold table; the better sort of these bubbles, the silver tables; and the lower sort, the farthing tables for the footmen!" But every day brought forth a new project, till all trade was suspended save this gambling in shares, — till 'Change Alley was crammed from morning till night with dukes, lords, country squires, parsons, dissenting ministers, brokers and jobbers, and men of every possible colour and description, — nay, the very ladies appeared there at times, in their eagerness to transact their own business. The highest personage in the land in the king's absence, the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne of three kingdoms, joined in the general scramble, and put his name down as a governor of a Welch copper company! This the prince did against the advice and remonstrances of Compton the Speaker and Walpole, who told him that he was subjecting himself to a prosecution, and to a certain attack in parliament; and that "the Prince of Wales's bubble" would be hawked about in 'Change Alley. As soon, however, as the prince got notice that a prosecution would be instituted against the company, he retired; but, in withdrawing his name, he took care to withdraw also a gambling profit of 40,000*l.*! The prosecutions with which these unauthorised companies were threatened proceeded from the jealousy of the South Sea Company, who, desiring to monopolise all the folly and all the money of the nation, obtained writs of *scire facias* against the managers of the lesser bubbles, and thus put an end to most of them. But, in thus exposing the cards of others, they drew attention to their own game: they wanted only to let in a bit of the truth; but, through the breach they had made, the whole truth burst in, and people began to suspect, and then to be certain, that they had been playing their solid gold against bits of paper, which represented little or nothing, save the matchless impudence of financial projectors. The South Sea stock, that had been going at 1000 in August, sunk below 300 in September, and no exertions could ever get it up again. Bankers, brokers, merchants, goldsmiths, began to break and fly the country, each ruining hundreds or thousands of others in his own ruin. In the height of the panic Walpole was applied to by men who had rejected and despised his advice, but who now implored him to come up to London and make terms with the Bank of England, or persuade the governors of it to accede to a proposal made by the South Sea Company to keep them from breaking, by circulating some of their bonds. Walpole left Houghton, and was present at several conferences between the committee of the South Sea Company and the committee of the Bank; but, after consenting to a proposal made by him for circulating three millions of bonds for one year, the Bank, seeing more clearly the desperate situation of affairs, withdrew, and refused to keep its bargain. And just at this moment news came from France that Law, the real parent of the scheme, was flying for his life from an enraged and beggared people; and that an edict, signed by the regent, had come out, depriving his paper-money of all value. If Englishmen had been cool enough to observe the course of events abroad, they might have seen, several months before, that Law's system was falling more rapidly than it had risen, and was crushing in its ruins the credit and resources of their continental neighbours. If the Parisians, who had once cut his carriage to pieces and almost murdered his coachman, had caught John Law, in all probability they would have made as many pieces of him as they had done of his coach. The Londoners were not quite so ferocious; but they heaped execrations upon the South Sea Company and all that been concerned in it; and "the very name of a South Sea man grew abominable in every country." The directors, the ministers, the royal family, the king himself, were all assailed; and nearly all of them had profited by the bubble while it lasted, or lost large sums when it burst. So general had been the gambling, that one who took the pains to count the exceptions among ministers and noblemen of the highest rank could only name Lord Stanhope and the Dukes of Argyll and Roxburgh as not having been "in the stocks." It is believed, however, that Lord Townshend had taken no share in the mixed knavery and madness: but his relative, his public and private friend Walpole, notwithstanding his denouncement of the scheme, had been deeply in it, and had been a great gainer by it, having sold out at the highest price, leaving his wife to speculate a little longer on her own account. Stanhope's colleague, Sunderland, lost considerable sums; and the Duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin were so reduced as to solicit West

Indian governments. It was said and believed that his majesty and his ill-favoured German mistresses, by buying at the lowest and selling out at the highest, had realised enormous sums, which were all carried over to Hanover, to be hoarded or spent there. It was also said that these rapacious sultanas, and some of the king's ministers as well, had received large sums in stock from Sir John Blunt, the projector, and others, to recommend the project. Reports were even circulated that Sunderland, following the example of his inexplicable father in his conduct with James II., was endeavouring to urge on the king to such acts of unpopularity as might cause his deposition, and the establishment of an oligarchical republic,—that he was persuading his majesty to marry the ugliest and most rapacious of his mistresses, Mademoiselle de Schulemberg, now Duchess of Kendal, in order to destroy the influence of the Prince of Wales, whom he hated and feared. George's Hanoverian counsellors, in their panic and ignorance of the nation, suggested the rashest measures to their sovereign; but George had the good sense to prefer the advice of Walpole, to whom he applied in a very desponding humour for counsel and succour. Doubts may be reasonably entertained as to Walpole's straightforwardness, and the accusations he made against his rival Sunderland, whom he charged with having principally promoted the South Sea Act, for the purpose of securing, by distributions of stock, a majority in both houses of parliament; but the courage with which Walpole came forward, at the call of the king, to face the storm, and the ability and address with which he weathered it, are altogether indisputable; nor is it too much to say that he was the restorer of public credit, and the minister that saved the nation from the worst kind of bankruptcy. While others—Englishmen as well as Hanoverians—were completely bewildered, and doing their best or their worst to increase the alarm and confusion of the king, Walpole looked with a confident eye to the resources of the country, and to the energy of the commercial world; and he wrote consoling letters to Hanover to cheer George, and to advise his speedy return to England. Accompanied by Stanhope, his majesty landed at Margate on the 9th of November, soon after which the South Sea stock fell down to 135.

Between the 9th of November and the 8th of December, when parliament assembled, Walpole matured his scheme for meeting the difficulties of the case, and held numerous conferences with the Bank of England and the East India Company, whom he brought into a plan for ingrafting a certain portion of the South Sea stock upon their stocks. In the House of Commons, however, all the good which Walpole devised ran a risk of being frustrated, by the vehement passions of those men who were more anxious for revenge, and for the downfall of Sunderland and Stanhope, than for the recovery of their country. It was long since so gigantic a mischief had been presented to the oratory of opposition; and the Whigs that were out of place, and the Tories and Jacobites that could hardly hope to get into place except by a revolution,* joined in one thick and noisy phalanx. Pulteney moved the address in reply to the king's speech, proposing that the Commons should assure his majesty that they would at this critical juncture proceed with care, prudence, and temper to inquire into the causes of these misfortunes, and apply proper remedies for restoring and fixing public credit upon such solid foundations as might effectually give ease and quiet to the minds of his majesty's subjects. The Jacobite Shippen proposed an addition after the words "for restoring and fixing public credit," which he said should be "as far as was consistent with the honour of parliament, the interest of the nation, and the principles of justice." He was seconded, and a most violent debate ensued, several of the members uttering bitter invectives against the framers of the act for vesting such large powers in a set of men like the directors of the South Sea Company, whom they called miscreants, the scum of the people, &c. Sir Joseph Jekyll was sure that some men who were not directors (he meant some of the ministers) were highly criminal; and he trusted that a British parliament would punish great national crimes. Lord Molesworth thought that the contrivers, executors, and directors of the South Sea scheme ought to be treated, as the parricides of their country, in the same manner as the ancient Romans punished parricides—that is to say, the guilty wretches ought to be sewed up in a sack and thrown alive into the Thames. Walpole rose to show that all this angry declamation was worse than useless—that they ought to put out the fire and prevent its spreading before they inquired who were the incendiaries. "For my part," said he, "I never approved of the South Sea scheme; but since it cannot be undone, it is the duty of all good men to assist in retrieving the mischief. With this view, I have already bestowed some thoughts on a proposal to restore public credit, which, in proper time, I will submit to the wisdom of parliament." Through Walpole's temper and influence, and through the confidence men had in him as a financier, Shippen's amendment was negatived by a majority of 261 to 103. But on the very next day the storm broke out afresh, and a vindictive clause, recommending measures "for punishing the authors of our present calamities," was carried without a division and added to the address. On the 12th of December, or four days after the opening of parliament, it was moved that the South Sea directors should forthwith be called upon to lay before the House a full account of their proceedings. The motion was hotly seconded. Sir Richard Steele declared that this nation, which two years before had possessed more

* Some of the determined Jacobites flattered themselves that the South Sea calamities would bring on or greatly favour a revolution. Bishop Atterbury was of opinion that if the Duke of Ormond could only make a move, and land with a small army from Spain, the disorder of our finances would do wonders for the Pretender.—*Stuart Papers.*

weight and greater credit than any other in Europe, was reduced to its present distress by a few cipher-ing cits, a species of men of equal capacity, in all respects, (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted,) with those animals who saved the capitol, and that they were now to be screened by men of greater figure. Walpole and his brother Horace both opposed this sudden summoning of the directors, and this warm, passionate way of debating, which could only exasperate the distemper and delay the remedy. The original motion, however, passed without a division, and the directors were ordered to deliver in an account of all their proceedings. So summary were the Commons, that they complained on the 14th of the dilatoriness of these directors; on the 15th some of their accounts were produced; and on the 19th Jekyll moved for a select committee. Walpole again urged that they ought first to consider his remedial plan,—that any delay would be dangerous; and the motion was reduced to a vote, declaring "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." This vote was subsequently formed into a bill; and on the 21st Walpole brought forward his remedy, which was in substance to ingraft nine millions of the South Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the same sum into the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving a remainder of twenty millions to the South Sea Company.

A.D. 1721. After a long opposition, and several alterations, this project was adopted by both Houses of parliament, and a bill embodying it received the royal assent; but from various circumstances it never came into operation. The cry for vengeance continued; and after the Christmas recess a bill was brought in by Jekyll, restraining the South Sea directors from leaving the kingdom, and obliging them to deliver in upon oath the strict value of their estates. Shippen and others declared that the whole injured nation called aloud for vengeance; and they had soon petitions from nearly every county, city, and borough in the kingdom, demanding the punishment of the villanous peculators, and indemnification to the sufferers out of the confiscation of their property. The directors petitioned to be heard by counsel in their defence, as the common right of British subjects—but their prayer was rejected, and Jekyll's bill was carried. A committee of secrecy, consisting chiefly of members that were most violent, was appointed to examine the company's accounts and other papers. Knight, the cashier of the company, and the man that knew most of its secret transactions, took the alarm, or was induced by the fears of others, to whom he had been an agent, to fly out of England, and to take with him the register called the Green Book. When his escape was reported to the House the excitement was as great as it could have been at the arrival of the Pretender in the city of London: the doors were ordered to be locked and the keys to be laid upon the table; and General Ross, a member of the committee of secrecy, declared that they had discovered "a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." Without waiting for any proof, four of the South Sea directors, who were members of parliament, were expelled the House, taken into custody, and had their papers seized. The other directors were seized with their papers shortly after. Nor was there less heat in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. Their lordships had brought five of the directors before them, and had made them either confess or admit by implication that South Sea paper had been liberally distributed to procure the passing of the act which had enabled them to do such fatal mischief. Upon this Lord Stanhope expressed great indignation, and moved a resolution that the transfer of stock for the use of any person in the administration was a dangerous corruption. On the 4th of February Sir John Blunt refused to answer their lordships, upon the ground that he had already given his evidence before the Commons' secret committee. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which the Duke of Wharton, who had just come of age, and who to splendid abilities united the wildest profligacy, fell with fury upon Stanhope, whom he compared to Sejanus, that evil and too powerful minister, who had sown division in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans. Stanhope replied, and reminded the young libertine of the example of Brutus, who to assert the liberty of Rome had sacrificed his own degenerate and worthless son: but in his transport of rage the blood rushed to his head; he was led out of the House, and on the next day the accomplished Earl of Stanhope was a corpse. The president of the "Hell-fire Club," having killed the minister, hardly ever spoke again in the House, but gave himself up to debaucheries which disgraced and shortened his own life, and involved him in difficulties which led him to treason and attainder. Lord Townshend became secretary of state in the room of Stanhope; and, as Aislabie was crushed by popular opinion, Walpole was again made chancellor of the exchequer. Meanwhile the secret committee continued their labours, sitting nearly every day from nine in the morning till eleven at night; and on the 16th of February they presented their report to the House. It was astounding, and calculated to destroy all remaining confidence (the *all* was very small) in ministerial honesty. The committee stated that their inquiry had been attended with many difficulties, as the company's books were full of false and fictitious entries, blanks, erasures, and alterations, while some of their books had been destroyed altogether or secreted. They had, however, ascertained by the cross examination of the directors and accountants, and by other means, that before the South Sea Bill was passed, and in order to get it passed, the directors in the secret management had disposed of fictitious stock at various prices, amounting in the whole to rather more

than 1,200,000*l.*, to be esteemed as holden of the company for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, who made no agreement, deposited no money, and gave no security for payment—a contrivance by which the holders of the stock could sustain no loss if it should fall, and would receive all the gain if it should rise. Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, who had fled, had the disposal of this stock; and they had given to the Earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr. Craggs, senior, 50,000*l.*—to the Duchess of Kendal, 10,000*l.*—to the Countess of Platen, another of the king's mistresses, 10,000*l.*—to the Countess of Platen's two nieces, 10,000*l.*—to Mr. Craggs, senior, 30,000*l.*—to Charles Stanhope, Esquire, secretary of the treasury, 10,000*l.*—to the Sword-blade Company, 50,000*l.* The committee of secrecy further showed, that Charles Stanhope had received a difference or profit of 250,000*l.*, through the hands of Sir George Caswal and Co., but that his name had been altered in their books to *Stangape;* that Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, had accounts with merchants or brokers to the amount of 794,451*l.*; and that he had advised the company to make their second subscription, by their own authority and without any warrant, a million and a half instead of a million; that on the third subscription Aislabie's list amounted to 70,000*l.*, Sunderland's to 160,000*l.*, Craggs's to 659,000*l.*, and Stanhope's to 47,000*l.*; and that on the pawned stock which had been sold there was, by the means of Mr. Knight, a deficiency of 400,000*l.* This report was succeeded by six others, in the last of which the committee declared that the absconding of Knight, who had the key to the darkest secrets, and who had often been solely intrusted, had left them in the dark as to many particulars. While this report was reading in the House one of the ministers accused, James Craggs, secretary of state, died of the small-pox, which was then raging. It is supposed that anxiety of mind contributed with the loathsome disease in killing this accomplished friend of Alexander Pope. As to his father, the post-master-general, who was accused of similar peculation, he took poison and died of it a few weeks after. The first public man the House proceeded against was Charles Stanhope, a near relation of the late minister Lord Stanhope, and brother of Colonel William Stanhope, first Lord Harrington. It was proved against him that a large sum of stock had been entered for him, and that the name Stan*gape* in the ledger had really been Stanhope; but, chiefly through the esteem felt for his deceased relative Lord Stanhope, he was declared innocent by a majority of three. Aislabie's case came on next, and it was so bad as to admit of scarcely any defence or palliation: he was unanimously expelled the House and committed to the Tower, to the great joy of the city of London, where bonfires were lit in all directions. The greater part of Aislabie's property was also seized. The House next charged Lord Sunderland, who had repeatedly shown a noble disinterestedness in money matters; but their charge rested on second-hand evidence, or upon words which Sir John Blunt, now a ruined and desperate man, said that Knight had said to him; and Sunderland was acquitted by the large majority of 233 against 172. It appears indeed that one of that minister's bitterest enemies accused Sunderland not of having been the confederate, but the dupe and victim, of the directors;* and instead of making money he lost large sums by the South Sea scheme. Against the mistresses and court ladies the Commons did not proceed; but they fell with the whole weight of their vengeance upon the directors, who, as "monsters of pride and covetousness"—"cannibals of 'Change Alley,"—and traitors to their country, were deemed unentitled to fair play, and to the ordinary decencies of legal procedure. They were for ever disabled from holding places, sitting in parliament, or becoming members of any companies; their estates were confiscated for the relief of the beggary they had caused, and they were themselves allowed little better than a beggar's pittance out of their confiscated property. No distinction was made as to degrees of guilt or folly, and no attention paid to the fact that several of these directors left off poorer than when they had begun.† Among the victims was Mr. Gibbon, the grandfather of the historian, who had been one of the distributors of the fictitious stock as bribes. His eloquent grandson afterwards exposed the irregularity and violence of these proceedings, which, at the time, seemed to the public to have no fault but that of being too mild. The pamphleteers of the day recommended hanging, and a member of the House of Commons lamented that after all there would be nobody's blood shed.

In spite of his acquittal, Sunderland found himself so unpopular that he resigned the treasury and premiership, and was succeeded by Walpole, who thus obtained the summit of his ambition. He shared his power for a time with Lord Townshend, who got the secretaryship of state vacated by the death of Lord Stanhope; but Sunderland continued to be a sort of favourite or prime adviser with the king, and to have considerable influence at court. It was said to be through his influence that Lord Cadogan was placed at the head of the army, and Lord Carteret advanced to the office of joint-secretary with Townshend. Walpole's commission, as first lord of the treasury, was dated the 2nd of April, 1721; and from this date down to the year 1742 he held the reins of government in England, often in circumstances of peculiar embarrassment and difficulty. His first care now was to dissipate the popular panic and restore credit and confidence. As chairman of the committee he drew up the address of the Commons to the king. After representing the confusion and

* Letter from Mr. Broderick to Lord Middleton.

† "Several of the directors," says Macpherson, "were so far innocent as to be found poorer at the breaking up of the scheme than when it began."—*Hist. Commerce.*

mischiefs which had resulted from the fatal South Sea scheme, this address described the cause of those mischiefs, explained the difficulty of remedying them all at once, and recapitulated the resolutions which had passed the House for re-establishing the national credit, remitting 4,156,341*l.* to the South Sea Company, dividing the remaining capital stock among the proprietors, and preventing stock-jobbing. All these resolutions were embodied in a bill for making several provisions to restore the public credit, which suffered from the frauds and mismanagements of the late South Sea directors and others. On the day appointed for the second reading of this bill, the lobby of the House was filled with proprietors of the short annuities and other redeemable debts, who tumultuously demanded justice of the members as they were passing, and put into their hands papers, both written and printed, to show that they ought not to be bound down nor lose a sixpence of the money, nor pay any penalty for the greedy imprudence of which they had been guilty. The clamour was so great that the justices of peace for Westminster and the constables were sent for before the House proceeded to business. Sir John Ward presented a petition from these proprietors of the redeemable funds, who prayed to be heard by themselves or counsel. But Walpole put the question for adjourning, which was carried by a majority of 78 to 29. As the riot grew louder, the justices of peace were commanded by the speaker to disperse the crowd. The Riot Act was read and some of the most noisy were arrested. These men exclaimed, "You first pick our pockets and then send us to gaol for complaining." On the following day the bill was re-produced, and after some slight changes was ordered to be engrossed: it was read the third time, passed, and sent to the Lords, and by the 10th of July it received the royal assent. By this bill which superseded the measure he had formerly proposed, Walpole remitted more than five millions of the seven millions and a half which the South Sea directors had promised the public as a bonus;* their forfeited estates were applied to clear off part of the incumbrances, and 33 per cent. of the capital was to be paid to the proprietors. If not perfect, the measure did great good; but Walpole had not been unsuspected of the passion of money-getting, and he was subsequently accused of having made his arrangements to suit his own interests, and of having concluded a collusive bargain with the Bank of England. The charges, however, were never well supported, and now seem incapable of proof.

When this difficult business was ended, parliament was prorogued with a consoling speech from the throne. "The common calamity," said his majesty, "occasioned by the wicked execution of the South Sea scheme, was become so very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult; but it is a great comfort to me to observe that public credit *now begins to recover;* which gives me the greatest hopes that it will be entirely restored, when all the provisions you have made for that end shall be duly put in execution. I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily given my assent to such bills as you have presented to me, for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes, and for obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those who have been injured by them, in such a manner as you judged proper. I was at the same time willing and desirous by my free and general pardon to give ease and quiet to the rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in such a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the laws." But the rest of his majesty's subjects could not help observing that Mademoiselle de Schulemberg remained an English duchess, and that the women and foreign favourites, who were believed to have gotten a far larger share of the booty than was proved against them, continued at the English court to make fresh bargains. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the greed of these questionable personages, who had repeatedly harassed the late minister Stanhope almost to death, and had induced him more than once to threaten his resignation.

After the fall of Alberoni and the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, all obstacles to a peace with Spain seemed to be removed, and a treaty between that country and Great Britain was signed at Madrid on the 13th of June, one of the conditions being that restitution should be made of all the effects taken on both sides. And on the very same day, to the surprise of all who were not acquainted with the motives of King George, a treaty of defensive alliance was signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. In this treaty Great Britain engaged, by a secret article, not to oppose the views of Spain in Italy; and by another secret article France and Spain guaranteed to Hanover the possession of Bremen and Verden—a guarantee which had been obstinately refused by the emperor, who thereby had lost the friendship of George, and exposed both the dominions he held, and the others he coveted in Italy. Numerous differences were referred to the congress agreed to be held at Cambray, which met, and disputed, and dissolved without settling anything. George, in his eagerness to procure the guarantee of Spain for Bremen and Verden, had again made an offer, "touching the restoration of Gibraltar," promising in a letter to Philip "to regulate this article with the consent of parliament;" but when the secret proposal became known it excited so much indignation that he was obliged to withdraw it.* In the month of August a definitive treaty was concluded, under the medi-

* He afterwards yielded the directors the other two millions, being wearied by their complaints and convinced that nothing could come of it. The said two millions Walpole had at first reserved to go towards paying off the national debt.

* Hardwicke, State Papers.—Coxe, Memoirs.

ation of France, between the Czar Peter and the Queen of Sweden, by which the fertile provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Russia, and nothing but the barren deserts of Finland restored to Sweden.

The first Septennial Parliament of Great Britain met for its last session on October the 19th, this year. The king, in his speech, set forth the happy event of peace being restored to Europe. During the recess Walpole had abolished various duties and had given an impulse to the national industry; and in the royal speech, which was drawn up by Walpole, further exertions in this direction were recommended. But the spirit of opposition was unsoothed, and a most violent debate arose on the vast amount of the navy debt, stated at 1,700,000*l.* The Tories—for the two divisions of Whigs had coalesced on Walpole's obtaining the premiership—represented that the money had been spent in employing more seamen than were needed; that neither the services of Byng* in the Mediterranean nor those of Sir John Norris in the Baltic had any national or honourable object: but the storm was laid in the Commons by the Whig majority, and by the dexterous parliamentary management of the minister. In the Lords the Jacobite Earl of Strafford declaimed vehemently against the whole course of our foreign politics. His lordship, who had wished for the success of the Duke of Ormond and the Spanish invasion of Scotland and England, declared that the war against Spain had been begun without provocation, and ended without advantage; that the Spanish fleet had been attacked by Byng contrary to the law of nations, without any declaration of war, and while amicable negotiations were pending; and he concluded with a motion for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to cause the instructions given to Byng to be laid before the House. His motion was, however, rejected by a majority of 67 to 24.

In the preceding session part of the time of parliament had been occupied with theological disputation, and the Earl of Nottingham had brought a bill into the House of Peers for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness. This bill had been recommended to his lordship and probably written by the university of Oxford, who were excited by the publications of the famous professor Whiston. It enacted that, if any one spoke or wrote against the being of a God, the divinity of Jesus Christ or of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, he should suffer imprisonment for an indefinite term, unless, within a given time, and in a form prescribed, he should publicly renounce and abjure his errors: and by a clause in the bill the archbishops and bishops within their respective jurisdictions, and the justices of peace in their several counties, were authorised to summon to appear at the quarter session any dissenting teacher, and require his subscription to a declaration of faith, having it in their power, upon his refusal, to deprive him of the benefit of the Act of Toleration. Doctor Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, compared this to the establishment of a *Protestant Inquisition;* the Earl of Peterborough declared that, though he was for a parliamentary king, he was not for a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion, and that if the bill were to pass he should think of obtaining a seat in the conclave of cardinals. Lord Onslow said, that, though he was himself zealously attached to the doctrines of the church of England, he would never consent to support even the truth itself by persecution; and he moved that the bill should be thrown out—and upon a division the bill had been thrown out by a majority of 60 to 31. In the present session there was another religious debate. That respectable class of citizens denominated Quakers, who had rapidly cooled down from the blazing heat of extravagance and fanaticism to the gentlest and most amiable of temperatures, had been indulged by an act, passed long before, for taking their solemn affirmation in lieu of an oath. But in the form of this affirmation were the words—"in the presence of Almighty God"—and they now petitioned for the removal of these words, which they held to be essentially an oath. Walpole, who was the decided friend of toleration, and the court, which was indifferent about it, supported the application of the Quakers, and a bill was passed through the House of Commons without difficulty. It was passed by the Lords also, but not without debate. Doctor Atterbury, the Jacobite Bishop of Rochester, who had been corresponding almost daily with the pretender or his agents, testified a great anxiety for the security of the church, and said that he knew not why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. And the Archbishop of York presented a petition from the London clergy, expressing their serious concern "lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescensions made by a Christian legislature to a set of men who renounced the divine institutions of Christianity, particularly that (*baptism*) by which the faithful are initiated into this religion, and denominated Christians." But the petition was rejected with some symptoms of disgust and contempt. It was made apparent, from the beginning of Walpole's long administration to the end of it, that liberty of conscience was on the increase.

A.D. 1722.—On the 7th of March the parliament was prorogued, and, as it had sat for nearly seven years, it was dissolved on the 10th by proclamation. The Earl of Sunderland, who had continued to support ministers and to intimate publicly the large share he still held in the confidence of his sovereign, died suddenly on the 19th of April. As he had many enemies, as he was suspected of

* In the preceding month—September the 9th, 1721—the king had shown his different sense of the merits of Sir George Byng, by creating him Baron Byng of Southill and Viscount Torrington.

dark designs, and as it was known he was feared as well as hated, a report arose that he had been poisoned; but the surgeons opened his body and discovered an organic disease in the heart which was quite sufficient to account for his death. Since his fall from the highest offices of government, Sunderland had been engaged in a correspondence with the Jacobites; but it appears that he carried it on with the knowledge and approval of his master King George.* In less than two months he was followed to the grave by his great father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, who, after suffering a paralytic attack in 1716, and living for six years in a state little removed from dotage, expired at Windsor Lodge, immensely rich, on the 16th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age. His body was embalmed, and removed to Marlborough House, Pall Mall, where it lay in state. The funeral was splendid and almost regal; all his vices, his political baseness, and his more private meannesses were forgotten, and nothing was borne in mind at the moment but his high achievements as the first of English captains. Not merely the population of London, but the inhabitants of all parts of England, and thousands from Scotland and Ireland, thronged to witness the last scene of all which ended this truly eventful history. Followed by the king and the Prince of Wales, and a vast procession of the nobility and the military, the remains of the hero of Blenheim were carried to Westminster Abbey, and there deposited at the east end of the tomb of Henry VII.; the long and gorgeous ceremony being concluded by Garter King of Arms, who, standing on the verge of the equalising grave, recited the long roll of titles and honours of the deceased, and pronounced—"Thus it has pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory world, into his mercy, the most high, mighty, and noble prince, John Duke of Marlborough." The duchess, who survived her lord twenty-two years, said that she defrayed all the expenses.† After a short time the body was removed from Henry VII.'s Chapel to the chapel at the palace of Blenheim, where it now moulders in a magnificent mausoleum, executed by Rysbrach, under the superintendence of the duchess.

While Marlborough was lying on his death-bed the nation was agitated by fresh rumours of plots and conspiracies. A star had risen in the South that revived the hopes of the Jacobites: the Polish wife of the Pretender had given birth to a son at Rome at the end of the year 1720. This child of exile, this heir to a crown that was no longer allowed to go by inheritance, was ushered into the world in the presence of seven cardinals, deputed by the pope; and at a most royal christening he received the name of Charles Edward Louis Cassimir. The happy event was proclaimed by the Jacobites in all parts of the United Kingdom; and fresh comparisons were drawn between the Stuarts and the Guelphs—the family of love and the family of hate—the legitimate exiles and the illegitimate occupants of the throne. Attention was again directed to the oldness and ugliness of King George's mistresses; and their rapacity, and the unengaging qualities of the king, and everything that dissatisfied and disgusted the nation were put together as a dark background to the beauties and graces and amiabilities of King James and Queen Clementina, and the sweet innocent young prince. While these things were producing their effect upon unthinking masses, men of deep thought and cool deliberation were laying positive schemes for a revolution. At the head of these plotters were the Earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords Lansdowne, North, and Gower, and Atterbury Bishop of Rochester; and these men of mark were in communication with Queen Anne's Tory prime minister, Lord Oxford, and numerous others who were too timid to take decisive steps at first, but ready to join might and main when the opportunity should seem free from danger. But of the bold—though there were veteran soldiers like Lord North—not one was so bold as Bishop Atterbury, who, in addition to hardihood and daring, had ability and genius of a rare order, and a truly classical mind. Atterbury's great object was to obtain a foreign force under the exiled Duke of Ormond; and he fondly fancied that, if that nobleman could land with only five thousand men, the enthusiasm of the Jacobites and the dissatisfaction of the people would do the rest. As long as England was engaged in war the bishop and his brother counsellors hoped that Spain or some other country might fit out such an expedition, and, favoured by circumstances, effect an invasion; but, now that the kingdom was at peace with all the world, such an armament was scarcely to be expected. But instead of being deterred, these resolute men resolved to proceed with that less kind of assistance that might be procured clandestinely from abroad; and they trusted sufficiently in the insincerity of treaties to believe that not only Spain, but also France, would gladly contribute to light a fire in Britain by sending, or *permitting* to be sent over, some of their disbanded troops, money, and arms. While the Duke of Ormond intrigued to this end at

* The fact of Sunderland's uncertain and tricky correspondence is proved by the Stuart Papers, and by Lockhart in his Memoirs, who, however, says that he was "far from having any particular proof of his sincerity." Some writers have imagined that George, in his fixed hatred to his only son, listened to schemes for his exclusion from the throne, and the consequent restoration of the banished family; but it seems far more natural to suppose that George merely wished to get at the bottom of the Jacobite plots, which were still going on without let or interruption; and that Sunderland, willing to serve him in this respect, was also desirous of winning over some of the leading Tories and Jacobites to his own party. There is, indeed, another supposition not so probable as this latter, but more so than the first, that Sunderland was really at times aiming at another revolution, in order to set aside alike Guelphs and Stuarts, and establish a commonwealth. Like his father, Sunderland was a riddle.

† His sister Arabella Churchill, whose dishonour promoted his first rise, survived Marlborough eight years. By James II. she was the mother of the celebrated James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick; of Henry Fitz-James, who became Grand Prior of France; of Henrietta, who was married to Lord Waldegrave; and of another daughter whose name is not preserved, but who is said to have taken the veil. Some time after her connexion with James, Arabella Churchill married Colonel Charles Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household and Master of the Jewel Office, by whom she had two daughters. She died in May, 1730, at the age of eighty-two.—*Granger, Biog. Hist.*

Madrid, General Dillon, an Irish Catholic, and an exile from his country ever since the victories of William III., laboured in the same vocation at Paris. Atterbury and his friends in England engaged on their side to get possession of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where public money was deposited, and to proclaim King James III. simultaneously in different parts of the country. At one moment they thought of availing themselves of the malcontent spirit which was engendered by the bursting of the South Sea bubble; then they thought that the general election, which was just over, would be a better time still; and, at last, they agreed that the best time of all for commencing operations would be when the king should take his annual journey to Hanover, which he was expected to do about July. But in the month of May the English government was informed by the regent of France, upon condition that no one should die for it, that there was a formidable design against the person and government of King George. This opened wide the eyes of Walpole, which probably had not been altogether closed before; and the minister ascertained that the Pretender had actually left Rome, and that the Duke of Ormond was on his way from Madrid to the Biscayan coast. Expert in these matters, Walpole obtained other intelligence, probably through some of the subaltern plotters. He instantly persuaded George to give up his continental journey, and to form a camp in Hyde Park, to which all military officers were ordered to repair. He also dispatched General Macartney to bring over troops from Ireland, apprehended some suspected persons in Scotland, applied to the States of Holland to have ships and land-troops in readiness, sent Colonel Churchill to Paris to deal with the regent, and obtained from the court of Madrid an order to prevent the embarking of Ormond. King George settled himself at Kensington, in the rear of the camp and in the midst of troops; the Prince of Wales retired to Richmond. As Walpole had now the names of the chief conspirators and proofs of their guilt, warrants were issued for the apprehension of some of them. On the 21st of May, Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, was seized at his lodgings in Bury-street, St. James's, by two messengers. The messengers, who were two cowards, took his sword and some papers; but while they were looking out for other papers Kelly recovered his sword, and, threatening to run them through if they approached him, he burnt his most important paper at a candle, holding it with his left hand, while he pointed his sword with his right. As soon as the important manuscript was burnt its spirited owner surrendered. Neynoe, an Irish Catholic priest, on his arrest, tied the blankets and sheets of his bed together, and descended from a window two stories high to a garden-wall that abutted on the Thames: he then leaped into the water, but not being able to swim was drowned. Layer, a young barrister of the Temple, escaped, but was presently recaptured. Thomas Carte, the learned and industrious Jacobite historian, who was deep in the plot, fled betimes and got safe into France: Plunket, an Irish Jesuit, who had been active in many plots, was seized with his papers. Lord North, upon learning the arrest of the young Templar, Layer, his friend or confidant, fled in disguise to the Isle of Wight; but before he could get away to the continent he was discovered, and was soon made fast in London. Subsequently Lord Orrery, who was indisputably a principal conspirator, and the Duke of Norfolk, were sent to the Tower; but in both cases there was either a want of evidence or a wish on the part of government to spare them; and they were liberated after a short confinement. There seems to have been an intention or a desire to overlook the plotting bishop altogether, but proofs accumulated upon proofs, and it was judged indispensable to commit him. The warrant, however, was not executed till the 24th of August, when Atterbury was arrested at his deanery at Bromley, in Kent, and brought before the privy council. He was cool and collected; not a word could be extracted from him to endanger either himself or his friends; and after a short examination he was sent to the Tower. No sooner was his captivity known than the high churchmen set up a cry against the sacrilegious arrest of a bishop, vowing and maintaining that there was no plot at all, and that an iniquitous ministry was seeking the ruin of their opponents by inventions and fictions. The parochial clergy in many of the churches of London and Westminster even publicly prayed for him. Provoked by these demonstrations, and anxious to keep so dangerous a prisoner close and well watched, the government caused the bishop to be treated with unusual severity in the Tower. In the mean time the king, attended by the prince, made a summer progress through the western counties, endeavouring, somewhat of the latest, to efface evil personal impressions and to cultivate popularity.

On the 9th of October the second septennial parliament assembled, to all appearance calm and confident in the midst of that general alarm and excitement. The elections had been most favourable to Walpole and the Whigs, and the opposition was rather loud-toned than formidable. The royal speech disclosed the particulars of the late Jacobite plot. "I should less wonder at it," said George, "had I, in any one instance, since my accession to the throne invaded the liberty or property of my subjects." In treating of the ingratitude, implacability, and infatuation of the disaffected, he said, with unanswerable truth:—"By forming plots they depreciate all property that is vested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit; they make an increase of the national expenses necessary, and then clamour at the burden of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone create and occasion." After voting a highly complimentary address, the Commons at once proceeded to that always

questionable measure of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; and they called for a longer suspension than had been before granted. Some members objected to the term of a year, and proposed six months, declaring that, at the end of that period, the measure might be renewed if necessary: but the amendment was rejected by an immense majority, and the suspension was carried for a whole year. The next subject they fell upon was an insane declaration of the Pretender, dated Lucca, the 20th of September of the present year, and which coolly proposed, among other absurdities, that George should deliver up the throne of Great Britain, and retire to Germany with the title of king in his native dominions, and with his chances of the succession to the English throne in a legitimate way unimpaired by his usurpation. Both Lords and Commons expressed their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of this document, which had been printed and industriously circulated in England; and with little ceremony they ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. Walpole, in some unusual vision of poetical justice, conceived that the Papists were at the bottom of the late plot, and that those ought to pay for the mischief who had made it. He accordingly brought in a bill for raising a hundred thousand pounds by a tax upon the real and personal estates of all Papists, or persons educated in the Romish religion, to go towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late attempt. The good sense and feeling of many revolted at this indiscriminate punishment, which savoured of the dark ages; but the motion was carried, nevertheless, by a triumphant majority of 217 to 168. As, however, there was no concealing the fact that priests of the Church of England had been as busy in the plot as priests of the Church of Rome, it was deemed but fair to lengthen the lash, and by a subsequent motion the bill was extended to all nonjurors. The effect of these blundering and iniquitous votes was as bad as might have been expected. To save their purses, or to escape further persecution, or to get into that House of Commons which, in spite of every effort, continued to contain a small knot of Jacobites, many hundreds of men were made to commit perjury by act of parliament. "I saw a great deal of it," says Speaker Onslow; "and it was a strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding at the quarter sessions to give a testimony of their allegiance to government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it."

A.D. 1723.—The young Templar, Mr. Layer, was tried and convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion. He was reprieved, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons; but, as he would confess nothing, he suffered at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple Bar. Pulteney, who had been chairman of the committee that examined Layer and others, presented a report to the House on the 1st of March. It appeared that the names of Lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Bathurst, Gower, Bingley, and Cowper had been mentioned in the depositions. All these noblemen repelled the imputation in the House of Lords, though there is ground for believing that all were, more or less, implicated, with the single exception of Lord Cowper; and even he, as known to be discontented with the ministerial arrangements, had received solicitations from the Earl of Mar and the Pretender.* With respect to others of the Jacobites, the report of the committee was far more clear. Bills of pains and penalties, subjecting them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to confiscation of property, were carried through both Houses by large majorities against Plunket the Jesuit, and Kelly the Protestant nonjuring clergyman: and another bill, enacting banishment and deprivation, but without forfeiture of goods, was brought into the House of Commons against Bishop Atterbury.† Atterbury, who had wit to spare, and a most ample knowledge of the forms of the two Houses, wrote to the Speaker of the Commons, requesting to have the assistance of three lawyers as his counsel; and, as soon as he had obtained this from the Commons, he stated to the Lords that, by a standing order of their lordships' House, no peer might appear by counsel before the House of Commons: he was at a loss, he said, how to act, and humbly requested their lordships' direction. Their lordships got out of this dilemma by giving him leave to do as he pleased,—that is, to be heard by counsel or otherwise, as he should think fit. The bishop then wrote to the Speaker to say that he should decline giving the Commons any trouble, and content himself with making his own defence before the other House, of which he was a member, as a lord spiritual. The bill for banishment and deprivation having thus passed through the Commons without a division, was sent up to the Lords; and the bishop was brought to the bar of the Upper House on the 6th of May. When the evidence against him was gone through, the bishop produced his counter evidence. Alexander Pope, his bosom friend,—the Catholic poet, who loved the Protestant prelate, and has preserved the memory of his social qualities and domestic virtues in more than one undying verse,—was among Atterbury's witnesses. But the poet was nervous and confused; he stammered and blundered; and all that he really had to say was, that he could never consider his friend as a conspirator—that their social, happy hours at Bromley had been spent in discussing matters very different from plots and revolutions. Another author, but one of a very inferior stamp,—Erasmus Lewis, the associate and correspondent of Swift, and once the "prose-man" of Harley,—appeared on the same side, and undertook to prove, from his

* Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng., who refers to letters he has seen in the unpublished Stuart Papers.

† The bill also declared that it should be felony to correspond with the exiled bishop without the king's license; and that the king should never pardon him without consent of parliament.

official experience, how easy it was to counterfeit any one's hand-writing, and how dangerous it was to judge upon such evidence. But, among his other witnesses, Atterbury was furnished with three who invalidated a confession made by Neynoe before his escape and drowning,—deposing, point blank, that Walpole had tampered with that unhappy priest. A Mr. Skeene swore that he had asked Neynoe whether there really was a plot, and whether he knew anything about it, when Neynoe answered that he knew of two plots,—one of Mr. Walpole's against some great men; the other a plot of his own (Neynoe's), which was only to get eighteen or twenty thousand pounds out of Mr. Walpole! These witnesses were not much respected, and one of them had been whipped and pilloried at Dublin for a treasonable libel; yet Walpole judged it necessary to reply to their charges, and appeared as a witness in the House of Lords. Atterbury, who always considered him as the author of his ruin, fixed upon the minister with all his might and with all his wit, endeavouring to perplex him. "A greater trial of skill," says Speaker Onslow, "scarce ever happened between two such combatants; the one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal." But the minister sustained that intellectual wrestle without cross or fall; and little was left to the bishop but to rely on a touching appeal to the feelings of the House. On the 11th of May he delivered his defence, beginning with a recital of the hardships he had suffered in the Tower, and the restrictions which had been put upon his only consolation—the visits of his beloved daughter. "Such usage, such hardships, such insults as I have undergone," said the bishop, "might have broke a more resolute spirit and a much stronger constitution than falls to my share. . . . By which means, what little strength and use of my limbs I had when committed, in August last, is now so far impaired that I am very unfit to appear before your lordships on any occasion, but especially when I am to make my defence against a bill of so extraordinary a nature." He then proceeded, in a speech that was both eloquent and argumentative, to refute the evidence against him. He made the most of the best argument he had to use, which was, the apparent want of a motive to drive him into the desperate paths of conspiracy and revolution. He professed that he had no ambition to climb into a higher station in the church; that he coveted not money, but had always been contented with little, spending the revenues of his poor bishopric in repairs, hospitality, and charity; that so far from having any inclination towards popery, he had written, thirty-seven years ago, in defence of Martin Luther; and would now burn at the stake rather than, in any material point, depart from the Protestant religion as professed in the Church of England. As to any suspicion of his favouring arbitrary power, he maintained that the whole course of his life spoke against it; for he had always been a friend to the liberty of the subject. He objected to the evidence which had been produced against him, and concluded with pious ejaculations from the Scripture, and professions of submission to the will of God. He was answered by one of the counsel for the bill; and then the Lords took their debate on the question "That this bill do pass." Most of the bishops were silent or adverse to their brother; but that profligate layman the young Duke of Wharton stood up in his defence, and Lord Cowper also maintained his innocence, and declared that parliament was not competent to pass sentence of deprivation upon a bishop. But, upon a division, the bill was carried through the Lords by a majority of 83 to 43, and within a few days it received the royal assent. The bishop took an affecting leave of the poet Pope and his other friends, who, somewhat strangely, compared him to Cato; and on the 18th of June he was embarked on board a king's ship and conveyed to Calais. Atterbury threw himself at once into the service of the Pretender, and became his confidential agent, first at Brussels and afterwards at Paris; and all the while he represented to the quiet part of his friends and admirers at home that he was eating the bread of poverty and exile with a meek and an enduring spirit, and finding consolation for the wrongs of princes and politicians in religion and divine philosophy. Upon his first landing in France he learned that Lord Bolingbroke, who, after long bargaining and making a pointed exposure of the weakness of the Pretender's character and the hopelessness of his cause,* had just received his pardon from King George, was on the point of returning to England, which the bishop had left for ever. The ex-prime minister or chief secretary of the luckless Stuart had obtained his pardon through the sagacious Lord Stair, who had told his court that no man could do so much injury to the Jacobite cause, and through the rapacious Duchess of Kendal, who was bribed to remove impediments. Walpole, who afterwards accused Bolingbroke of baseness and ingratitude, got the pardon passed under the great seal. This pardon, however, merely secured the person of Bolingbroke in England, and comprised no reversal of the attainder in relation to his estates and his seat in the House of Lords, which could not be granted by the king without a special act of parliament. Upon his arrival at London, in the month of June, he applied all his energy and ability to recover his seat; but the king had already departed for Germany, and was not expected to return for some time; and, what was worse, he had taken the Duchess of Kendal with him. As he had made money in France in Law's Mississippi scheme, and as he had recently married a rich French lady, Madame de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, the last and unctuous mistress of Louis XIV., Bolingbroke had cash and to spare;

* In a letter to his friend Sir William Wyndham, which Bolingbroke sent *unsealed* to the Postmaster-General of King George!—*Coxe, Memoirs of Walpole.*

and, though money had been already paid to the Schulemberg, it appears that he brought over more for that grasping sultana. He renewed his connexion with his friend Sir William Wyndham, who was still the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons; and, waiting upon Walpole, whom he envied and hated, he attempted to persuade that minister that his allies, the Tories, might, upon conditions, be brought to coalesce with him. But Walpole sternly rejected any such union; he told Bolingbroke that, as his entire restoration to his property and his seat in the House of Lords must depend upon a Whig parliament, he would do well to shun any new engagement with the Tories; and that ministers would not hazard the king's affairs by proposing his restoration rashly. The Anglo-Frenchman then returned to France, where he was more at home than in his native country, and where he remained till September, 1724, mixing in fresh political intrigues, and amusing his leisure with writing philosophical letters to his friends, in which he denounced in good set phrases the crimes and follies of ambition.* The profligate Abbé Dubois, who had risen to be a cardinal and prime minister of France, died in the month of August; and in the following month of December his more profligate pupil, the Duke of Orleans, the regent, expired at Versailles, a worn out man, at the age of fifty. As the young Louis XV. was nominally of age, no other regent was appointed, but the Duke de Bourbon in reality assumed the reins of government, and was regent under the title of a minister. Bourbon had neither the extreme vices nor the abilities of his predecessor, Orleans; he was a weak man, governed by his mistress, Mademoiselle de Prie; and Bolingbroke flattered himself that in his own person, and in that of his accomplished and thoroughly court-trained French wife, he could rule both the mistress and the prime minister, with whom he had been on the most intimate terms for many years. He soon knew that there were dissensions in the English cabinet, that the new secretary of state, Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, who was an excellent linguist, and could speak German with the king, which none of the other English ministers could do,† was endeavouring to supplant both Walpole and Townshend, by promoting all George's German measures and favouring his strong partialities. The old, lean mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, stood firm for Walpole, but Carteret had secured the younger and thinner mistress, Madame Kilmanseg, now Countess of Darlington, and her sister, Madame Platen. Bolingbroke, after weighing well which might the better serve his own turn, sided with Walpole and Townshend; and through Horace Walpole, the minister's brother, who was then employed on an embassy at Paris, he made an offer of his services, and engaged to use his influence with the Duke de Bourbon, so as to make the relations with France run smooth, and favourably for them. At the same time Carteret and the Platens had their agent at Paris in the person of Sir Luke Schaub, who was resident minister there. In the end, and chiefly, we believe, through the manœuvres of Bolingbroke, Schaub was recalled, and Horace Walpole was appointed resident ambassador; a favour upon which the Platens had set their hearts,* was refused by the French court, and Carteret, weakened in that quarter, was sent into Ireland as lord-lieutenant, his secretaryship being given to the Duke of Newcastle, who was contented, for a long time, to be very submissive to the premier.

On the 19th of December, after being engaged at Hanover and Berlin in long and useless negotiations, which had for their chief object the extension of his continental dominions and the chastisement of the Czar Peter, who had given fresh causes of offence, the king returned to London and prepared for the opening of parliament.

A.D. 1724.—The Houses met on the 7th of January. "I cannot," said George, in a well-written speech, the production of Walpole, "open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions. I desire such supplies only as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the kingdom, and for the security of my people. I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration. In the present happy situation of our affairs, make use of the opportunities which your own good conduct has put into your hands in considering of such further laws as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation. I am fully satisfied that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy, and that the grandeur of the crown consists in their prosperity." The Commons, following the king's recommendation, made provision for the liquidation of a part of the public debts out of the surplus arising from the sinking fund. They

* It appears that, on his return to the continent, he would fain have waited upon the king and the Duchess of Kendal, and that a passport to Hanover was refused him.

† Horace Walpole, speaking of his father, says, "It was perhaps still more remarkable, and an instance unparalleled, that Sir Robert governed George I. in *Latin*, the king not speaking English, and his minister no German, nor even French."—*Reminiscences.*

* Madame de Platen was about marrying her daughter to the Count St. Fleurentin, son of La Veillière, French secretary of state, and wanted a French dukedom for her son-in-law elect. George instructed his ambassador, Schaub, to press for this favour; but the French nobility raised a terrible outcry, as the family of La Veillière was rather obscure. If Bolingbroke had used his influence with the Duke de Bourbon and his mistress, the title might probably have been obtained nevertheless. Not being able to get the French dukedom, George pacified Madame de Platen with English money, and gave her 10,000*l.* as a portion for her daughter, who married the young Frenchman.

granted all the supplies that were demanded; voted 10,000 men for the navy, and agreed to maintain 4000 additional land troops, which had been raised in the preceding year on the alarm of invasion and insurrection. The standing army thus allowed amounted altogether to 18,200 men. The Commons took into consideration the serious grievances arising out of protections which had been allowed to be granted by foreign ambassadors, peers, and members of parliament, who, not seldom, had screened profligate persons and fraudulent debtors. They came to a resolution that all such protections granted by members of that House should cease and be declared void. The Lords re-echoed this resolution, making, however, an exception in favour of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers. The parliament was prorogued by a gracious speech from the throne on the 24th of April.

While England seemed relapsing into quiet and content a tremendous tempest was got up in Ireland, about the coining of farthings and halfpence. During the lord-lieutenancy of the Duke of Grafton in the preceding year a patent had been granted by the king to Mr. William Wood, a considerable proprietor and renter of iron and copper works, for coining farthings and halfpence for the kingdom of Ireland, to the amount of 108,000*l.* sterling, in order to supply the acknowledged and often complained of deficiency of copper money in that country. This coinage was first designed under the late minister Sunderland; but it was Walpole that completed the scheme, and, in so doing, he had carefully consulted Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, and taken the legal advice of the attorney and solicitor-general, in order to guard against unfair alloy in the farthings and halfpence, and against any other fraud or irregularity. Walpole himself, as head of the Treasury, granted the patent. But it was rumoured, and universally believed, that the royal mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, had taken money from the patentee, or that Wood had promised her a share of the profits he should derive from making farthings for the Irish poor; and the patent was flagrantly passed without consulting the parliament, the lord-lieutenant, or the privy council of Ireland. The Irish parliament felt the insult, and proceeded to exaggerate the wrong with their usual heat and imaginativeness. But the storm might have passed over like so many others if it had not been for the tremendous pen of Dr. Jonathan Swift. That ambitious and intriguing churchman was cut off from all hopes of the mitre by the downfall of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and found himself compelled to retire to the deanery of St. Patrick. He hated Ireland, and always considered his residence in that country as an exile; but he was by accident of birth an Irishman, and he determined to step forward as a patriot, in order solely to wreak his vengeance upon his political enemies, and to make the English cabinet feel how dangerous a thing it was to disappoint the hopes and stir up the black bile of such a penman. The matter, in its most important part, resolved itself into a question of chemistry, about which Dean Swift knew no more than his Lilliputians and Brobdignagians knew about steam-engines; but he was well aware that the Irish people knew just as little as himself; he found the cry ready made to his mouth, and he proclaimed that the farthings and halfpence were of a most base quality, and alloyed beyond all precedent. Now, in fact, these Irish farthings and halfpence were proved, by experiments at the Mint, made under the direction of Newton, to equal or exceed, in weight and purity, coins of the same denomination in England. Still, however, part of the wrong remained indisputable:—for the king to delegate a branch of his prerogative to a private projector like Wood,* without the consent or concurrence of the legislature of Ireland, was arbitrary; and that his mistress should have gone designedly and corruptly into the business was revolting. Both the Irish Houses of Parliament joined in addressing the crown, and Swift began to publish his far-famed Drapier's Letters; and, not satisfied with writing, he even preached against Wood's halfpence from the pulpit. Nothing was heard of in Dublin, in all Ireland, but Wood and his accursed coinage. As paper followed paper from the witty and most caustic pen of the dean, the excitement was increased till it reached almost the point of madness. All distinctions of parties seemed to cease; the Protestant was as violent as the papist, the Presbyterian as loud as the high-churchman, and Whigs, Tories, Orangemen, and Rapparees, all joined together in the universal malediction. Wood's relatives in Ireland were in danger of their lives: at the instigation of the dean the grand jury and the rest of the inhabitants of the liberty of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, joined in an association for refusing any of the halfpence or farthings already coined, or that should hereafter be coined by "one William Wood;" the merchants to whom the coin had been consigned, fearing the popular fury, announced by public advertisement that they had nothing to do with it; by degrees every shopkeeper, every vintner, every dealer of any kind refused the currency; and even the hawkers, errand-boys, and link-boys rejected it with contempt, since they could "neither get news, ale, tobacco, nor brandy for such cursed stuff." Riotous processions were got up, and the effigy of the unfortunate projector, William Wood, was dragged through the streets of Dublin and then burned. In addition to the Drapier's Letters and his sermons, the fertile genius of Swift furnished the hawkers with a variety of coarse ballads and satires in prose, which made the welkin ring, and which were quite intelligible to the most ignorant ear. But he did not confine himself to the false side of the

*It was perfectly true, however, as remarked by Walpole in a letter to Lord Townshend, that the king's prerogative of granting such patents as Wood's had never been disputed, and had often been exercised.

question or to the alloy of the coinage: as he wrote on he grew bolder and clearer, until he proclaimed that Ireland was or ought to be an independent country, not to be governed,—as she was almost exclusively,—by natives of England; that her throne was held by a different right, and might be conferred upon a different prince, and that, by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of their country, the Irish were and ought to be as free a people as their brethren in England. It was when the tempest was at its highest that Carteret arrived as lord-lieutenant: he offered a reward of 300*l.* for the discovery of the author of The Drapier's Letters; and Harding, the printer, was thrown into prison and a crown prosecution prepared against him. Swift had no intention of relieving the poor printer by declaring himself; but he presented himself at a levee of the lord-lieutenant, and sternly demanded of Carteret the meaning of these severities against a poor and industrious tradesman, who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country. Lord Carteret, who knew Swift personally, and who could hardly have doubted of his being the author, evaded the expostulation by an apt quotation from Virgil, and let the dean go his way. Walpole had endeavoured to let the scheme drop gradually by a proclamation which limited Wood's coinage to 40,000*l.* instead of the 108,000*l.* originally contracted for; but the Irish insisted that they would not take a shilling of the brass; and, in the end, it was all withdrawn, to the great loss and almost entire ruin of the projector, who, however, was eventually indemnified by a grant of 3000*l.* a-year for the term of twelve years. When the bill against the printer, Harding, was brought before the grand jury they made a return of "ignoramus." The dean rose to the very apex of popularity, and was cherished as a patriot by the country which he had, in some respects, really served, but only to gratify his spite. Lord Carteret, who, in effect, had been sent to struggle through the difficulties which his rival, Walpole, had created, was held up as a tyrant and an oppressor as long as he resisted, and was treated with insult and contempt when he yielded.*

As this Irish tempest died down the wind, another storm rose in Scotland, not about farthings but about malt. The Scots had never been subjected to the malt-tax, and had hitherto resisted all attempts to impose it upon them as contrary to the articles of the Union. Walpole, knowing the violent feeling of the nation, would gladly have connived at their escape; but some jealous English country gentlemen had brought the subject before the House of Commons, and he had been obliged to consent that a duty of three-pence on every barrel of ale should be raised in Scotland in lieu of the malt-tax. Some of the Scottish members had voted for this duty upon ale, but the Scottish people were resolved not to pay it. At Glasgow the mob assembled, and shouting, Down with Walpole! broke open and plundered the house of Mr. Campbell of Shawfield, member for that city, who had voted with ministers. General Wade, who was commanding the forces in Scotland, sent Captain Bushell with two companies of foot to put down this disturbance. The captain drew up his men in the streets of Glasgow—the mob pelted them with stones—he fired among them without shot—the mob, unhurt, pelted more violently than before—and then he ordered his men to put ball in their muskets and fire point-blank. Nine persons fell dead and many more were wounded; but the mob, instead of dispersing, fell upon the soldiery, drove them out of the town, and pursued them on their road to Dunbarton Castle, into which Bushell threw himself. Hereupon General Wade marched into Glasgow with a considerable force, seized some of the rioters, apprehended the chief magistrates, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh Castle. But when the Glasgow magistrates were brought before the Lords of Justiciary, charged with timidity or treachery for not checking the riots, they were declared innocent and immediately discharged. Captain Bushell, on the other hand, being brought to trial for murder, was convicted and condemned; but the government stepped in with a royal pardon and promoted him in the service. It was suspected by Walpole that the Duke of Roxburgh, who was at that time secretary of state for Scotland, and who had been in close alliance with his rival Carteret, encouraged these popular commotions, in order to break down his ministry; and forthwith Roxburgh was dismissed, his office was abolished, and Walpole's close ally the Earl of Ilay, brother to the Duke of Argyll, was sent down to Scotland to pacify the country. Islay was very successful; and in a short time Walpole congratulated himself that he had got Scotland as well as Ireland into a state of quiet.

Parliament met on the 12th of November; and the king, though embarrassed by continental politics and alarmed by the intelligence of a close alliance between Russia and Sweden, professed the highest satisfaction at the prosperous state of his affairs abroad, as well as at the perfect tranquillity at home. He, however, was most anxious that no reduction should be made in the forces, and by the management of Walpole, who was notoriously organising a regular system of bribery and corruption in the House of Commons, the army was continued as it was for another year.

The misdoings of Parker, Earl of Macclesfield and lord chancellor, had gone to such an extent that it was imperative to check and punish him. Warned by the public voice he resigned the great seal, hoping thereby to save his iniquitous gains and escape punishment; but Sir George Oxendon carried his impeachment in the Commons, and he was brought to the bar of the Lords, charged with having made unusual and exorbitant profits by the sale of masterships in Chancery, &c., with having abused his trust in using the money of suitors, and of widows and orphans, to whom he was the legal

* Walter Scott, Life of Swift, in Swift's Works.

guardian, and with other enormous abuses. He was unanimously found guilty by his peers, and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, and to be imprisoned in the Tower till he paid it. A motion, however, to disable him from sitting in parliament or holding any future office, was lost by a small majority. Sir Peter King, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, now created Baron King, succeeded Macclesfield in the chancellorship.

Lady Bolingbroke was now in England, with a well-filled purse, to work out her husband's full restoration. She got introduced at court, where the king did not like her; but the Duchess of Kendal took her money, and through that means Walpole was constantly assailed for a bill to restore Bolingbroke both to his property and to his seat.* Walpole, who would as soon have seen his satanic majesty in the British parliament, resolutely maintained that Bolingbroke ought never to be restored to his seat in the Lords; but he willingly enough consented to a bill for putting him in possession of his forfeited estates. This bill was brought in by Lord Finch and seconded by Walpole himself; but it was opposed by the hottest of the Whigs, and by the few decided Jacobites in the House, who could never forgive what they considered Bolingbroke's treachery to the Pretender. The bill, however, was carried through the Commons by a majority of 231 to 113; and the Lords acceded, notwithstanding a strong protest signed by five peers.† Presently after this Bolingbroke came back again and fixed his residence in England, much less thankful at what parliament or ministers had given him than furious at what they withheld. According to Horace Walpole, as he could not decently avoid waiting upon his father to thank him, he was invited by the minister to dine with him at Chelsea;—"but whether tortured at witnessing Walpole's serene frankness and felicity, or suffocated with indignation and confusion at being forced to be obliged to one whom he hated and envied, the first morsel he put into his mouth was near choking him, and he was reduced to rise from table and leave the room for some minutes."‡ In a letter announcing his arrival to his friend Dean Swift, Bolingbroke said, "Here I am, two-thirds restored; my person safe (unless I meet hereafter with harder treatment than even that of Sir Walter Raleigh); and my estate, with all the other property I have acquired, or may acquire, secured to me. But the attainder is kept carefully and prudently in force, lest so corrupt a member should come again into the House of Lords, and his bad leaven should sour that sweet untainted mass." But if this man of infinite wit and intrigue, and surpassing eloquence, could point to peers nearly as guilty as himself, there was no Jacobite or plotting member of the House of Lords that could be half so dangerous, or that had even a tithe of his ability for mischief. In keeping him out of that house Walpole, as his son observes, had paid him the compliment of avowing that his eloquence was to be feared. But the returned exile could write almost as well as he could speak; and, not being able to assail the ministry with his tongue, he soon began to lash them with his pen. In a little more than a year after his return he began to publish a political paper called 'The Craftsman,' in which he assailed Walpole with terrible invectives. "Craftsmen, pamphlets, libels, combinations, were showered on, or employed for years against, the prime minister, without shaking his power or ruffling his temper: and Bolingbroke had the mortification of finding his rival had abilities to maintain his influence against the mistresses of two kings, with whom his antagonist had plotted in vain to overturn him."* At the same time Bolinbroke drew close his old bonds of alliance with the ultra-Tories, whom he had recently treated with contempt, and struck up a side friendship with the ultra-Whigs—with Pulteney and the other discontented men who had fallen off from Walpole. This celebrated party-leader, William Pulteney, had been, from his first appearance in public life, the *friend* and steady adherent of Walpole; but irritated at the slowness of his promotion—he was only cofferer of the household—and apparently convinced that the jealous monopolising spirit of Walpole would keep him down, he went *into* opposition and became the head of those who were called *the Patriots*. He presently was deprived of his place; and he then joined Bolingbroke in an attempt to write down the ministry. 'The Craftsman,' it appears, was planned between Pulteney and the returned exile. Since the time when Bolingbroke, as Mr. St. John, captivated and ruled that House, there had been no speaker in the Commons, except Walpole, that could at all cope with Pulteney, who has been called "the unrivalled orator."

A.D. 1725. In the beginning of the preceding year the hypochondriac Philip of Spain had retired with his queen to the country palace of St. Ildefonso, and there carried into effect a design which he professed to have long meditated. In a message to the council of Castile he announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his son. "Having," "said Philip, "reflected, these few

* It is said that the duchess got in one payment 12,000*l.*!

† Methuen, though comptroller of the household, strongly opposed the bill, declaring "that the public crimes for which this petitioner (Bolingbroke) stood attainted were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and, whatever he might have done to deserve his majesty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour." He enumerated the instances of Bolingbroke's villanous conduct, while he had a share in the administration under Queen Anne; and concluded;—"To sum up all his crimes in one, his traitorous design of defeating the Protestant succession, the foundation of both our present and future happiness; and of advancing a popish Pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endless misery." Serjeant Miller was against the pardon for three reasons:—"1. Because he thought it against the interest of the king; 2. Against the interest of his country; 3. Against the interest of the present ministry." Arthur Onslow, afterwards the celebrated speaker, and always the steady friend of the Whig ministry, strongly opposed the motion.

‡ Reminiscences.—"I never," adds the son of the minister, "heard of their meeting more."

* Reminiscences.

years, with due and mature consideration on the miseries of this life, and on the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has visited me during the twenty-three years of my reign; seeing also that my son the Infant Don Louis is of competent age, married, and endowed with discretion, judgment, and talent sufficient for governing this monarchy justly and wisely, I have determined to retire wholly from the government renouncing all my states, kingdoms, and lordships, in favour of the said Don Louis, in order to lead, at St. Ildefonso, a private life with the queen, who has offered to accompany me with pleasure; that, freed from all other cares, I may serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote myself to the important work of my salvation." The council, which had been properly warned and prepared, raised no objection to this partial imitation of the conduct of the great Charles V., and the act of abdication was formally passed in a long decree, in which it was regulated that if Louis should die without issue the crown should descend to the other sons of Philip in succession, and that a council of regency should be appointed in case of a minority. Philip also took occasion to recommend to his successor devotion to the blessed virgin, respect towards the church and the *inquisition* as the great bulwark of the Catholic faith, and the redress of the grievances of his subjects. On the 15th of January Don Louis announced his acceptance of the crown, expressing his veneration and astonishment at the piety and self-denial of his father. "God grant," said he, "that, after treading awhile in his steps, I may have the same opinion of the vain greatness of this world." The juggle was imposing, but still it appears to have been little more than a state-trick. The young French King, Louis XV., was again in a precarious state; and Philip, who had never been happy in Spain, who had conscientious scruples about his right to the Spanish throne, and an inward conviction that his renunciation of the French crown was illegal and invalid, entertained a hope of succeeding to the inheritance of Louis XIV. By transferring Spain beforehand to one of his sons, he fancied that the opposition of the great powers would be removed; and he was ready to give fresh pledges that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one head. On the other side his abdication was in reality very incomplete, for he had established an administration which depended entirely upon himself, and which would receive its orders from him, though his son was nominally king; he had made deposits of large sums of money at Segovia; and had altogether so arranged matters that he could exercise the authority of a king in Spain as well at St. Ildefonso as if he were at Madrid, and seat himself upon the throne again whenever he chose. The boy Louis, eldest son of Philip by his first wife Maria Louisa of Savoy, was only in the 17th year of his age, without talent or the promise of it—a complete piece of royal inanity; he was frivolous and indolent rather than vicious; but his wife, third daughter of the regent Duke of Orleans, was inclined to be dissolute and debauched, capricious and arrogant, and she hated and despised her husband, who, it is said, out of aversion to her person, never consummated his marriage.* The management of affairs continued to be vested in Philip's prime minister Grimaldo, who continued to prosecute the ambitious schemes of the old queen, whose great object it was to obtain a considerable part of Italy for her own son Don Carlos. The business of government divided between two courts—St. Ildefonso and Madrid—was managed as if state business had become a game of riddles and cross-questions. The old Marshal Tessé, the French ambassador, was obliged to declare that this farce of king and no king could not last much longer. It was ended in seven months by the death of Don Louis, who fell a victim to the small-pox; and thereupon Philip re-ascended the throne of Spain, almost despairing of that of France, as the occupant of it had not only recovered but had been declared likely to live and beget children. The death of Don Louis alone saved his young queen from the humiliation of a divorce; the recovery of Louis XV. led to the rupture of the marriage contract between his most Christian majesty and an infanta of Spain, who, on the conclusion of peace and Philip's accession to the Quadruple Alliance, had been affianced and sent to Paris, though only four years of age, at the same time that Don Louis's young wife had been sent from Paris to Madrid. The Infanta Mary Ann was even now little more than six years old, and the French court was anxious for immediate issue, while Louis XV. had conceived a strong dislike to the person of his Spanish cousin. The Duke of Bourbon and his mistress Madame de Prie resolved at all hazards to gratify the young king, to send the infanta back to Madrid, and to procure another bride of more acceptable person and maturer years. It is said that at one time the Duke of Bourbon thought of the Princess Anne of England, and that George objected on account of the difference in religion; but at last Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the dethroned and exiled King of Poland, was fixed upon as a proper wife for Louis XV.; and having made this choice they sent the affianced infanta back to Spain in the month of March of the present year (1725). This insult threw the court and the whole kingdom of Spain into a frenzy. The restored queen tore a miniature of Louis XV. from her bracelet, and trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" but, recollecting that her own husband Philip was a Bourbon, she turned to him and added, "Except your majesty." Philip himself, in spite of his thin blood, declared that all the

* The old courtier Tessé, who was sent to Madrid to reconcile the royal pair, will not, of course, allow that the young princess was more than indiscreet, and over-lively for the staid, rigid etiquette of the Spanish court. He says, "*Ses* vivacités ingénues, quoique innocentes en elles-mêmes, *et si analogues au caractère Français*, degradaient la majesté royale aux yeux d'une nation serieuse et flegmatique."—*Lettres du Maréchal de Tessé.*

blood of Spain could not wipe out the insult, and that he would never be reconciled to France till the Duke of Bourbon came to Madrid to implore pardon on his knees. The French ambassador and the French consuls were commanded to quit the kingdom; and, as the people were as furious as their rulers and less circumspect, it was with difficulty that a general massacre of the French in Madrid was prevented. When the match-making and interchange of princesses had been at its height, Mademoiselle Beaujolais, another daughter of the late regent Orleans, had been betrothed to Don Carlos and sent into Spain; but now that young lady was hurried across the Pyrenees, along with the widow of the late Don, or King, Louis. If the welfare and tranquillity of millions of people had not been mixed up with these contemptible family squabbles and spites, we might laugh at them as at the intrigues of a comical romance! But the treaties of Europe, the complicated relations of numerous and great states, were influenced by these dissensions. The court of Madrid had agreed to leave France the power of arbitrating at Cambray; but now Philip and his queen sent for the English ambassador Mr. Stanhope, and declared their intention of throwing themselves entirely into the arms of England, which, for some time past, had been uneasy at the seeming subservience of Spain to the will of France. "I am resolved," said Philip, "to separate myself for ever from France, which instead of weakening will, I trust, strengthen the bonds of amity between Spain and England. I would place my whole friendship and confidence in your sovereign, and will command my plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the interposition of France, and submit the arrangement of my disputes with the emperor to the sole mediation of Great Britain."* King George, however, declined this extreme overture, which might have involved him in a war with France; and he not only refused to break with the French government, but also urged that Spain stood greatly in need of French countenance and assistance in order to be safe from the pretensions and attacks of the emperor. Upon this the court of Madrid, blinded by their fury, dissolved the congress of Cambray by recalling their plenipotentiaries, professed their readiness to abandon all the points they had been contesting with the court of Vienna, and "proposed to the emperor a close alliance *against France and England.*" The emperor, who had never been satisfied with the conditions of the late peace,—who was jealous of France,—who detested George and his continental schemes,—and who had involved himself in a quarrel both with England and Holland by establishing an East India Company at Ostend, gladly closed with his old rival Philip; and by the 30th of April, 1725, a treaty between Spain and his imperial majesty was concluded at Vienna. It was agreed between these two princes, whose rivalry had deluged Europe with blood for so many years, that the ties of alliance and friendship should be of the closest kind—that the King of Spain should sanction the Ostend Company, and allow it all the privileges of the most favoured nations; that he should acknowledge the emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and abandon all pretensions to every part of the territories dismembered from Spain at the peace of Utrecht; and finally that he should guarantee THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, which provided that the succession of all the hereditary states of the House of Austria should, in default of males, be secured and rest in the female line:—an important point with the emperor Charles, who had no sons to succeed him. The two sovereigns further bound themselves to support each other against any hostile attack from any other power or powers: the emperor was to furnish 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; Philip 20,000 troops in all, and a fleet of fifteen ships. The emperor Charles, as a matter of course, repeated his renunciation of the Spanish throne: but it was soon discovered that he had also pledged himself in a private agreement to secure. Philip more solid advantages—to demand Gibraltar for Spain; and, should George refuse the precious rock, to combine with his Catholic majesty in recovering it and the Island of Minorca by force, and in placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. As soon as the treaty was signed at Vienna the strange allies looked round to see what *princes might* be induced to join in their confederacy against France and England; and their eyes soon rested with confident hope upon Russia. The Czar Peter the Great had died suddenly in the preceding month of January; and had been quietly succeeded by his widow Catherine, who carried out his plans and continued his animosity to George, and to his ally the King of Denmark, who had squared his dominions at the expense of the Duke of Holstein, who had married the czarina's daughter. Money—for Spain, though languishing, had still some gold to spare—was sent from Madrid to St. Petersburg; and Catherine began to equip a fleet and to recruit her army. Philip now assumed very high and haughty language, insulted the British ambassador, and presently demanded the restitution of Gibraltar. But in the mean time England and France had not been idle, and a treaty in opposition to that of Vienna was signed at Hanover on the 3rd of September, between Great Britain, France, and Prussia; and to this treaty Denmark and Holland acceded shortly after. The whole of this treaty passed under the eye of George, who, at first, had shown some reluctance to assent to it, as it might expose his continental dominions to the rage and invasion of the emperor; yet, on our side of the water, men asserted that the treaty had been concluded and a war provoked solely on account of

* Dispatches and Letters cited by Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, &c.—Philip's fiery Italian Queen exclaimed before the English minister—"This one-eyed scoundrel has sent back my daughter because the king would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain!" The Duke of Bourbon had the misfortune to be blind of an eye.

Hanover and the king's hunger after petty dominions on the continent.

A.D. 1726.—Having been detained longer abroad by these important transactions, it was not till New Year's Day that his majesty embarked for Harwich. On the voyage a terrible storm arose; the king's yacht was separated from her convoy; and it was not till after two days of danger and distress that she made the little port of Rye, on the Sussex coast. And on shore the weather was so terrible, and the snow so deep, that the king could not reach St. James's before the 9th of January. Parliament met on the 20th; and then Pulteney and the dissatisfied Whigs, and Shippen and the still plotting Jacobites, assailed the treaty of Hanover as unnecessary, unjust, unnational,—as tending to destroy the balance of power in Europe, undo the trade of England, and engage her in a dependence upon France. But Walpole was ready with his overwhelming majority, and an address in approval of the treaty was carried by 285 against 107. The susceptible funds, which, on the first apprehension of the war, had fallen 12 or 14 per cent., gradually recovered, and the Commons voted their supplies with confidence and liberality. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of May, when a strong English fleet, under Sir Charles Wager, was riding in the Baltic. Wager, being joined by a Danish squadron, ran up the Gulf of Finland, and on the 29th of May appeared before the Russian port of Revel, with positive orders not to suffer the Russian fleet to put to sea till the empress had removed all ground of suspicion, and declared her pacific intentions. Catherine was compelled to temporise: she denied any intention of war, or of giving any encouragement or assistance to the Pretender; but at the same time she prepared for war, and formally acceded to the treaty of Vienna. Sir Charles Wager continued to blockade Revel and other ports till the month of October, when the ice and storms of the North warned him to retire. During the course of the summer English diplomacy and English gold detached Sweden from the alliance which she had so recently formed with Russia; but, on another side, the capricious and violent King of Prussia broke suddenly off from the treaty of Hanover and acceded to the treaty of Vienna. Two other English fleets sailed in the spring,—one for the West Indies, under Rear-Admiral Hosier, who had orders to take or block up the Spanish galleons; and the other, under Sir John Jennings, for the coast of Spain, where it was apprehended that a new armament was preparing to carry the Pretender into England or Scotland. Jennings, who had some land-troops on board, scoured the Spanish coasts, where no armament was ready, and, after causing great alarm and doing some mischief, returned safely home; but Hosier and a considerable part of his fleet perished miserably of yellow fever and other diseases off Porto Bello and the Spanish Main. A more fatal expedition than this last had rarely left the English shore. As was but too usual in these inordinately corrupt and jobbing times, the ships had been badly provisioned and appointed, that profits might be put into the pockets of government men and contractors; and some of the ships, scarcely sea-worthy when they left England, became rotten in the West Indies.

A.D. 1727.—The parliament assembled on the 17th of January, when an essentially warlike speech was delivered from the throne. George informed the two Houses that the alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded between Spain and the emperor in the treaty of Vienna, had laid the foundation of a most exorbitant and formidable power; and that this power was levelled against the dearest interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either surrender Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and acquiesce in the emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend her undoubted rights. He assured them that it was a secret article of this alliance to invade and revolutionize the kingdom, and place the Pretender upon the throne of Great Britain. He alluded to the manœuvres and designs of Russia, and gave to the British fleet in the Baltic the honour of having prevented the empress from taking the field, and of having thwarted the measures which might have led to the invasion of these kingdoms. And he further informed them that the King of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit England, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibraltar. Pulteney and the *patriots*, Sir William Wyndham and the Jacobites, who were furnished with arguments, wit, and sarcasm by the ever busy Bolingbroke, got up a loud and long debate upon the address. They insisted that it would be irrational to approve of a rupture with Spain, the emperor, and their allies, without knowing the precise ground of the quarrel, and whether the dangers alleged were imaginary or real; and they called for papers to establish the facts stated in his majesty's speech. Mr. Hungerford asked whether the Pretender was going to embark on the floating island of Gulliver, as he could not see how he was to obtain a fleet or a convoy for England. Sir Thomas Hanmer was altogether incredulous as to the dangers with which they were threatened; and said that, though the name of the Pretender might be converted to a political use by foreign princes, in order to frighten and alarm us, his interest was never so low, nor his party so despicable, as at present. And Hanmer also said that he was extremely apprehensive that the acquisition of certain foreign dominions had sown the seeds of those divisions and disturbances; and that we had involved ourselves in difficulties by compliances, unaccountable on any possible ground connected with the national interests. The original address of the Commons, expressing their determination to stand by and support his majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies, to raise the supplies necessary for the present exigency, and to enable his majesty to make good his engagements

with his allies, in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe and the undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain, was, however, carried by a majority of 251 against 81. Twenty thousand seamen and twenty-six thousand soldiers were voted. In the Lords the opposition was led by Lord Bathurst, who said that we were rushing without reason into a war with two of the greatest potentates in Europe—a war in which we had everything to lose and nothing to gain; and he dwelt upon the hopelessness of our case, as the nation was absolutely loaded with a debt of *fifty* millions. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who declared, with undoubted truth, that the dangers were not chimerical; that his majesty, while at Hanover, had received positive information with respect to the secret article of alliance between Philip and the emperor in favour of the Pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him at present to lay these advices before his parliament. Sixteen peers joined Bathurst in a protest against the resolution of the majority, that the measures his majesty had taken were honourable, just, and highly necessary for preventing the execution of the engagements entered into in favour of the Pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by right of solemn treaties, and particularly her conquests of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining for his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Some awkward questions arose about George's previous offer of restoring Gibraltar to Spain,—an indisputable fact, which Townshend denied in the Peers, and which Sir Robert Walpole admitted in the Commons; but the opposition was too weak to make any valid stand; and the indignation of the public at the demand of the restitution of Gibraltar, and the engagements of the courts of Madrid and Vienna with the Pretender, more than seconded the warlike zeal of the majority. The emperor, who probably would not have had an empire, or one of his numerous crowns, if it had not been for England and the military genius of Marlborough, behaved with extreme arrogance and insolence. He ordered his resident at London, M. Palm, to present a memorial to the king, reflecting severely on his majesty's speech as being altogether false or grossly exaggerated; denying, in the emperor's name and in the most solemn manner, the existence of any secret treaty whatsoever; and concluding with these words:—"Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred, imperial, and Catholic majesty require that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world: and his sacred imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations." This memorial was printed and circulated, and was accompanied by a letter from the imperial chancellor, Count Zinzendorf, enjoining Palm to publish it, that the whole nation might be acquainted with its contents. The intemperate language of these papers, and the very unroyal indiscretion of distinguishing between the King of England and his subjects, and of appealing from the throne to the people, excited almost universal resentment. When the precious memorial was brought before the Commons the voice of opposition was silent: even Pulteney, Wyndham, and the thorough Jacobite Shippen expressed their indignation at this affront; and the House unanimously adopted a spirited address, drawn up by Walpole, "To express the highest resentment at the affront and indignity offered to his most sacred majesty by the memorial delivered by Monsieur de Palm, the emperor's resident, and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; to declare their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his majesty; and their detestation of the presumptuous and vain attempt of endeavouring to instil into the minds of any of his majesty's faithful subjects the least distrust or diffidence in his most sacred royal word; to return his majesty the thanks of this House for his care and vigilance in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of his enemies, and his goodness in communicating to his parliament the dangers that threatened the kingdom; and to assure his majesty that the House would stand by and support him against all open and secret enemies both at home and abroad, and effectually defeat the expectation of all such as may have in any manner countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the disturbers of the public tranquillity in this extravagant insult upon his majesty, or flattered them with hopes that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures could stagger the firmness of the British nation in vindication of his majesty's honour and the defence of their rights and privileges." This address was presented, and Palm was commanded to quit the kingdom, while the British resident at Vienna was recalled. The emperor sent declarations and manifestoes to the Diet of the empire at Ratisbon; the King of England replied to these; and personal reflections were not spared on either side. Spain commenced hostilities by laying another fruitless siege to Gibraltar, expecting to be joined by an Austrian army; but the emperor was in no condition to fulfil the engagements he had contracted in the treaty of Vienna; he saw that a confederacy he was forming in Germany was not likely to come to anything without money; that England had taken into her pay 12,000 Hessians; that Sweden had been detached from Russia; that troops had been subsidized by England both in Sweden and Denmark; that the French were collecting an army on the Rhine; and that the Czarina, though she had concluded a strict alliance with him, was wavering and uncertain. The death of Peter's widow, which happened in the month of May, completed the emperor's despondency; and,

after vapouring like a bully, he seized on the first overtures of peace like a coward, and, sacrificing his rash ally Spain, he accepted the mediation of France; and on the 31st of May his ambassador at Paris signed the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. In twelve preliminary articles it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the emperor should suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend East India Company, and confirm all the treaties previous to the year 1725; that a general congress should be opened within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for settling all differences whatsoever, consolidating the peace of Europe, &c. Nothing was left for Philip to do but to accede as quickly as possible to this treaty: his minister at Vienna, the Duke of Bournonville, signed the preliminaries at Vienna a week or two after; and then the Spaniards raised the siege of Gibraltar, and the English recalled their shipping from the blockade of Porto Bello, which allowed the plate ships to return to Spain. Philip, however, did not ratify the preliminaries or relinquish any of his pretensions; and England and Spain continued in a dubious state between peace and war.

The merit of this pacification is generally attributed to the moderation and peace-loving politics of Sir Robert Walpole and the Cardinal Fleury, who had become prime minister of France in lieu of the Duke de Bourbon. But, in part, the prevention of a war was owing to the rashness, imprudence, and miserable folly of Ripperda, a Fleming, who had risen from a humble condition to be a duke and prime minister of Spain, and who, without any of his talent, had been endeavouring to follow the example of Alberoni,—an unfortunate precedent, in spite of all that Italian's energy and indisputable genius for government. Ripperda, who had boasted that he had six very good friends—God, the Holy Virgin, the emperor and empress, and the king and queen of Spain,—and who acted as if he had clutched the wand of power for ever and a day, was presently cast off at least by two of his great friends—by the King of Spain and by the emperor, who found that he had deluded him as to the resources of the Spanish government, and its ability to supply the court of Vienna with money; and after a very few months, cursed by the people and threatened by the court, Ripperda was dismissed (on the 14th of May of the preceding year 1726). Fearing to be torn in pieces by the mob of Madrid, and burning with resentment against his late royal master, the fallen minister took refuge in the house of Mr. William Stanhope, the English envoy, weeping and blubbering like a whipped schoolboy. When he dried his tears he vented his revenge, communicating to Stanhope all the particulars of the private agreement entered into by Philip and the emperor at Vienna, and declaring that that treaty aimed at nothing less than a new war of religion, and the total extirpation of the Protestant faith. It appears that he divulged many other things, but that Stanhope gathered from the whole of his revelations that the inclination of Philip to do mischief was limited by his inability, and that the treaty of Vienna might be broken without a war, if the English government acted with timely energy and prevented the coalition in the North,—all which Walpole did, as we have seen, with a high hand. The subsequent adventures of Ripperda—the very beau-ideal of an adventurer—are too singular to be passed over without a brief notice. The Spanish court demanded his person; the English envoy refused to give him up, and pleaded the rights of an ambassador to guard and protect all within his house. The Spaniards, nevertheless, surrounded Stanhope's house with a troop of horse, and dragged away the refugee by force; Stanhope protested; the ministry at home took up the quarrel, and many diplomatic notes were exchanged; but, nevertheless, Ripperda was shut up in the castle of Segovia, and kept there a close prisoner even after the conclusion of peace. In 1728 this duke and ex-prime minister seduced a maid-servant in the castle, and, by her assistance and that of a corporal, he escaped out of the tower, by descending a rope-ladder. Though crippled with the gout, which obliged him to make short journeys, he got safely across the frontier of Portugal. Shortly after he arrived in London, under the name of Mendoza, and was received with open arms by the English ministry. It was, however, considered proper at that moment not to give any new disgust to the court of Madrid; and he was conducted privately by an under-secretary of state to the house of Dr. Bland, head master of Eton College, where he lay for some time, as it were, *perdu*, and where he had several conferences with Lord Townshend, touching the treaties, the schemes, and objects of Spain. But not long after this, Ripperda appeared abroad in the great world, taking a large house in Soho Square, and living very magnificently—apparently upon money allowed him by the English government. When he could no longer be of any use, and when all the differences with Spain were adjusted, he was cast off. He then, in the year 1731, went over to Holland, and re-embraced the Protestant religion, which he had renounced to push his fortunes in Spain. At the Hague he formed an acquaintance with a Spanish renegado, who was acting as a Moorish agent, and with him he presently bargained to enter the service of Muley Abdallah, Emperor of Morocco. Ripperda sailed for Barbary, turned Turk, and became a pacha and a sort of prime minister. As the ministers of such potentates are bound to fight as well as write, and as Ripperda in all probability was still thirsting for vengeance, he led an army of Moors against the Spaniards at their African colony of Ceuta, whence he could see the hoary rock of Gibraltar, the dark blue hills of Spain, and the towns and villages of that Christian country of which he had once been the prime minister—all separated from

him only by a narrow strait or a few miles of the opening Mediterranean. But Ripperda was not fortunate in his new military character, being defeated and obliged to resign his command. After this he is said to have decided a civil war in Morocco by his sudden change of party; and at last he retired to the protection of the pacha of Tetuan, at which place he died in 1737, at an advanced age—"whether as a Christian or a Mussulman is uncertain and unimportant."*

If an adventurer like this had been allowed to control for a time the destinies of Spain, instruments as base had been allowed no inconsiderable share of power and influence in the court of England. Even at this very moment, when Walpole and his friends had brought the country out of an incipient war without any loss of honour or dignity, George's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, bought over by Bolingbroke and his party, was endeavouring to ruin the minister in the king's opinion, and to reinstate Bolingbroke, not merely in the House of Peers, but also in the cabinet. Walpole, who had his eyes everywhere, discovered the intrigue, and counterworked it for the time; but he was fain to confess that, as his rival had the duchess entirely on his side, he knew not what must or might in time have been the consequences. But Bolingbroke, who had already seen all his ardent hopes dashed by one sudden royal death, was destined to another disappointment of the same kind by the same cause. George set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June,† attended by the Duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend. He was apparently in his usual health; but on the forenoon of the 10th, as he was travelling along the road, he was seized with apoplexy in his coach, and on reaching Ippenburen he was quite lethargic, with his eyes fixed and his tongue hanging out of his mouth. His mistress and his minister Townshend had been both left behind at different places on the road; but his attendants proposed that his majesty should stop at Ippenburen, and obtain medical assistance. The king, however, recovered speech enough to say, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" several times, and the attendants, trained to implicit obedience, got the royal carriage in motion for that place; but before they reached Osnabruck George was dead. His unfortunate wife, who never saw England, and who never bore the title of queen, had died just seven months' before him. While the Schulembergs, the Platens, and other ill-conditioned mistresses had been disgracing the court of St. James's, this beautiful, imprudent, perhaps criminal, but certainly most unfortunate princess, had been languishing in a prison. Sophia Dorothea of Zell was married to George in 1682, when she was young and admired as well for her accomplishments, as for her beauty. George's father, the old elector, who was then living, kept a mistress or mistresses, like all the princes of his time, and it was the misfortune of the young bride to offend one of the sultanas. While George himself was absent at the army, and while his father was incensed at his young wife, Count Philip Christopher Königsmark, younger brother of Count Charles John Königsmark, who had made himself notorious in England some years before by the murder of Mr. Thynn, happened to arrive at the Hanoverian court, where he was treated with distinction as the member of an ancient and still considerable family, the head of which was governor of a Swedish province and high in favour at the court of Stockholm. This handsome Swede paid marked attentions to the neglected Sophia Dorothea, who, with great indiscretion, encouraged at the least a flirtation. As George had already discovered his exceeding bad taste—the morality of the thing was not considered in princes in those days—and as he had already more than one ill-favoured mistress, the prince may possibly have thought it fair retaliation to have one handsome lover. The old elector, in a rage, ordered Königsmark to quit his dominions forthwith. What followed is perhaps best told in the words of Horace Walpole. "The princess surrounded by women too closely connected with her husband, and consequently enemies of the lady they injured, was persuaded by them to suffer

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Bourbons of Spain, and Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.—Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht. His lordship says, "When I was at Tetuan, in 1827, I made several inquiries respecting Ripperda, but could find no trace or recollection of him." Among Ripperda's mad projects was one for what he styled a universal religion. According to this scheme, Judaism, Christianity, and Mahommedanism were to be mingled and compounded in one common faith."

† Just before his departure, the king and his strange favourite were seen by Horace Walpole for the first and the last time. That best of English tellers of anecdote has thus recorded his recollection of the scene and of his boyish impressions. After mentioning that the first vehement inclination he ever expressed was a longing to see the king, he continues:—"This childish caprice was so strong, that my mother solicited the Duchess of Kendal to obtain for me the honour of kissing his majesty's hand before he set out for Hanover. A favour so unusual to be asked for a boy of ten years' old was still too slight to be refused to the wife of the first minister for her darling child: yet, not being proper to be made a precedent, it was settled to be in private and at night. Accordingly, the night but one before the king began his last journey, my mother carried me at ten at night to the apartment of the Countess of Walsingham, on the ground-floor towards the garden at St. James's, which opened into that of her aunt, the Duchess of Kendal; apartments occupied by George II. after his queen's death, and by his successive mistresses, the Countesses of Suffolk and Yarmouth. Notice being given that the king was come down to supper, Lady Walsingham took me alone into the *duchess's* ante-room, where we found alone the king and her. I knelt down and kissed his hand. He said a few words to me, and my *conductress led me back to my mother*. The person of the king is as perfect in my memory as if I saw him but yesterday. It was that of an elderly man, rather pale, and exactly like his pictures and coins; not tall, of an aspect rather good than august, with a dark tie-wig, a plain coat, waistcoat, and breeches, of snuff-coloured cloth, with stockings of the same colour, and a blue riband over all. So entirely was he my object, that I do not believe I once looked at the duchess; but, as I could not avoid seeing her on entering the room, I remember that just beyond his majesty stood *a very tall, lean, ill-favoured old lady*; but I do not retain the least idea of her features, nor know what the colour of her dress was." The other powerful mistress of George I., the Countess of Platen in Germany, created Countess of Darlington in England, was, it appears, as fat as the Duchess of Kendal was lean. "Lady Darlington," says Horace Walpole, "whom I saw at my mother's in my infancy, and whom I remember by being terrified at her enormous figure, was as corpulent and ample as the duchess was long and emaciated. Two fierce black eyes, large and rolling beneath two lofty arched eyebrows, two acres of cheeks spread with crimson, an ocean of neck that overflowed and was not distinguished from the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays—no wonder that a court dreaded such an ogress, and that the mob of London were hindered diverted at the importation of so uncommon a seraglio! They were food for all the venom of the Jacobites; and, indeed, nothing could be grosser than the ribaldry that was vomited out in lampoons, libels, and every channel of abuse, against the sovereign and the new court and chaunted even in their hearing in the public streets."—*Reminiscenses.*

the count to kiss her hand before his abrupt departure; and he was actually introduced by them into her bedchamber the next morning before she rose. From that moment he disappeared; nor was it known what became of him, till, on the death of George I., on his son the new king's first journey to Hanover, some alterations in the palace being ordered by him, the body of Königsmark was discovered under the floor of the electoral princess's dressing-room—the count having probably been strangled there the instant he left her, and his body secreted. The discovery was hushed up; George II. intrusted the secret to his wife, Queen Caroline, who told it to my father: but the king was too tender of the honour of his mother to utter it to his mistress; nor did Lady Suffolk ever hear of it, till I informed her of it several years afterwards. The disappearance of the count made his murder suspected, and various reports of the discovery of his body have of late years been spread, but not with the authentic circumstances."* They still show the spot where the murder was committed. The Princess Sophia Dorothea, who was first-cousin to her husband, was placed under arrest, and in December, 1694, a few months after the event, George obtained from the Consistory a sentence of divorce—or so at least it was stated. "Of the circumstances," says Horace Walpole, "that ensued on Königsmark's disappearance, I am ignorant; nor am I acquainted with the laws of Germany relative to divorce or separation: nor do I know or suppose that despotism and pride allow the law to insist on much formality when a sovereign has reason or a mind to get rid of his wife. . . . . Sovereigns, who narrow or let out the law of God according to their prejudices or passions, mould their own laws no doubt to the standard of their convenience. Genealogic purity of blood is the predominant folly of Germany; and the code of Malta seems to have had more force in the empire than the Ten Commandments. . . . . Separated the Princess Dorothea certainly was, and never admitted even to the nominal honours of her rank, being thenceforward always styled Duchess of Halle. Whether divorced is problematic, at least to me; nor can I pronounce, as, though it was generally believed, I am not certain, that George espoused the Duchess of Kendal with his left hand. As the Princess Dorothea died only some months before him, that ridiculous ceremony was scarcely deferred till then; and the extreme outward devotion of the duchess, who every Sunday went seven times to Lutheran chapels, seemed to announce a legalised wife. As the genuine wife was always detained in her husband's power, he seems not to have wholly dissolved their union; for, on the approach of the French army towards Hanover, during Queen Anne's reign, the Duchess of Halle was sent home to her father and mother, who doted on their only child, and did retain her for a whole year, and did implore, though in vain, that she might continue to reside with them. As her son too, George II., had thoughts of bringing her over and declaring her Queen-Dowager, one can hardly believe that a ceremonial divorce had passed, the existence of which process would have glared in the face of her royalty. But though German curiosity might allow her husband to take another wife with his left hand, because his legal wife had suffered her right hand to be kissed in bed by a gallant, even Westphalian or Aulic counsellors could not have pronounced that such a momentary adieu constituted adultery; and therefore of a formal divorce I must doubt." After the death of George I. many persons of credit at Hanover expressed their belief that the imputation cast upon the princess was false and unjust. It was also reported that, her husband having once made some proposals for a reconciliation, Sophia Dorothea gave this noble answer—"If what I am accused of be true, I am unworthy of his bed, and if the accusation is false, he is unworthy of me: I will not accept his offer." Those who exculpated Sophia asserted either that a common visit was construed into an adulterous rendezvous, or that the Countess of Platen maliciously summoned Königsmark at a late hour in the night, and in the name of the princess, though without her connivance or knowledge; that on his being introduced the princess was surprised at the count's bold intrusion; that on quitting the apartment he was discovered by the old elector, whom the countess had purposely placed in the gallery, and was instantly assassinated by persons whom she had engaged. But, whatever was the amount of her guilt or simply of her imprudence, Sophia Dorothea was confined for nearly thirty-two years in the solitary castle of Ahlen, on the river Aller, where she died on the 13th of November, 1726, or just seven months, wanting two days, before her husband King George.* It is stated

* Reminiscences.

* The honest and able, though enthusiastic, and at times credulous and superstitious Jacobite, Lockhart of Carnwath, tells a story which makes George's sudden death proceed from an agony of remorse. "Having," he says, "mentioned King George's death, it will not be reckoned a great digression to give an account of a paper which perhaps is not so well known in Britain as other parts of Europe. About eight or ten weeks after his death, the copy of a letter was propagated and handed about at most of the courts of Europe, especially in Germany. An account and copy thereof was, whilst I was at Aix-la-Chapelle, sent by a gentleman of distinction in Paris to a French officer, and the like from Vienna to General Count Velling, governor of Luxembourg, who gave me the copy of it and assured me it was dispersed over all Germany. He added that some people gave no credit to the commission mentioned in the letter being either given or executed, believing the whole to be a story forged to vindicate the reputation of the late Electress of Hanover. However that may be, it took with a great many, and, be the story true or false, the dispersing it so industriously showed that the said electress's friends, some naming her son, and others the King of Prussia, carried their resentment high against her husband, by their endeavours to blacken his memory and represent his exit in such a manner. Follows the letter in English from the French:—

"'The circumstances of King George's death are terrible and worth the knowledge of all our friends: they are kept as much concealed as possible even in Germany, so probably will be a secret both in England and France. What was told me lately, by a person of superior rank and of great esteem in these parts, I had heard imperfectly before from a lady of quality. It seems, when the late electress was dangerously ill of her last sickness, she delivered to a faithful friend a letter to her husband, upon promise that it should be given into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage and unjust treatment, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband to appear within the year and day at the divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England or

that during her long confinement she used to receive the sacrament every week, and that every time she took the sacred symbol she solemnly protested her innocence. Of this innocence her son George II. seems always to have been fully convinced. It is related of him that once during his father's life he had made a bold attempt to see his unfortunate mother; that he even crossed the Aller on horseback, opposite to the castle, but was denied access there by the Baron Bulow, the stern jailor to whose care she had been committed. Had she survived his accession, he intended to restore her to liberty and to all her honours. "The Second George," says Horace Walpole, "loved his mother as much as he hated his father. . . . . Lady Suffolk (mistress to George II.) has told me her surprise, on going to the new queen the morning after the news arrived of the death of George I., at seeing hung up in the queen's dressing-room a whole length of a lady in royal robes, and in the bedchamber a half-length of the same person, neither of which Lady Suffolk had ever seen before. The prince had kept them concealed, not daring to produce them during the life-time of his father." The well-known story about Count Königsmark and the want of paternal and filial affection between George I. and his son, furnished the Jacobite songsters and ballad-makers with some of their sharpest points.*

The deceased sovereign, who expired on Sunday, the 11th of June (o.s.), was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. In spite of many vices and infirmities of character, he had, on the whole, submitted admirably well to the restrictions of constitutional monarchy, and had on many occasions displayed very considerable ability as a ruler and a politician. In private life he seems also to have had some attractive qualities. Horace Walpole, who was not much given to flattering kings, calls him a good-natured prince; and records several instances of his amiability, humour, or wit. His death took place in the palace of his brother, who was Bishop of Osnabruck. His mistress, or left-handed wife, the Duchess of Kendal, who had remained behind at Delden, was warned at Ippenburen of his danger, and was met on the road by a second courier announcing his demise. She beat her breast, tore her hair, and gave other signs of violent grief; and then dismissing the English ladies, who had deemed it no dishonour to attend her, she changed her route, and took the road to Brunswick. She soon, however, returned to England, where she lived till 1743, chiefly at Kendal House, Isleworth. Her great wealth would have been greater but for an interference of George II. with the testamentary arrangements of his father. The late king had made a will bequeathing ample legacies to the duchess and her niece or daughter, Lady Walsingham; and had intrusted a copy of it to Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury. At the very first council at which the new king attended, the archbishop produced this copy of the will, expecting that his majesty would immediately open it and read it. But the second George, without saying a word, put the precious document in his pocket and walked out of the room, and it was never more heard of,—the most reverend prelate being too timid or too courtly to complain, and the duchess probably having weighty reasons for avoiding discussions which might endanger some of the property she had got. It is said that another copy of the will had been deposited with the Duke of Brunswick, who suppressed it for a seasonable subsidy; and it is added that the celebrated Lord Chesterfield who married the duchess's niece or daughter in 1733, afterwards threatened a suit in Chancery touching the will, and obtained 20,000*l.* from the court to be quiet.*

Hanover, it was given to him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediately, supposing it came from Hanover: he was so struck with these unexpected contents and his fatal citation, that his convulsions and apoplexy came fast on him; after being blooded his mouth turned awry, and they then proposed to drive off to a nearer place than Osnaburg, but he signed twice or thrice with his hand to go on, and that was the only mark of sense he showed. This is no secret among the Catholics in Germany, but the Protestants hush it up as much as they can."—*Register of Letters, in Lockhart Papers.* According to Horace Walpole, a female prophet "warned George I. to take care of his wife, as he would not survive her a year." "That oracle," he adds, "was probably dictated to the French Deborah by the Duke and Duchess of Zell, (the parents of Sophia Dorothea), who might be apprehensive lest the Duchess of Kendal should be tempted to remove entirely the obstacle to her conscientious union with their son-in-law."

* Every one that knows anything of their Jacobite relics and the most popular songs of Scotland will remember how many of them go to the tune of "cuckold Geordie," meaning George I. and "bastard Geordie," meaning George II. In nearly all circumstances, and under nearly every possible point of view, the courts and the personal characters of the two first sovereigns of the House of Hanover were but little calculated to remove or to soothe deep-rooted prejudices and antipathies.

* Horace Walpole, Reminiscences, Memoirs.—The young Mademoiselle Schulemberg, who came over with the duchess, and was created Countess of Walsingham, bore a strong resemblance to the king; and it seems to have been generally believed that he was her father, and the duchess her mother. Walpole dwells at greater length upon the will, mentioning one or two other circumstances. "The poor prelate" (the archbishop), he says, "was thunderstruck when George II. stalked out of the room with the will in his pocket, and had not the presence of mind or the courage to demand the testament's being opened, or, at least, to have it registered. No man present chose to be more hardy than the person to whom the deposit had been trusted—perhaps none of them immediately conceived the possible violation of so solemn an act, so *notoriously existent*. . . . . Whispers only by degrees informed the public that the will was burnt. . . . . What the contents were was never ascertained. Report said that 40,000*l.* had been bequeathed to the Duchess of Kendal; and more vague rumours spoke of a large legacy to the Queen of Prussia, daughter of the late king. Of that bequest demands were afterwards said to have been frequently and roughly made by her son, the great King of Prussia (Frederick the Great), between whom and his uncle subsisted much inveteracy." After mentioning that Lord Chesterfield, resenting his proscription at court, was on the point of bringing the subject of the will to open and legal discussion, but was quieted by the payment of 20,000*l.*, this caustic recorder, who got his court secrets from Lady Suffolk, the mistress of George II., goes on to say—"But if the archbishop had too timidly betrayed the trust reposed in him from weakness and want of spirit, there were two other men who had no such plea of imbecility, and who, being independent and above being awed, basely sacrificed their honour and integrity for positive sordid gain. George I. had deposited duplicates of his will with two sovereign German princes,—I will not specify them, because at this distance of time, I do not perfectly recollect their titles; but I was actually some years ago shown a copy of a letter from one of our ambassadors abroad to a secretary of state at that period, in which the ambassador said, one of the princes in question would accept the proffered subsidy, and had delivered, or would deliver, the duplicate of the king's will. The other trustee was no doubt as little conscientious and as corrupt. It is pity the late King of Prussia did not learn their infamous treachery. Discoursing once with Lady Suffolk on that suppressed testament, she made the only plausible shadow of an excuse that could be made for George II.—she told me that George I. had burnt two wills made in favour of his son. They were probably the wills of the Duke and Duchess of Zell; or one of them might be that of his mother, the Princess Sophia."—Glover, the author of Leonidas, who also tells the story in his Memoirs published a few years ago, asserts that the sum Chesterfield got was 50,000*l.*

GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE II.

[No perfect impression is known to exist.]

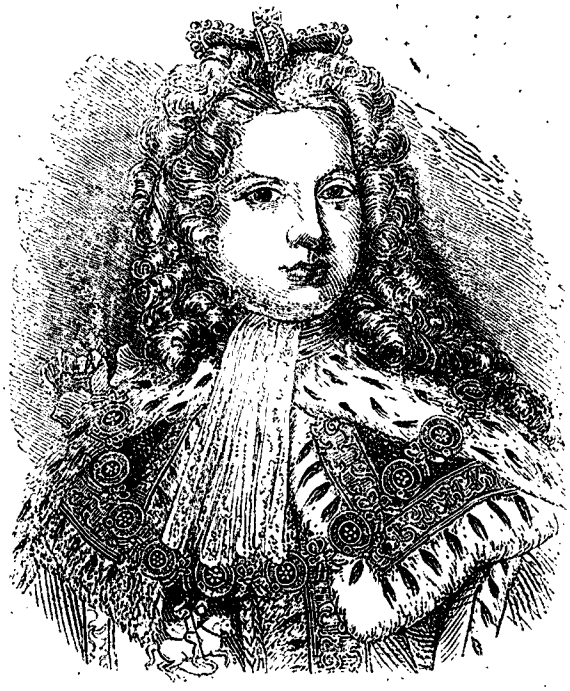
GEORGE II.

A. D. 1727.—Lord Townshend, who had accompanied George I. to the continent, but who had been left behind on the road, did not reach Osnabruck till his master was dead. He instantly dispatched a courier for England, whither he soon followed himself. Townshend's messenger and dispatch arrived at his brother-in-law's, Sir Robert Walpole's house, in Chelsea, on the 14th of June. Walpole instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond to salute the new sovereign. He found that George was retired, according to his usual custom, to take his afternoon's nap. When he was roused and informed that his father was dead he could scarcely credit the news; but when they told him that the prime minister was in his antechamber with the express, he started up and rushed out of his bedroom only half dressed. It is said that he could scarcely credit the fact until Lord Townshend's dispatch was produced and read. Walpole knelt at his feet, kissed his hand as his king, and inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the usual speech or declaration to the council? "Sir Spencer Compton," replied the new monarch abruptly. The answer seemed decisive—and implied Sir Robert's dismission. That minister left the apartment and Richmond with the conviction that his reign was over, and immediately waited upon Compton with the king's commands. "Sir Spencer Compton," says Walpole's son, "was speaker of the House of Commons, and treasurer, I think, at that time, to his royal highness, who by that first command implied his intention of making Sir Spencer his prime minister. He was a worthy man, of exceedingly grave formality, but of no parts—as his conduct immediately proved. The poor gentleman was so little qualified to accommodate himself to the grandeur of the moment, and to conceive how a new sovereign should address himself to his ministers, and he had also been so far from meditating to supplant the premier, that in his distress it was to Sir Robert Walpole himself he had recourse, and whom he besought to make the new draft of the king's speech for him."* The speech which Walpole wrote was delivered

* *Reminiscences.*—Horace adds, "Sir Spencer Compton, afterwards Earl of Wilmington, was so far from resenting Sir Robert's superior talents, that he remained steadfastly attached to him; and when the famous motion for removing Sir Robert was made in both Houses, Lord Wilmington, though confined to his bed, and with his head blistered, rose and went to the House of Lords, to vote against a measure that avowed its own injustice by being grounded only on popular clamour." This Spencer Compton was second surviving son of James Earl of Northampton. He had been treasurer to Queen Anne's husband and one of the managers at the trial of Doctor Sacheverel. At the accession of George I. he was appointed treasurer to the Prince of Wales. His intimacy with Walpole and his steady adherence to the Whigs led to the speakership; and he had also been paymaster of the forces, and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital.

that same evening to the privy council; and on the following day at noon—the 15th of June—George II. was peaceably, if not joyously, proclaimed king of these realms. He was then in his 44th year. In person and in manners George was still less dignified than his predecessor; he was also more fiery and passionate, and was generally supposed to have less talent for business. George I. had been rather dishonoured by the avarice of his mistresses than by his own greed for money; but George II. was meanly avaricious—a most unfortunate and odious quality in a prince. This master-passion seemed typified in his person and features, the first being diminutive, the second pinched and hard. He was, however, a man of undisputed courage in the field, as his father had been before him; and he had these particular advantages over his sire—he could speak English fluently though with a foreign accent; he knew the English people much better, from his having associated familiarly with them; he was sociable, communicative, and accessible on all occasions; and he had naturally a strong sense of justice and of honour. He was also much more temperate than his father, who would occasionally indulge in strong potations and disclose his state secrets over the punch-bowl. In his habits and occupations he was as regular as a piece of clock-work; and he was so much a slave to routine, that he seemed "to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow."* He sometimes read history, and he had a retentive and scrupulous memory as to dates; but as for elegant literature he had no sense of its beauties, and he affected to despise what he did not understand. He hardly paid more respect to the seventh commandment than had been paid by his father, or than was paid by the other European potentates his contemporaries; but he chose his mistresses with far more taste, and instead of being a tyrannical, he was a most kind, and even a submissive, husband. It was, in fact, his good fortune, and the good fortune of the nation, that he allowed his wife, who was altogether a superior being, to rule him, and the state for him; and that his principal mistress was one of the quietest and most amiable of women. Carolina Wilhelmina was daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Anspach, and born in 1683, the same year as her husband George. Through the death of her father and the re-marrying of her mother, she was left under the guardianship of Frederick I., King of Prussia, and she was brought up chiefly at Berlin, under the superintendence of her aunt Sophia Charlotte, Frederick's second wife and a sister of George I. From the example and instructions of this aunt, who was an accomplished woman—a solitary model of refinement in the midst of a gross, clownish, and corrupt court—Caroline derived an ardent love of literature and philosophy, with a fondness for metaphysical pursuits, which obtained for her the eulogium of Clarke and Leibnitz. After rejecting the matrimonial overtures of the Archduke Charles,

* Letter of Lord Harvey to Horace Walpole.



George II. From a Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

subsequently emperor, she espoused in 1705 George II., then only Electoral Prince of Hanover. She was esteemed handsome before she had the small-pox and became corpulent. Her hand and arm were greatly admired for their whiteness and elegance; and she had a penetrating eye, an expressive countenance, a fine voice, and much sweetness and grace, particularly when she spoke. A Whig poet, who must have felt that there was little else about the court of George I. to make it "the darling of the land," said that the princess was

> "Form'd to gain hearts that Brunswick's cause denied,
> And charm a people to her father's side."*

In some respects, however, Caroline would have been a promising subject for the satirist; for she affected to combine the characters of a philosopher and a princess royal and proudly royal, a beauty and a wit, a metaphysician and a divine—though, in divinity, her notions were scarcely considered strictly orthodox. "Her levees," says Archdeacon Coxe, "were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read, learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household; the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room." "On the table," says Lord Mahon, "perhaps, lay heaped together the newest ode by Stephen Duck upon her beauty, her last letter from Leibnitz upon free-will, and a most high-wrought panegyric of Dr. Clarke on her 'inimitable sweetness of temper,' 'impartial love of truth,' and 'very particular and uncommon degree of knowledge, even on matters of the most abstract speculation.'"† She took great delight in making theologians dispute knotty points in her presence; in perplexing them with questions concerning the opposite doctrines of the different Christian churches, and in carrying on a correspondence with them by means of her bedchamber-woman Mrs. Clayton, afterwards Lady Sundon. In short, her head was never free of divines and philosophers, poets, and authors of all descriptions; and it may be that all this did not tend to create in her husband a love of books and letters and literary men. George, who loved his army extravagantly, and who was nick-named by the Jacobites "the Captain," or "the Little Captain," would rather discourse with a cornet of horse or with a good corporal of grenadiers, than with all the Leibnitzes, Clarkes, Gays, and Popes in the world. But mixed with these *femme savante* absurdities, there was a good fund of homely sense, discretion, and dignity; and Caroline's moral character was without a blemish. During ten years she was more king than her husband, who seldom went wrong except when led contrary to her advice or suggestion. Yet she was never arrogant, or seemed self-willed, to her husband, who, to all outward appearance, was the absolute lord and master of the woman who ruled him. She had even the very rare philosophy of living on a friendly footing with his favourite mistress, who was one of her own bedchamber-women. Always taking care, however, to make her feel the difference between their rank and stations, she used to call her banteringly, "sister Howard," and to employ her at her toilet, making her dress her head until she became a countess, but always apologising to her *good Howard!* This lady was Henrietta, daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, afterwards by her interest made a baron, and then created Earl of Buckinghamshire. She was first married to Mr. Howard, who subsequently succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk, and who left a son he had by her, who was the last earl of that branch. At the time of their wedding, towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, the young couple, being miserably poor, saw no step more promising than to go over to Hanover, and endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the future sovereigns of England. Mrs. Howard, though extremely acceptable to the old Princess Sophia, made no impression on the rough heart of her grandson George, until after the Hanoverian succession, when she became one of the bedchamber-women to the Princess of Wales, his wife; and even then he would have preferred the charming and lively Miss Bellenden, if she had not gone off and married one of the grooms of his bedchamber, Colonel Campbell, who long afterwards succeeded to the title and estates of Argyll. "I do not suppose," says the chronicler of these great court events, "that love had any share in the sacrifice Mrs. Howard made of her virtue. She had felt poverty, and was far from disliking power. Mr. Howard was probably as little agreeable to her as he proved worthless. The king, though very amorous, was certainly more attracted by a silly idea he had entertained of gallantry being becoming, than by a love of variety; and he added the more egregious folly of fancying that inconstancy proved he was not governed: but so awkwardly did he manage that artifice, that it but demonstrated more clearly the influence of the queen." Howard, who only wanted money, played the part of the injured husband—no doubt to the astonishment of many men about court. He went one night into the quadrangle of St. James's palace, and there, in the hearing of the guards and others, vociferously demanded to have his wife restored to him. He must have foreseen what happened—they turned him away from the palace. Thereupon he sent a letter to his wife, re-claiming her, by the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the archbishop, by *his* instructions, consigned this letter to the queen, "who had the malicious pleasure of delivering the letter to her rival." In the course of the following summer Howard attempted, or made his wife believe that he intended to attempt, carrying her off by force; but the end of the disgraceful story was, that "a negotiation was commenced with the obstreperous husband,

* Tickell's Kensington Garden.
† Clarke's Dedication to his own and Leibnitz's Letters.

and he sold his own noisy honour and the possession of his wife for a pension of 1200*l.* a-year."* But seldom has so amiable a woman submitted to royal dishonour, or occupied the invidious and most difficult part of mistress to a prince. She was pretty rather than handsome, was remarkably genteel, and dressed with taste and simplicity. "Her mental qualifications," says Walpole, "were by no means shining; her eyes and countenance showed her character, which was grave and mild. Her strict love of truth and her accurate memory were always in unison. . . . . She was discreet without being reserved; and, having no bad qualities, and being constant to her connexions, she preserved uncommon respect till the end of her life; and, from the propriety and decency of her behaviour, was always treated as if her virtue had never been questioned; her friends even affecting to suppose that her connexion with the king had been confined to pure friendship."† The literary men of the day did not offer up all their incense to the *savante* princess and queen; and though Caroline may have had the best of the philosophers and divines with her, the best of the poets were certainly rather with Mrs. Howard or Lady Suffolk. In part, perhaps, through the volatility of the race, and in part because they fancied that Caroline was not so liberal as she ought to be, and that the mistress must eventually have more power over the heart of the king than the wife, and a greater faculty for disposing of places and pensions, Gay "put his whole trust in that lady;" Swift praised her as the person of her sex for whom he had the most esteem; and Pope, who always declared that he wanted nothing for himself, but only for his friends, and who quarrelled with the princess, frequented the society of the mistress, and complimented her with some elegant verse. Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, and Arbuthnot paid their court in the same quarter: but we regret to add that all these poets and wits turned against the inoffensive lady, and abused her roundly, when they found she could be of no use to them or to their party—that she never meddled with state affairs or with that treasury urn in which lay the prizes of places and appointments.‡ The mistress, in fact, constantly watched and thwarted by the queen, and disregarded by the ministers, who knew who it was that really held the reins, had scarcely the shadow of pride; and to all politics she was constantly and wisely averse. Caroline, who from their earliest connexion had determined to govern, and deserved to do so, retained an undivided sway; and, as she was convinced from the first that no minister could stand with Walpole in opposition, there could never have been much doubt as to the continuance of the ministry which George I. had left. Sir Robert also at this crisis fixed her favour by offering to obtain from parliament a jointure for her majesty of 100,000*l.* a-year, while Sir Spencer Compton—who, we suspect, was all along playing into Walpole's hands—would only undertake to propose 60,000*l.* Her majesty represented to her husband, at a fitting moment, that Compton was not even able to draw up a declaration; that it would be highly prejudicial to his affairs to prefer to the minister in actual possession a man in whose own judgment his predecessor was the fittest person to execute his office; she dwelt upon the danger of a motley cabinet; and she hinted that Walpole had agreed to carry through the House of Commons an augmentation to the civil list of 130,000*l.* This settled the business;—there was no more question of Sir Spencer Compton as prime minister; he got a peerage, the Order of the Garter, and the presidency of the council; and the king re-appointed the old ministry. The only change that took place in the cabinet was one which squared with the interests and views of Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend. Lord Berkeley, who had been in alliance with their dangerous rival, Lord Carteret, was dismissed from the Admiralty, and replaced by Lord Torrington, who was wholly devoted to Walpole. The change, however, in the king's determination was sudden and unexpected. The son of the fortunate prime minister says, "The instance I shall cite will be a true picture of courtiers. Their majesties had removed from Richmond to their temporary palace in Leicester Fields, on the very evening of their receiving notice of their accession to the crown; and the next day all the nobility and gentry in town crowded to kiss their hands: my mother amongst the rest, who, Sir Spencer Compton's designation, and not its evaporation, being known, could not make her way between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees, nor could approach nearer to the queen than the third or fourth row: but no sooner was she descried by her majesty, than the queen said aloud, 'There I am sure I see a friend!' The torrent divided and shrunk to either side; 'and, as I came away,' said my mother, 'I might have

* "These now little known anecdotes of Mr. Howard's behaviour," says Horace Walpole, "I received between twenty and thirty years afterwards from the mouth of Lady Suffolk herself. She had left the court about the year 1735, and passed her summers at her villa of Marble Hill at Twickenham, living very retired both there and in London. I purchased Strawberry Hill in 1747; and, being much acquainted with the houses of Dorset, Vere, and others of Lady Suffolk's intimates, was become known to her; though she and my father had been at the head of two such hostile factions at court. Becoming neighbours, and both, after her second husband's death, living single and alone, our acquaintance turned to intimacy. She was extremely deaf, and consequently had more satisfaction in narrating than in listening; her memory both of remote and of the most recent facts was correct beyond belief. . . . . Each of us knew different parts of many court stories, and each was eager to learn what either could relate more: and thus, by comparing notes, we sometimes could make out discoveries of a third circumstance, before unknown to both."—*Reminiscences.*

† The Countess of Suffolk, having lost her first husband, married the Hon. George Berkeley, a brother of the Earl of Berkeley; but this was after she had left the court.

‡ "Her credit had always been extremely limited by the queen's superior influence, and by the devotion of the minister to her majesty. Except a barony, a red ribbon, and a good place for her brother, Lady Suffolk could succeed but in very subordinate recommendations. Her own acquisitions were so moderate, that, besides Marble Hill, which cost the king 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.*, her complaisance had not been too dearly purchased. She left the court with an income so little to be envied, that, though an economist and not expensive, she found herself straitened; and, besides Marble Hill, she did not at most leave 20,000*l.* to her family."—*Walpole, Reminiscences.*

walked over their heads, if I had pleased.' "* The opposition, of all colours and shades, appears to have been stunned or bewildered. In conformity to the Act of Settlement, the parliament assembled the day after the announcement of the death of George I., that is, on the 15th of June; but it was prorogued by commission till the 27th. On that day the king went to the House of Peers; and, after expressing his concern for his father's death, and his own determination to preserve the constitution, and secure to all his subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, he gave his sanction to the late measures of government. The address of condolence and congratulation was moved by Sir Paul Methuen, was seconded by Walpole, and was carried without any attempt at opposition. On the 3rd of July Walpole proposed that the entire revenue of the civil list, which had been found to produce about 130,000*l.* more than the 700,000*l.* granted to the late king, should be settled on his majesty during life. The "thorough Shippen" observed that the sum of 700,000*l.* had been considered by all as an ample royal revenue; and that it was to be hoped that many personal expenses, particularly those incurred in the frequent journeys to Hanover, would cease or decrease in this reign; that in the reign of the late Queen Anne the revenue did not in general exceed the sum of 550,000*l.*, and yet parliament was called upon only once in a reign of thirteen years to pay the debts contracted by her civil government, and these debts were occasioned by her majesty's piety and generosity, and especially by her devoting 100,000*l.* per annum to the public service during the war; that in the late reign of George I., which was nearly the same length as that of Anne, 500,000*l.* had been twice voted for the discharge of the civil list debts; and during the last session 125,000*l.* were granted for purposes not yet explained; notwithstanding which there was a civil list debt of 600,000*l.* unaccounted for, but which he supposed had been contracted in a manner not fit to be owned, or swallowed up in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Shippen added that this amazing extravagance had happened under ministers who pretended to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue; that he thought no addition to the civil list was needed, and that he should move that the duties and resources appropriated should be strictly limited so as to make up the clear yearly sum of 700,000*l.*, and no more. Yet, so thoroughly was Walpole the master of this parliament, that not a single member rose to second Shippen; the motion was dropped, and the 130,000*l.* were added to the 700,000*l.* And on the 9th it was agreed, with the same unanimity, that the sum of 100,000*l.* per annum should be settled as a jointure upon the queen, in case of her surviving her husband. On the 17th the king, from the throne, thanked the Commons for this mark of attachment and affection; and, after adverting to the flourishing state of the country, prorogued the parliament. The necessary dissolution was proclaimed shortly after, and writs were issued for a new parliament to meet in the month of January.

The Jacobites, whom no series of failures could wholly discourage, had been sanguine in their hopes that the death of the first George would lead to a revolution, and eventually to a restoration; but at the critical moment they saw all these hopes vanish into thin air; and the Earl of Strafford was obliged to confess to the Pretender that the torrent was too strong for his friends to resist.* At the news of George I.'s death the Pretender set out from Bologna, where he had been residing, and travelled rapidly across the Alps to Lorraine, whence he dispatched a messenger to Bishop Atterbury, who was now residing at Paris as a regular agent or minister of the Stuart, and who, indisputably, was holding a correspondence with a desperate faction in England. The bishop, however, had small consolation or encouragement to offer to his master. "You will observe, Sir," wrote Atterbury, "what a spirit of caution and fear possesses your friends at home, and how they dread any alarm being given to the government, or taken by it. . . . . It appears that nothing is to be expected from them, *without a foreign, and a very considerable assistance.* . . . . . It is plain that the Tories at this turn hoped to get into place, if not into power; and though they resolved to keep their principles and inclinations (i. e. *their devotion to the Pretender*) if they had done so, I much question whether they really would, or, rather, I am satisfied that the bulk of them would not."† Nor were the advices received from other Jacobite agents much more encouraging. Lord Orrery, in London, confessed that the number of discontented among the people was small; and he

* Horace accounts for all this, and for the success of his father, without thinking of giving him credit for any superior morality. "The pre-occupation of the queen in favour of Walpole must be explained. He had early discovered that, in whatever gallantries George Prince of Wales indulged or affected, even the *person* of his princess was dearer to him than any charms in his mistresses: and, though Mrs. Howard (afterwards Lady Suffolk) was openly declared his favourite, as avowedly as the Duchess of Kendal was his father's, Sir Robert's sagacity discerned that the power would be lodged with the wife, not with the mistress; and he not only devoted himself to the princess, but totally abstained from ever visiting Mrs. Howard; while the injudicious multitude concluded that the common consequences of an inconstant husband's passion for his concubine would follow; and accordingly warmer, if not public, vows were made to the supposed favourite than to the prince's consort. They especially, who in the late reign had been out of favour at court, had, to pave their future path to favour, and to secure the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, sedulously, and no doubt zealously, dedicated themselves to the mistress; Bolingbroke secretly, his friend Swift openly, and as ambitiously, cultivated Mrs. Howard: and the neighbourhood of Pope's villa to Richmond facilitated their intercourse; though his religion forbade his entertaining views beyond those of serving his friends. Lord Bathurst, another of that connexion, and Lord Chesterfield, too early for his interest, founded their hopes on Mrs. Howard's influence; but, astonished and disappointed at finding Walpole not shaken from his seat, they determined on an experiment that should be the touchstone of Mrs. Howard's credit. They persuaded her to demand of the new king an earl's coronet for Lord Bathurst; she did; the queen put in her veto; and Swift, in despair, returned to Ireland, to lament Queen Anne and curse Queen Caroline, under the mask of patriotism, in a country he abhorred and despised."—*Reminiscences.*

* Letter from Strafford to the Pretender, dated June 21, 1727, published by Lord Mahon, from Stuart Papers, in Appendix to Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht.

† Stuart Papers, Lord Mahon, Appendix.

deplored the servility, ignorance, and poor spirit of the English nobility and gentry, who, he said, were striving who should sell themselves at the best price to the new court, but were resolved to sell themselves at any price. Lockhart, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland, where some of his plotting had been discovered, declared that the project of himself and his friends returning to their country without a foreign army to back them, was a hopeless one, that could only bring down ruin upon the cause and all that adhered to it. At the same moment the little beggared and vagabond court of the Pretender was distracted with all kinds of intrigues, jealousies, and animosities; and the Pretender himself had behaved so unfaithfully and so savagely to his wife Clementina, that that high-spirited woman had ran away from him and shut herself up in a convent at Rome. By this conduct James had given deep offence both to the court of Vienna and the court of Madrid. The court of Versailles, which had taken no part in these matrimonial quarrels, had other and far more weighty reasons for not wishing to have the Stuart on their side of the Alps; and, upon the representations of the English government, they directed the Duke of Lorraine to drive James out of his territories. By the advice of Atterbury, however, instead of crossing the Alps, the Pretender went into the pope's town of Avignon. But he was not left undisturbed there; and in the course of a few months he was obliged to return to Italy, where his wife forgave him and rejoined him. Atterbury had been, and continued to be, deeply involved in all the *contemptible* intrigues of the little Jacobite court, aiming at nothing less than at that supreme voice in their councils which had once belonged to his friend and ally Bolingbroke. This Protestant prelate caballed with priests, monks, and mistresses; took part with the husband against the injured wife; overthrew the influence of the Earl of Mar and General Dillon; and then, becoming jealous of Hay and Murray, the Pretender's new ministers, he took part with the wife against the husband, and reviled James as a selfish, dangerous, and incurable blockhead. He continued, however, to plot and cabal to the last; and died at Paris early in 1731, in the seventieth year of his age. Every man that joined the Pretender became convinced of his woful incapacity, and ran a rapid race to misery and ruin. The volatile, debauched, but witty Duke of Wharton went abroad in the year 1726, attached himself to the Pretender's party, and embraced, or pretended to embrace, the Roman Catholic religion; and Lord North did the same. The latter nobleman soon left the jangling court in disgust, and entered the Spanish service, in which he died seven or eight years after. Wharton was sent to Madrid, in the time of Ripperda's mad schemes, to assist the Duke of Ormond in pressing for an invasion of England, and to justify or excuse the conduct of the Pretender to his wife. At Madrid he behaved like a drunkard and madman. "The Duke of Wharton," writes Keene, the British consul, on April the 5th, 1726, "has not been sober, or scarce had a pipe out of his mouth, since he came from his expedition to St. Ildefonso. On Tuesday last I had some company with me that the Duke of Liria and Wharton wanted to speak with. Wharton made his compliments, and placed himself by me. I did not think myself obliged to turn out his star and garter; because, as he is an everlasting talker and tippler, in all probability he would lavish out something that might be of use to know, at least might discover, by the warmth of his hopes and expectations, whether any scheme was to be put in immediate execution in favour of his dear master, as he calls the Pretender. He began with telling me he had just then left the Duke de Ripperda, after an audience of an hour and a half and four minutes. The Duke of Ormond was with him; but that circumstance he omitted. I told him, sure it must have been an affair of the greatest importance to his new cause, that could have made Ripperda spare so much of his time, considering the multiplicity of business he is charged with. At which says he, You will shortly see the event; it is in my power to make your stocks fall as I think fit; my master is now in a postchaise, but the place he designs for I shall not tell you. He complained that Mr. Stanhope had prevented his seeing their Catholic majesties; but I am very sure that he has delivered in some proposals in writing, which are not *disencouraged*; for on the 1st of May, his P's birth-day, both he and the Duke of Liria, amongst a thousand other things they let slip, were fond of drinking a perpetual union of the saints of the day—whom God has joined let no man separate. The evening he was with me he declared himself the Pretender's prime minister, and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. Hitherto (says he) my master's interest has been managed by the Duchess of Perth and three or four other old women, who meet under the portal of St. Germains; he wanted a Whig, and a brisk one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man; you may now look upon me Sir Philip Wharton, knight of the garter, and Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the bath, running a course, and by God he shall be hard pressed; he bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his possession; that account is still open; neither he nor King George shall be six months at ease, as long as I have the honour to serve in the employ I am in. He mentioned mighty things from Moscovy, and talked so much nonsense and contradictions, that it was neither worth my while to remember them, or yours to read them. I used him very *cavalièrement;* upon which he was affronted; sword and pistol next day; but before I slept a gentleman was sent to desire everything might be forgot: what a pleasure must it have been to have killed a prime minister?"* Soon after

* Letter to Mr. Robinson, afterwards Sir Benjamin, in Hardwicke State Papers.—Keene continues: "I must not forget to observe one thing to you, that is, not only he, but several of his party, before he

this the Duke of Wharton received, at Madrid, an order under the privy seal of England, commanding him on his allegiance to return home. It is said that he scornfully threw the letter out of his coach window—its contents he certainly set at defiance. The end of this famed president of the Hell-fire Club, who had left England with a constitution as shattered as his fortune, could not be far distant. His first wife having died in England, he married Miss O'Byrne, the daughter of an exiled Irish colonel and a maid of honour to the Queen of Spain, in one freak, and abandoned her just as suddenly in another. He joined the Spanish army as a volunteer, and fought against his countrymen at the absurd siege of Gibraltar. From Spain he soon went into Italy, where he boasted of his enthusiastic zeal for the Pretender, and complained to him that some gentlemen branded that zeal with the name of madness. A short month after this he was in France, writing to Horace Walpole, protesting his loyalty to the House of Hanover, and declaring that ever since the accession of his present majesty George II. he had absolutely refused to be concerned with the Pretender or any of his affairs. "I am coming to Paris," wrote this undoubted madman to the English minister, "to put myself entirely under your excellency's protection, and hope that Sir Robert Walpole's good nature will prompt him to serve a family which his generosity induced him to spare." * At Paris Wharton repeated these assurances to the prime minister's brother Horace Walpole, to whom he gave, "in a rambling way that was entertaining enough, an account of several of his late motions and actions while he was in the Pretender's service." † Sir Robert, however, who had by this time preferred against him an indictment for high treason, refused to receive any application from him; and thereupon Wharton made fresh vows of fidelity to the Pretender, and begged and got some money from that court. After wandering about Europe with a numerous but ragged retinue of servants, he went again into Spain, where his whole stock was one shirt, one cravat, and 500 livres. To save him from starving, the Spanish court gave him the command of a regiment at Lerida. There his much abused constitution broke completely; he derived some benefit from the mineral waters of Catalonia, but he soon relapsed, and was discovered by the charitable monks of the Bernardine convent of Poblet, lying in a small village in a most wretched state of helplessness and destitution. The monks carried him to their own house, and, according to their own account, his penitence and their prayers made that conversion to Catholicism real which before had only been feigned. According to a common practice with dying penitents Wharton put on the monastic habit, and on the 31st of May, 1731, or about a week after his removal to the convent, he expired in that dress and was interred in the convent church, where a plain slab in an aisle apart from other monuments marks the last resting place of the last noble Wharton! The Earl of Mar, who had managed the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, died at Aix-la-chapelle about a year after Wharton, distrusted by the Pretender and despised by every one. As for the inferior agents of the expelled family, they were, with a few exceptions, a base and knavish crew—the Jonathan Wildes of politics. Many of them took money on both sides the water, and communicated the letters with which they were intrusted to the cabinet of St. James's. The honest Lockhart was told that Walpole had a key to the cipher he used in corresponding with James and his advisers. "I replied," says the Scottish Jacobite, "that I did not believe one word of this; for it was a usual trick in statesmen to pretend they had intelligence of the most secret doings, with a design of raising jealousies and fears among their enemies: whereupon one of my friends returned, that he was determined to convince me, and then produced a paper, which contained the cant names of the persons and several others in my cipher, telling me distinctly who was meant by them, adding with an oath that he read the seized letters with no other impediment than turning over the leaves of his cipher. . . . . This I confess surprised me much, and having said that I could not imagine how they had come by these papers, it was answered, '*What is proof against the money of Great Britain?*'" Lockhart ruminated whom he ought to accuse as the author of this treachery, and finally concluded that it must have proceeded from some one near the Pretender's person, who had access to his papers.

A.D. 1728.—The new parliament assembled on the 23rd of January, and was soon found to be as loyal and as compliant as the last. Indeed it appears that Walpole had gained by the elections. As Sir Spencer Compton had been elevated to the peerage, it became necessary to appoint a new speaker; and Arthur Onslow, one of the most distinguished of the many eminent men that have filled that post, was elected unanimously. The king's speech was, at the first glance, rather alarming; he assured the Houses that it was absolutely necessary to continue those warlike preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, as the execution of the preliminaries signed at Paris in his father's time had been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raised chiefly by the obstinate opposition of Spain. Shippen again raised his bold

came, whenever the occasion happened, were full of eulogiums of my Lord Sunderland, whose death they lament as a fatal blow to their cause. Upon the whole behaviour of this gentleman, it is easy to observe that some project in their favour was certainly laid in Vienna; but Ripperda must have found himself not able to sustain it, since he was better informed of the true state of Spain, which must have obliged him to lay it aside till a better opportunity offers. Wharton, Liria, and the young Jacks are yet fond of it, and if it depends on them, would now put it in execution; but the graver sort of them are not so confident, nor so much on their mettle. Wharton was telling the Duke of Ormond that his master did not love fox-hunting, but that he promised to go to Newmarket: to which he answered, he saw no great probability of it on a sudden, but wished the Pretender might take such care of his affairs, that he might be able to keep his word. But I *think* you *will see* our new knight strip himself of his new honours before twelve months are passed, if he be thought worth the receiving."

* Coxe, Life of Walpole.

† Letter from H. Walpole to his brother.

voice in opposition, reflecting severely upon ministers, and abusing the fleet for not having rifled the galleons at Carthagena and plundered Porto Bello, "whereby we might have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards." Sir William Wyndham seconded Shippen, and abused the languid measures of government and the dilatory course of their diplomacy; but their amendments were not risked to the chances of a division. George II. on his accession had pretended to turn off the Germans that crowded the court, and to renounce that partiality for Hanover of which his father had been accused; yet he now obliged ministers to ask parliament for 230,000*l.* for the maintenance during this year of 12,000 German troops, described as Hessians, in the pay of England. Upon this strong point the opposition made a stand; but they could muster only 84 votes against 280. Other bargains were struck with the Duke of Brunswick, who was to receive a yearly subsidy of 25,000*l.* While Bolingbroke was at work in the Craftsman, Pulteney, thinking the opportunity favourable, undertook to prove in the House of Commons that, notwithstanding the sinking fund and the sacrifices made, the national debt was on the increase; but a large majority affirmed with Walpole that it had decreased and was decreasing. In reply to an address of the Commons requesting a specific account of 250,000*l.*, which had been put down as secret service money, the king said that he trusted the House would repose the same confidence in him as they had reposed in his father; and declared that a specific account of such disbursements could not be given, without manifest prejudice to the public service. Pulteney inveighed against this principle as tending to render parliament useless, to cover embezzlement, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers; and, in the course of a prolonged debate, the ministers were repeatedly and loudly called upon to give an account of the moneys: but all that Walpole could or would answer was, that the sums had been expended *in negotiations too delicate to be specified.* He was suspected of having used the best part, if not all, of the money in managing the elections and in buying up the votes of members; but, by a lucky coincidence, while he was in the midst of his speech an express arrived announcing that the King of Spain, who had hoped to see a revolution in England, had at length ratified the former preliminaries with France and England, and referred the settlement of all differences to the congress, which was now appointed to be held at Soissons instead of Aix-la-chapelle. Walpole, who, no doubt, had helped to time the arrival of the dispatch, instantly read it to the House, adding, with dramatic effect, "that the nation would be now relieved from the burthen of the late expenses, and that he could assure the members who called so loudly for a specification of the secret service money, *that it had been expended in obtaining the conclusion of this peace.*" In this manner he rode over the heads of Pulteney, Shippen, and the rest, and carried everything he attempted by large majorities. His witty son afterwards said, that a good majority, like a good sum of money, soon makes itself bigger!

The Congress of Soissons opened on the 19th of June, when the ministers of the emperor, France, Spain, Great Britain, and the northern courts proceeded to perplex each other with an interminable series of memorials, and counter-memorials. Cardinal Fleury had, however, effected a reconciliation between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and Lord Chesterfield, who was residing as ambassador at the Hague, had soon to announce that Philip and the emperor, who had so recently pledged their faith to each other in the treaty of Vienna, were becoming irreconcilable enemies.

A.D. 1729.—Frederick, Prince of Wales, and heir to the throne, had hitherto been left at Hanover, and had never been allowed to visit England; but now he came over, and was received with exceeding great joy by the nation. He was twenty-one years of age, and seemed full of promise—and, as Lord Mahon observes, the multitude are always apt to love an heir-apparent better than a king. If George had seen his arrival with satisfaction he soon had occasion to regret the hour of his coming; for his son behaved to him precisely as he, when Prince of Wales, had behaved to his own father. The parliament assembled on the 21st of January, when the king still expressed something like an uncertainty as to whether we were to have peace or war; declaring, however, his unwillingness to kindle a new war in Europe precipitately. Spain, in fact, had interrupted the trade which had for some time been carried on by connivance, though not by actual permission, between the English colonies and the West Indies and her dominions on the South American continent; and the merchants of London and other places, suffering from this interruption, vented their complaints in petitions to parliament. Another complaint was, that the Spaniards were preventing the English from cutting log-wood in Campeachy bay. The Commons agreed in a declaration that the Spaniards had violated treaties; and also in an address desiring that his majesty would be pleased to use his utmost endeavours to procure a just and reasonable satisfaction for these injuries, and for securing to his majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The opposition now adopted a curious course, proclaiming that it was the broken promise of George I. and his minister to restore Gibraltar to Spain which had incensed King Philip, produced all these mischiefs, and still threatened a war—holding, however, at the same time that Gibraltar was on no account to be ceded, and that the fault was in having made the promise. A motion had been made before for producing the letter of George I. to Philip; but Walpole had then replied that, the promise having been given when he was not in administration, he was in no respect answerable for it; that if it

had ever been made he could venture to assure the House that it must have been only a conditional promise, and rendered void by the refusal of Spain to comply with the terms proposed (*which was the fact*); that he himself had always maintained that Gibraltar could never be granted without full consent of parliament; but that, as to producing the late king's letter, he was of opinion that the private letters of princes were almost as sacred as their persons. But now, when a fresh call was made for the letter, he produced it to the House of Lords, where the opposition moved this resolution:—"That effectual care be taken in any treaty that the King of Spain do renounce all claims and pretensions to Gibraltar and Minorca in plain and strong terms." This, however, was overruled by a large majority with a counter-resolution:—"That the House relies upon his majesty for preserving his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca." Similar proceedings took place in the House of Commons, where also the royal letter was produced. It was during this session, and on the 26th of February, that the House of Commons, taking great offence at Mr. Raikes, a respectable printer of Gloucester, for publishing some reports of their proceedings, unanimously resolved "That it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privilege of, this House, for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of the debates or other proceedings of this House, or of any committee thereof;" and "That, upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." If these resolutions had been continued in force we much question whether by this time there would have been any House of Commons—any parliament whatsoever to have its proceedings reported. There certainly seemed, however, in the course of the same session some good reason for drawing the veil of mystery over the doings of the House. For example, Walpole proposed, and the Commons voted by a large majority, a grant to his majesty of 115,000*l.* to supply a deficiency in the civil list—which deficiency did not exist, as there had been no falling off whatever in the civil list revenues. To add mockery to robbery, there was inserted some futile provision for the repayment of this money at his majesty's death. There is, however, one strong argument in excuse of the still growing bribery and corruption of Robert Walpole: the majority of public men were so detestably mean and venal that there were no means of securing them except by money; and, but for the sums expended in home negotiations "too delicate to be specified," it may be doubted whether he could have driven on the car of government at all, and whether England would not have been involved in disgraces abroad and in constant turmoils and troubles at home.

On the 14th of May George terminated the session with a most gracious speech, in which he extolled the wisdom and patriotism of his parliament. Soon after he departed for his German dominions, leaving Queen Caroline sole regent during his absence. The queen, who continued to exercise the same authority in the like cases as long as she lived, gave almost universal satisfaction to the nation by her prudent and dignified conduct. To settle, if possible, the differences with Spain, the peace-loving Walpole now dispatched the former ambassador, Mr. William Stanhope, to the Spanish court, which had fixed itself for a time at Seville. Stanhope was indisputably one of the most accomplished of English diplomatists; and on the 9th of November, after many vexations and difficulties, he brought to a conclusion the celebrated and advantageous treaty of Seville, by which Spain joined in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland, confirmed preceding treaties, revoked the exclusive privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor by the treaty of Vienna, put the English trade in America on its former footing, restored all captures, and confirmed the Assiento. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in silence; but at the very same moment the Spaniards were devising and erecting works which they trusted would for ever cut off the communications of that glorious fortress with the main land, if they did not some day enable them to strike the English banner from its pride of place. In short, they were constructing the memorable lines of San Roque, or the Campo, which ran right across the narrow sandy isthmus that connects the rock with the Andalusian main; and no remonstrances on the part of England could make Philip desist. "I was assured," writes Mr. Keene, the English consul, on the 20th of May, 1731, "that, if the whole universe should fall upon the king to make him desist, he would rather let himself be cut to pieces than consent. . . . . We might as well pretend to Cadiz as to the spot where the line is."* The English government, it should appear, did not claim the spot, but they did pretend that it should be considered as neutral ground, and not converted into means of imprisoning and annoying their garrison at Gibraltar. When nearly a century had elapsed, and these lines, strengthened for repeated sieges, had been the cause of infinite mischief to the English, they were blown into the air through an ingenious device; and the only remains of what cost the Spaniards many *millions* of hard dollars now consist of a sightless heap of stones which can never again be put, in that place, one upon the other.†

A. D. 1730.—Parliament re-assembled in the

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Spanish House of Bourbon.

† In the last war, when the French advanced to the town of San Roque, the troops and people ran for protection to the neutral ground under the guns of Gibraltar, and the governor of that place persuaded them that the French intended to attack the lines, that he could spare no troops for their defence, and that they by themselves would be incapable of holding them; and, in fine, that the best and only thing to do was to blow them up—a pleasant task, in which nearly every English inhabitant of Gibraltar took a part—civilians, military, merchants, clerks, shopkeepers! Owing to the excavations which have been made in the rock, and the tremendous batteries which have been brought to bear upon the spot, it is scarcely possible to re-erect those famous lines.

month of January, when his majesty declared that the peace of Europe was now firmly established by the treaty of Seville; but when the terms of that treaty were before them, the opposition raised numerous objections to it, complaining more particularly that the right of Great Britain to Gibraltar and Minorca was not formally and explicitly acknowledged; that the guarantee of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza to the infant Don Carlos might involve Great Britain in future quarrels; and that it had been most unwisely agreed to convoy in English ships six thousand Spanish troops to garrison Leghorn, Porto Ferrajo, Parma, &c., which had so incensed the court of Vienna, that an edict had been issued by the emperor, prohibiting the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions. At the same moment his imperial majesty, cut off from the supplies of Spanish money, was attempting to raise a loan of 400,000*l.* in the city of London. Walpole determined to stop this borrowing and lending; and a bill was presently brought in and carried, prohibiting loans to any foreign power without express licence from the king under his privy seal. The opposition called this a bill of terrors, and an advantageous bargain for the Dutch, who would get into their money-market all the business of great loans; but Walpole replied that it was not to be expected that British merchants should be permitted to lend their money to be employed against the British nation, or to assist with supplies the enemies of their country. And through want of money the emperor was compelled to moderate his indignation and submit to terms of accommodation. Walpole carried with somewhat more difficulty his annual motion for continuing the subsidies to the Hessians and other German troops; a minority of 169 rallying against him on this ground. On the 16th of February the opposition proposed their famous Pension Bill, which went to disable all persons from sitting in parliament who had any pension, or any offices held in trust for them from the crown, directly or indirectly; and which provided that every member on taking his seat should take an oath that he had no pension, gratuity, reward, office, or place; and that in case of his afterwards accepting anything, he should signify it to the House within fourteen days. Walpole himself, knowing how popular the bill was abroad, was prudently silent, and the bill was carried by a majority of 144 to 134. The odium of negativing it rested therefore with the Lords, who threw it out after a long debate and a protest entered by twenty-six peers. It appears that this business widened a breach which had for some time been open in the friendship of the two brothers-in-law, Walpole and Townshend, and that Townshend was dissatisfied at having the odious part of the business left to himself in the Upper House. In the following session, when Townshend was dismissed, Walpole did not hesitate to oppose the motion, or to describe the Pension Bill as tending to erect the House into a court of inquisition. During the whole of his administration, however, he left the bill, which was the most popularity-gaining measure of the opposition, to be rejected by the Lords. It will be remembered that France had agreed at the peace of Utrecht, and in a subsequent treaty, to destroy the harbour of Dunkirk; but that power had never kept its disagreeable promise in full, pretending, not without reason, that the interests of the inhabitants and the strong feeling of the French nation generally prevented or delayed their compliance. Bolingbroke sent over his secretary, Brinsden, to inspect the state of the port and works of Dunkirk, and Brinsden reported that the French, instead of letting them go to ruin, were repairing them and making them more formidable than ever. Upon this exaggerated report, the opposition got up a debate tending to excite and alarm the English people; and then moved for an address, that "the king should direct tha tall orders, instructions, reports, and proceedings had in regard to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, since its demolition, be laid before the House." George complied, and a heap of papers were laid upon the table. Bolingbroke's friend Wyndham then moved that the evidence established the fact, and that in what had been done to the harbour of Dunkirk there was a manifest violation of treaties, and a design to annoy the trade of England at the least. But he was met and foiled by a counter motion, expressing entire satisfaction in the good effects which his majesty's instances had had, by obtaining express orders from the most Christian king for causing to be destroyed all the works that might have been erected at Dunkirk contrary to the treaties of Utrecht, &c. In the course of the debate Walpole fell upon Bolingbroke, who was well known to be the cause of it; and Wyndham, in reply, attempted to show that Bolingbroke was as honest a minister as Walpole—a comparison that excited a general indignation among the Whigs. The next stand made by the opposition was against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, which was, however, prolonged to 1766, on the condition of the company's paying 200,000*l.* towards the supply of the current year, and reducing by 1 per cent. the interest of the money they had already advanced to the public. To make up for their weakness in parliament, the opposition had exerted all their strength in the press, and had deluged the town with inflammatory pamphlets and papers in which truth and decency were too often disregarded. In proroguing parliament on the 15th of May, the king alluded to these publications in unwise and passionate terms; calling them scandalous libels and the authors of them incendiaries. As soon as the parliament had risen Lord Townshend resigned, after a quarrel with Walpole, in which they almost came to blows, and in which, it is said, the two brother ministers and brothers-in-law seized one another by the collar and grasped their swords. Townshend was overbearing and exceedingly passionate, and in foreign politics more particu-

larly he entertained views which differed widely from those of Walpole, who felt his unquestionable superiority as a politician, who was impatient of opposition, and who appears to have been all along determined to be the sole and supreme head of his ministry. Townshend might have planted many a thorn in his side if he had gone into opposition; but he retired quietly to a country life, devoted himself to farming, and did more good to England by introducing the cultivation of the turnip from Germany than he could ever have done as one of "the patriots." Mr. William Stanhope, who had been created Earl of Harrington as a reward for the treaty of Seville, was now appointed secretary of state; Henry Pelham was made secretary-at-war, and the privy seal was given to Sir Spencer Compton, now Earl of Wilmington. The ascendancy of Walpole was absolute; and, in peace abroad, and growing prosperity at home, the nation saw little cause to repine at it. The good which Walpole did might certainly in many instances have been done in a higher and nobler manner; but, again, we must remember the lowness and baseness of the means he had at his disposal. He left the chief management of foreign affairs to Lord Harrington and to the Duke of Newcastle; but he impressed upon them the grand principle of avoiding foreign quarrels, and, as much as possible—as much as the king would let them—foreign engagements and perplexing under-treaties; and he invariably held up the blessings of peace and the superiority of commerce to conquest. Regardless of popular prejudices, he cemented our alliance with France; and he wisely overlooked many little squabbles which under a less pacific minister might have cost both nations much blood and treasure. He bore with the capricious insolence of the king of Spain, and he concluded an amicable treaty with the emperor.

A. D. 1731.—When parliament met again our foreign policy was once more severely criticised by Sir William Wyndham and those who acted with him, and the old cry was repeated, somewhat out of season, that we were making ruinous treaties solely on account of Hanover, that mill-stone hung to the neck of England to sink her for ever. Pulteney, formerly the bosom friend of Walpole, joined in these attacks; and he not only continued to write in the Craftsman with Bolingbroke, but he also maintained a very questionable correspondence with the ministers of the foreign powers that were not quite pleased with the English cabinet. We may leave these altercations, to note the progress made in good and wise measures. A judicious bill was introduced for preventing delays of justice occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, and enacting that all processes and pleadings, and all proceedings of courts of justice, should be in plain English. Obstacles were, however, raised, and most of the lawyers resisted the change, urging that this bill would render useless the ancient records which were all written in Latin; and that, far from expediting, it would introduce confusion and delay of, justice, by altering the established form and method of judicial proceedings. Lord Raymond said that if the bill passed, the law must likewise be translated into Welsh, since many in Wales understood no English. Somebody said in reply, that it would be as easy for the Welsh to learn English as to learn Latin. "Our prayers," said the eloquent Duke of Argyll, "are in our native tongue, that they may be intelligible; and why should not the laws, wherein our lives and properties are concerned, be so, for the same reason?" The bill was carried by one of Walpole's good majorities. Parliament also took into consideration frauds and malversations in the charitable corporation which had been formed for the relief of the industrious poor, and expelled from their House no less a person than Sir Robert Sutton, who had recently been ambassador at Paris, but who had been detected in fraud and peculation. The infamous state of the public prisons was also investigated and in part amended, a check being put to the monstrous abuses of the wardens and jailors, who oppressed and tortured the poor criminals, pampered the rich, and often connived at their escape; but in this respect much was left to be done, and much that could only be done in a more enlightened and humane age. A bill was brought in, from no very pure motive—apparently from sheer spite against the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Sherlock—to prevent for the future the translation of bishops from one see to another; but it was negatived by an immense majority. Considerable discontent was occasioned by the revival of the salt-tax, which had been abolished about two years before, but which was now granted again for the term of three years. Walpole declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced; but the opposition observed that, previously to the abolition of the duty on salt, they had been exhorted in a speech from the throne to abolish some of those taxes that were most burdensome to the poor; that the tax upon salt was the most burdensome of all, and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom; and that now there could be no good reason for so suddenly reviving that tax, and grinding the faces of the poor in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They further alleged that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, *who could not afford to eat fresh provisions*; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents among the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition. Nor was the measure carried without considerable difficulty. Parliament was prorogued in the month of May, and little occurred during the remainder of the year worthy of notice, unless it be a visit paid in the autumn to England by the Duke of Lorraine, who was destined to become the consort of Maria Theresa, the emperor's only daughter, and who on this visit was deeply impressed with the wealth and prosperity of the country, and the kindness and courteousness of the

English people. At this moment public credit seemed fully and firmly established, agriculture was improving, and our foreign trade was extending in every direction. In every sea then known was seen the busy flag of England; and her colonies were making prodigious strides from infancy to manhood—and, as a natural consequence, to emancipation from her authority.

A. D. 1732.—To the parliament, which met in January, George expressed his satisfaction at the general tranquillity, the happy effect of their zeal, attachment, and resolution. The courtly Lord Harvey, the Lady 'Fanny' of Pope, moved an adulatory address, to which the opposition started an amendment. Pulteney, not venturing to condemn what had been done in foreign policy, insisted that it might all have been done a great deal sooner and at infinitely less expense. In the recent treaty with the emperor, England had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, which went to secure the inheritance of the House of Austria to Maria Theresa. Pulteney said that this very guarantee had formerly been represented as inconsistent with the interest of England by the very men who were now pluming themselves and demanding the applause of the House for having assented to it. He doubted the policy of our obliging ourselves by a positive guarantee to maintain this Austrian succession at a future and indeterminate period, when England, for reasons impossible to foresee, might find it very incompatible with her interests to engage in a foreign war upon any account whatever. Nothing, he said, would be left in that case but to violate the national faith, which, indeed, he further said, was no new thing with his majesty's present ministers. But Pulteney's eloquence and arguments were thrown away upon a scoffing majority. His next attempt was to reduce the standing army; and he and his party represented, in a very effective manner, that a standing military force in time of peace was not only superfluous but unconstitutional and dangerous; that the internal tranquillity of the country, which ministers had declared to be so perfect, might be maintained by the civil power, aided by the militia. On the other side some good and not a few very bad arguments were used. The scribbling Lord Harvey said that the multiplicity of seditious writings proved that there was a dangerous spirit still abroad; to which Mr. Plumer replied that, if scribblers gave the government uneasiness, they ought to employ other scribblers, and not soldiers against them. It was said by or for ministers, that though the country was tranquil and contented, and had reason to be so under his majesty's wise and paternal government, there were still many men capable of plotting and caballing, there was still a pretender to the crown, and therefore a force was necessary to overawe malcontents and deter invasions from abroad. This force they said was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people even under an ambitious and arbitrary sovereign, and much less under a prince who could not be accused or suspected of entertaining the remotest wish of infringing upon the liberties of his subjects. But Pulteney and his party urged that the small standing army was gradually becoming greater and greater; that for almost a century past it had been a *progressive* army, and that every effort to reduce it or limit its numbers had signally failed. The present attempt was no exception, and the forces were left as they were. The king, who seems to have loved his army above all things, was furious against Pulteney, and, calling for the book, he with his own hand struck his name out of the list of privy counsellors, and ordered that all the commissions of the peace which he held in different counties should be instantly revoked. It is said that the royal indignation was increased by Walpole, whom Pulteney had offended beyond hope of reconciliation by disclosing private conversations which had passed formerly between him and the minister, and in which Sir Robert had said sharp things against the character of George II., then Prince of Wales.* On the 1st of June George closed the session, informing the Houses that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent as before. During his residence at Hanover the decree of the Pragmatic Sanction was ratified and confirmed by the Diet of the empire, notwithstanding the opposition and protests of the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, who, each and all, pretended to some share of the emperor's inheritance in default of heirs male of his own body. George also took under his protection a considerable number of the Protestant inhabitants of the archbishopric of Saltzburg, who were suffering under religious persecution in contravention of the treaty of Westphalia, which accorded liberty of conscience to all parts of Germany. Many of these poor people, abandoning their homes like the Palatinates in Queen Anne's time, came over to England, where a parliamentary provision was made for them, and whence for the most part they soon crossed the Atlantic to settle in the infant colony of Georgia, founded by the active and benevolent General Oglethorpe.

A.D. 1733.—On the meeting of parliament complaints were made that Spain had not yet made satisfaction for the depredations which had been committed during the last quarrel upon British merchants; and the king was obliged to confess that the meetings of the commissioners of the two crowns had been delayed, and that he could give no perfect account of their proceedings. The fact was, the Spanish court pretended that all or most of these British merchants had been engaged in an illicit trade to the Spanish Main—and, according to their principle, nearly all trade except that in negroes licensed by the Assiento, was smuggling. Walpole was reviled for not insisting upon imme-

* On the other side, however, Walpole had made similar disclosures of what Pulteney had formerly said about the king, and had revealed sundry passages of secret history *before* Pulteney made his revelations.

diate satisfaction, and for not throwing open the trade of the South American continent; but these were things not to be done without a war. The Pension Bill and a standing army were again debated with the same success as before. The sinking fund established by Walpole and Stanhope had been kept sacred for nearly ten years, or during the whole reign of George I.; but since the accession of his son various encroachments had been made upon it; and now Walpole proposed to take half a million from it for the service of the current year. Sir John Barnard, member for London, and a practical economist and financier, represented that such a fund ought never to be turned from its original purpose of paying off debts except in cases of extreme emergency; that to ease ourselves by loading our posterity is a poor, short-sighted expedient, the authors of which must expect the curses of posterity. Walpole, however, declared that, if he were not allowed to take this half million from the sinking fund, he must move for a land tax of two shillings in the pound; and this argument, addressed to the purses of country gentlemen and great landed proprietors had such an effect that his original proposal was presently carried in the Commons by a majority of 110! The practice of alienating the sinking fund having been thus once sanctioned by parliament was afterwards continued without intermission. In the following year (1734) not half a million but 1,200,000*l.*, or the whole produce of the year was taken from it; and in the two years next following (1735-6) it was anticipated and mortgaged. The best excuse pleaded for Walpole is, that in the reign of the two first Georges the national debt was considered as a main pillar of the established government by interesting so many persons in its support. The fund-holders had been led to believe that a revolution would destroy all obligations; that the Pretender would come with a sword in his right hand and a sponge in his left; and it was a dogma of the government that to pay off or reduce considerably the number of the state creditors would be to weaken the Hanoverian succession, by diminishing the number of capitalists bound to them by the strongest of ties, as the purse-string was then universally considered. While the sinking-fund, or the half million to be taken from it, was under discussion, Pulteney exclaimed, "But, sir, there is another thing, a very terrible thing impending! A monstrous project! Yea, more monstrous than has ever yet been represented! . . I mean, sir, that monster the EXCISE! That plan of arbitrary power which is expected to be laid before this House in the present session!" Walpole soon made this expectation a certainty by producing his famous EXCISE SCHEME. The House having resolved itself into a committee to deliberate upon the best methods for securing and improving the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers and accounts relating to these duties were called for; and the commissioners of customs and excise were ordered to attend the House. A system of fraud and evasion was thus laid bare, and the complication, obscurity, and uncertainty of the accounts were made evident. The chief articles subjected to the excise duties were malt, salt, and the materials used in the distilleries, and the duties produced at this time somewhat above three millions per annum. In the midst of a universal storm and a deluge of pamphlets and broadsides, which represented that everything was to be taxed, that the people were to be ground to dust in order that the constitution might be overthrown and a tyranny established, Walpole, on the 14th of March, broached his design in a temperate speech. After alluding to the wild reports which had been spread through the country to prejudice the people against his plan before they knew what it was; and after asserting that many of these prejudices had originally proceeded from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, he said—"My thoughts have been confined solely to the duties on wine and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I had of the shameful frauds committed in these two branches, and the complaints of the merchants themselves, that turned my attention to a remedy for this growing evil. . . . . I shall, for the present, confine myself entirely to the tobacco trade." And pursuing this subject, he said—"If there is one article of taxation more obvious than another, more immediately within the direct aim of fiscal imposition than another, it is such an article of luxury as depends for its use on custom or caprice, and is by no means essential to the support of real comfort or human life. If there is a subject of taxation where it is more immediately the province of the legislature to suppress fraud, and strictly to insist on the payment of every import, it must be that where the wrong is felt by every class of persons, and none are benefited except the most dishonest and profligate part of the community. Both these descriptions apply to the subject before us. For though the use of tobacco is perhaps less sanctioned by natural reason than any other luxury, yet so great is the predilection for it in its various forms, that from the palace to the hovel there is no exemption from the duty; and surely it must be considered an intolerable grievance, that, by the frauds which are daily committed, the very poorest of the peasantry are obliged to pay this duty twice; once in the enhanced price of the article—for, though the fraudulent trader contrives to save to himself the amount of the tax imposed by parliament, yet he does not sell it cheaper to the public; and a second time, in the tax that is necessarily substituted to make good the deficiency which has been by these means occasioned." He went on to show that the growers of tobacco, the planters in our American colonies, "were reduced to the utmost extremity, even almost to a state of despair," by the frauds of their factors and correspondents in England, who from being their servants had become their tyrants; that the unfortunate planters had sent home many representations,

and had lately deputed a gentleman with a remonstrance praying for some speedy relief; that the state of the tobacco trade at home was ruinous to the fair trader, who found himself forestalled in almost every market within the island by the smuggler and fraudulent dealer; that it gave occasion to an incessant series of perjuries and false entries; that if parliament properly regulated this matter it would acquire the means of exercising one of its most enviable privileges, that of diminishing the burdens of the country; that a proper levy of the duty on tobacco would enable him to alleviate those taxes which fell heaviest on our manufacturers and the labouring poor, as those upon soap and candles; that the existing duties on tobacco amounted to sixpence and one-third of a penny on every pound, and that the gross produce was at a medium 754,000*l*., whereas the net produce, or what was got by the government, was not more than 161,000*l*.! He proposed that the tobacco duty should be brought under the laws of excise, and that the excise laws themselves should be remodeled and improved. He also proposed a reduction in the duty, making it $4\frac{3}{4}d$. instead of sixpence and one-third of a penny. He suggested that the same rules might be afterwards applied to the duty upon wine, and that a system of bonding or warehousing for re-exportation might be instituted, "*which*," said Walpole, "*will tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world!*" By the increase of trade and of money thus levied, the land tax, he said, might eventually be altogether abolished. It had been reported out of the House that one of his principal motives for pressing this measure was to increase his control over elections by immeasurably increasing the number of excise officers and agents in his pay, and who would, it was said, form another standing army. In the course of his speech, which occupied two hours and a quarter, Walpole made more than one reply to these accusations. "Those," said he, "who deal in these general declamations stigmatise the scheme in the most unqualified manner, as tending to reduce those subjected to it to a state of slavery. . . . But there are already ten or twelve articles of consumption subjected to the excise laws. . . . . Are the brewers and maltsters slaves, or do they reckon themselves so? Are they not as free in elections, to elect or be elected, as any other? . . . . . This standing army of revenue officers, allowing the proposed addition to extend to tobacco and wine, will not, according to the estimate of the commissioners, exceed 126 persons; that number, in addition to those already employed, will do all the duty."

The tempting hope of the total abolition of the land-tax was calculated to dazzle the eyes of the country gentlemen; and the profered system of bonding or warehousing was an immense advantage to the merchant, and, in reality, calculated to make England the great *porto franco* of the world; yet the vehemence of opposition was not softened. Wyndham declared that in all countries excises of every kind were looked upon as badges of slavery, and he instituted a comparison between the ministers of the day and the rapacious favourites of Henry VII., Empson and Dudley, who, he said, "had the misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads!" George's son, Frederick Prince of Wales, was under the gallery when this speech was delivered. Pulteney, taking a less tragical illustration, compared Walpole to Sir Ephraim Mammon in the Alchemist, who was gulled out of his money by fine promises of the philosopher's stone, but at last only got some little charm for curing the itch. On the other side Walpole was supported by the able Sir Philip York, then attorney-general, and by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, who declared that he had come down to the House undetermined, but had been convinced by the minister's arguments. At two o'clock in the morning, when the debate had lasted thirteen hours, the House divided on the resolutions, when the minister found 266 for his scheme and 205 against it. He was little accustomed to such a large minority; and his good humour was not increased on his leaving the House, for a noisy mob, that had beset the doors during the debate, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some bodily mischief but for the interference of Mr. Pelham. On the 16th of March, when the report of the committee was brought up, the debate was resumed with increased acrimony. But there was truth as well as bitterness in Pulteney's declamation. "It is well known," said that accomplished orator, "that every one of the public officers have already many boroughs or corporations which they look on as their properties. There are some boroughs which may be called treasury boroughs; there are others which may be called admiralty boroughs; in short, it may be said that nearly all the towns upon the sea coast are already seized on, and, in a manner, taken prisoners by the officers of the crown; in most of them they have so great an influence, that none can be chosen members of parliament but such as they are pleased to recommend. But as the customs are confined to our sea-ports, as they cannot travel far from the coast, therefore this scheme seems to be contrived in order to extend the laws of excise, and thereby to extend the influence of the crown over all the inland towns and corporations in England." Upon a division, however, Walpole had still a majority of 60, or 249 to 189. The popular ferment was as great as it had been on the 14th. On the 4th of April the bill founded on the report of the committee was read a first time, and after a long debate, a motion, that it should be read a second time on that day se'nnight, was carried by a majority of only 36: and the next day when Walpole moved that the bill should be printed and distributed to the members of the House, he carried his point by a majority of only 16. The lord mayor of London, however, contrived to obtain

a copy of the bill, and under his direction the common council drew up a violent petition against it.* Similar petitions were sent up from Nottingham, Coventry, and other inland towns; and "the public," says Tindal, "was so heated with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose next to a rebellion." Warned by these evil omens and by his decreasing majority, Walpole made up his mind to relinquish the bill. He summoned a meeting of the principal members who had supported it. "He reserved his own opinion till the last: but perseverance was the unanimous voice. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of supplies if mobs were to control the legislature in the manner of raising them. When Sir Robert had heard them all he assured them that he was conscious of having meant well; that in the present inflamed temper of the people the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; that there would be an end of the liberty of England if supplies were to be raised by the sword. If, therefore, the resolution was to proceed with the bill, he would instantly request the king's permission to resign, for he would not be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood. This anecdote is mentioned in 'Historical Remarks on the Taxation of free States,' on the authority of Mr. White, member for Retford, who lived in friendship with Sir Robert Walpole. † And accordingly, on the 11th of August, the day appointed for the second reading, Walpole moved that it should be postponed till the 12th of June, before which day it was known that parliament would rise. The opposition were dissatisfied at this quiet mode of dropping the measure, and much wanted a formal rejection with severe animadversion; but the general sense of the House was against them, and they would not hazard a motion. Out of doors there was more noise and rejoicing than had ever been known at our greatest victories: bonfires were lit in the streets, the Monument was illuminated, and the minister Walpole was burnt in effigy. Cockades were worn with the motto, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise." The provincial towns followed the example of the capital; but the learned university of Oxford, filled with the fumes of tobacco and Jacobitism, outdid itself: the gownsmen joined the rabble of the town in their noisy rejoicings; curses of Walpole were mingled with Jacobite cries and cant phrases, and these Saturnalia on the banks of the Isis lasted three days and three nights. As Queen Caroline had gone fully into the excise scheme, and partook in the pangs of Walpole's disappointment, it was the more easy for him to chastise certain noblemen and gentlemen, who, though holding office, had criticised or opposed the bill. Thus Lord Chesterfield, who had become lord steward of the household, was very abruptly and unceremoniously deprived of his white staff, and Lord Clinton, a lord of the bedchamber, the Earl of Burlington, captain of his band of pensioners, and the Duke of Montrose and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, who held lucrative and sinecure offices in Scotland, were all dismissed. Nor did the ministerial vengeance stop here: the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, who had no offices about the court, were deprived of their regiments for their opposition.* This seemed an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative, and in the next session led to warm debates in the House of Commons, where Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commissioned officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of parliament; and when this was negatived Mr. Sandys moved for an address, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments; and Sandys was supported —of course in vain—by Sir William Wyndham and by Pulteney. After this a bill similar to that which had been produced more than once in the time of William III. was brought in for securing the freedom of parliament by limiting the number of military officers in the House of Commons; but it was rejected after the second reading.

In the course of the session of 1733 another bill for preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing was laid aside, in consequence of some amendments proposed by the Commons. The Commons also voted 80,000*l.* as a marriage portion to the princess royal, who was affianced to the Prince of Orange. The prince arrived in England in the month of November, and, after he had for some time drunk the waters of Bath to improve his health, the nuptials were solemnised in the French chapel at St. James's, on the 14th of February of the following year (1734).

But, though pacific in England, the year 1733 was in other parts of Europe a year of strife and contention. Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died in the month of February, when the Polish crown became, as usual, the object of a disgraceful struggle, which went by the name of "election." The competitors were Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king, and Stanislaus Leczinski, who had already been King of Poland, but who had been driven from his throne on the downfall of Charles XII. of Sweden, who, rather by force of arms than by any other right, had made him king.† By a strange com-

* This lord mayor was Alderman Barber, who had been printer to Swift and Bolingbroke, and who was a noted Jacobite.

† Coxe, Memoirs of Walpole.

* Before the end of the year, the great seal having been resigned by Lord King (who died a few months afterwards), Charles Talbot, the solicitor-general, was made lord-chancellor and (in the month of December) Baron Talbot. Still further to strengthen himself in the Upper House, Walpole made the attorney-general, Philip York, lord chief-justice and Baron Hardwicke. Talbot, one of the best men upon whom promotion could fall, survived only three years.

† Augustus on re-ascending his throne had thought proper to publish a long manifesto to justify his conduct and his perjury, as in a treaty he had solemnly sworn never more to pretend any right to the sovereignty of Poland. One day he asked a Polish gentleman what he thought of this long manifesto. "Nothing is more ridiculous," said the Pole; "you ought to have said simply, Seeing that the King of Sweden has been beaten at Pultava, I have re-ascended the throne."—*Rulhiere*

bination of circumstances the daughter of Stanislaus, even when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and he was an exile and proscribed, had become the wife of young Louis XV., and was now Queen of France. The French people made it a point of honour to procure for the father of their queen the crown which he had formerly worn, and the government resolved to support and assist Stanislaus. On the other side Augustus was supported by the Emperor Charles and the Czarina Anne of Russia, who, on the death of Peter I.'s widow Catherine, and a revolution which set aside Peter II., had ascended the throne of that country. France had for a long time ceased to have any connexion with Poland, and was at the moment unacquainted with the state of affairs in that country, and unprepared with the means of making any great effort. But Stanislaus, who was residing there, set out for his native country in disguise; and, attended by only one officer, he presented himself to the Poles at Warsaw, and was received with acclamations. The majority of the nation, or of the nobles who exercised the right of king-making by vote, were decidedly in his favour, and 60,000 suffrages recalled him to the throne. But the Czarina had resolved that the question should not be left to the decision of the Poles; three Russian armies hovered on the frontiers, and threatened to inundate the kingdom; and Augustus III. and the minority of the noble electors of Poland were soon in the Russian camp, and inviting the Muscovites into the heart of their country. In a brief space of time the whole of the Lithuanian provinces were occupied by the Muscovites, and Stanislaus was compelled to fly from the capital and shut himself up in Dantzic. There he was soon besieged by a confederate army of Russians, Saxons, and Polish partisans. The defence was heroic and long. Eight thousand of the Czarina's troops are said to have fallen in one assault; and in the fortifications of Dantzic they still point out a place which they call the grave of the Russians; but the end of all was, that Stanislaus was again obliged to disguise himself and to fly. His rival was then proclaimed King of Poland under the guns and bayonets of Russia, and the adherents of Stanislaus either submitted or carried on a hopeless, desultory, partisan warfare, which contributed to throw the country still farther back into barbarity, and to render it more and more an easy prey to Russia. The Emperor Charles had left the business to be settled by the Czarina; but this was rather through want of ability than any want of inclination to interfere, and he had indirectly aided and assisted Augustus, and injured the cause of the protégé of France. Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of Cardinal Fleury, the French court determined to resent this conduct, and they found the court of Madrid quite ready to join in a war against the emperor; for, besides old scores of animosities, the Queen of Spain, who had secured to her son the dukedom of Parma, aspired to placing him on the throne of Naples, which was weakly defended for the emperor. Everything depended upon dispatch, and armies, both French and Spanish, were prepared in a wonderfully short space of time. Walpole wisely endeavoured to prevent the firing of the first cannon, but his efforts were unsuccessful; and in the course of the following year some of the fairest parts of Europe were again scourged by the march of hostile forces, and the diplomatic scissors were once more employed to reshape and refashion dominions, principalities, and powers.

A. D. 1734.—The English parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king attended to the war which had begun on the continent, and which he said proved the necessity of increasing our forces at home. The opposition, whose plans of attack had been principally organised by Bolingbroke, were soon found to be more formidable than they had hitherto been. Our foreign policy, and the internal administration, were equally attacked; and, after a variety of minor efforts, a proposal to repeal the Septennial Bill was brought in on the 13th of March by Mr. Bromley, the son of Queen Anne's Tory secretary of state. The disaffected of the Whigs, it appears, had long scrupled about voting for the repeal of a bill which they themselves had once thought necessary for the security of the Protestant succession, but they were brought over by the persuasions of Bolingbroke and the determined will of the Tories, with whom they were now acting, and without whom they would have formed a very insignificant minority. Still, however, these Whigs were rather shy of the debate, and Pulteney, their head, delivered only a short speech, and that too in an embarrassed manner. The Tory chief, Sir William Wyndham, fought the battle; and in a very remarkable speech, which has been considered as one of the most powerful specimens of the parliamentary eloquence of that day, he hypothetically described Walpole as the most dangerous of all villains "Let us suppose," says Wyndham, "a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling, to trust any but creatures of his own making,—lost to all sense of shame and reputation,—ignorant of his country's true interest,—pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites,—in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased,

and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen—a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice;—I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent; as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief, while the septennial law remains in force than if it were repealed: therefore, I am heartily for its being repealed." In reply to this tremendous invective, which loses some of its strength in its extravagance, Walpole scarcely noticed Wyndham, whom he probably considered, on this occasion, as the mere mouthpiece of Bolingbroke; but upon that flagitious politician he laid a brand of fire which burnt through flesh and skin, and went heart-deep. "Sir," said Walpole, "I do assure you I did not intend to have troubled you in this debate, but such incidents now generally happen towards the end of our debates, nothing at all relating to the subject, and gentlemen making such suppositions, meaning some person, or perhaps, as they say, no person now in being, and talk so much of wicked ministers, domineering ministers, ministers pluming themselves in defiances, which terms, and such like, have been of late so much made use of in this House, that, if they really mean nobody, either in the House or out of it, yet it must be supposed they at least mean to call upon some gentleman in this House to make them a reply; and, therefore, I hope I may be allowed to draw a picture in my turn; and I may likewise say that I do not mean to give a description of any particular person now in being. When gentlemen talk of ministers abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour, other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of anti-ministers and mock patriots who never had either virtue or honour, but in the whole course of their opposition are actuated only by motives of envy, and of resentment against those who have disappointed them in their views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their desires. But now, Sir, let me, too, suppose—and, the House being cleared, I am sure that no person that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose—let me suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate country, an anti-minister, who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation, and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the administration by the name of Blunderer. Suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and him solely; all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country, suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends,—suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, I will get it you—tell me but what you want, I will endeavour to procure it for you: upon this, he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts; what he wants is moved for in parliament, and, when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in

defiances. Let us farther suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and, at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such as this?" This was not prophecy, but history—it was not an hypothetical case, but a strong relation of what Bolingbroke had actually done; and, as that brilliant profligate announced soon after his intention of leaving England and giving up his factious contest as hopeless, it has been assumed that Walpole's speech was the cause of this resolution.* In the rest of his famous speech Walpole exhibited with sufficient coolness the reasons which made him prefer septennial parliaments to triennial, or to parliaments of shorter duration. The triennial law, he said, ran too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical; which form was liable to these inconveniences—that it was generally too tedious in coming to any resolution, and seldom brisk enough in carrying its resolutions into execution—was never steady in any measures, and was often involved in factious seditions and insurrections, which exposed the country to the risk of being made the tool, if not the prey, of her neighbours. No prudent administration, he said, would ever resolve upon any measure of importance till they had felt not only the pulse of the parliament, but also the pulse of the people; and with triennial elections ministers would labour under this disadvantage—that, as secrets of state must not always be immediately divulged, their enemies would have a handle for exposing their measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying a new election against them, before they could have an opportunity of justifying their measures by divulging the facts and circumstances upon which they were based. "Then," said he, "it is by experience well known that what is called the populace, in every country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every misfortune. This makes them wavering in their opinions about affairs of state, and never long of the same mind; and, as the House of Commons is chosen by the free and unbiassed voice of the people in general, if this choice were so often renewed we might expect that this House would be as wavering and unsteady as the people usually are; and, it being impossible to carry on the public affairs of the nation without the concurrence of the House, the ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their measures as often as the people changed their minds." Continuing to insist that triennial parliaments would lead to democracy, and democracy to tyranny, he said—"In all countries and in all governments there will be many factious and unquiet spirits who can never be at rest either in power or out of power. When in power, they are never easy unless every man submits entirely to their direction; and when out of power they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any regard to justice or to the interest of their country. In popular governments such men have too much game,—they have too many opportunities for working upon and corrupting the minds of the people, in order to give them a bad impression of, and to raise discontents against, those that have the management of the public affairs for the time; and these discontents often break out into seditions and insurrections. This would, in my opinion, be our misfortune if our parliaments were either annual or triennial." As to bribery and corruption, he held that it was impossible to influence, by such base means, the *majority* of the electors of Great Britain to choose such men as would put their liberties in jeopardy. He spoke on this point at length, and in a curious style. "When," said he, "no encroachments are made upon the rights of the people, when the people do not think themselves in any danger, there may be *many* of the electors who, by a bribe of ten guineas, might be induced to vote for one candidate rather than another; but, if the court were making any encroachments upon the rights of the people, a proper spirit would, without doubt, arise in the nation; and, in such a case, I am persuaded that none, or very few, even of such electors could be induced to vote for a court candidate—no, not for ten times the sum. There may be some bribery and corruption in the nation—I am afraid there will always be some. . . . . But to insinuate that money may be issued from the public treasury for bribing elections (*Walpole's notorious bribes were certainly not managed in so bungling a manner*) is really something very extraordinary, especially in those gentlemen who know how many checks there are upon every shilling that can be issued from thence, and how regularly the money granted in one year for the service of the nation must always be accounted for the very next session in this House, and likewise in the other, if they have a mind to call for any such account. And as to gentlemen in offices, if they have any advantages over country gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private fortunes, they have likewise many disadvantages; they are obliged to live here at London with their families, by which they are put to a much greater expense than gentlemen of equal fortune who live in the country. This lays them under a very great disadvantage in supporting their interest in the country. The country gentleman, by living among the electors, and purchasing the necessaries for his family from them,

* Lord Mahon is correct in showing that there were other causes—that this could not be the sole cause of Bolingbroke's retiring to the continent; but it may, nevertheless, have contributed among other causes. Neither Bolingbroke nor his friends could ever give anything like a consistent reply to Walpole's allegations.

keeps up an acquaintance and correspondence with them without putting himself to any extraordinary charge; whereas a gentleman who lives in London has no other way of keeping up an acquaintance and correspondence among his friends in the country but by going down, once or twice a-year, at a very extraordinary expense, and often without any other business; so that we may conclude a gentleman in office cannot, even in seven years, save much for distributing in ready money at the time of an election; and I really believe, if the fact were narrowly inquired into, it would appear that the gentlemen in office are as little guilty of bribing their electors with ready money as any other set of gentlemen in the kingdom." In the end he insisted that there was still Jacobitism and disaffection, and cases likely to occur productive of a ferment which would make frequent elections dangerous to the liberty of the country; and therefore he should consider, he believed, at all times, that it would be a very dangerous experiment to repeal the Septennial Bill. It was in vain that the Opposition asserted that the septennial law was itself an encroachment on the *rights* of the people—a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial—that this long-enduring parliament had effected unconstitutional alterations in the laws of treason, and imposed the Riot Act, by which a little, dirty justice of the peace, the meanest tool of a ministry, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation—that it had passed the fatal South Sea Bill, and had almost passed the late odious Excise Bill:—upon a division Walpole found himself supported by a majority of 247 to 184.

On the 16th of April, having sat near its full term, parliament was dissolved by a speech from the throne, in which George spoke again of the prosperity and glory of the country, said that the interests of sovereign and subject were mutual and inseparable, and that any infringement of the rights of either would be a diminution of the strength of both, which, kept within their due limits, constitute that just balance which is necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and prosperity of the people. In about a month after this the new elections came on, and were conducted with great heat. The Excise scheme, the Riot Act, the unsettled state of our commercial claims upon Spain, were all very popular and exciting topics; and the Tories, who would have exclaimed against a war if ministers had gone into one, now represented the neutrality of Great Britain as dangerous and disgraceful. By these cries, and by other means not purer than those resorted to by Walpole, the Opposition gained several seats; and even in the county of Norfolk the two Whig candidates, Coke and Marden, were defeated by two Tories, Woodhouse and Bacon. "On the whole," wrote the Duke of Newcastle, a member of the cabinet, "our parliament is, I think, a good one; but by no means such a one as the queen and Sir Robert imagine. It will require great care, attention, and management to set out right and to keep people in good humour."*

Spain and France on the one side, and the Emperor Charles on the other, seem to have made sure of the co-operation of the King of Sardinia, who held, in a manner, the key of Italy, and who, with the usual policy of his House, had given promises to both, and was resolved to act according to circumstances. At last France and Spain outbid Austria; and, while his envoy at Vienna was actually pledging his faith to the emperor, his Sardinian majesty joined the French and Spaniards, burst into the Milanese, and overran the whole of Austrian Lombardy. At the same time a strong body of Spanish infantry was landed at Genoa, a mass of cavalry was sent by land to Antibo, and a strong French and Spanish fleet domineered in the Italian seas. The Spanish forces were directed by the Count de Montemar, but, "for fame and dignity of name," were under the supreme command of the Infant Don Carlos, who had been for some time settled in his Italian dominions at Parma. The object in view was no secret—it was to deprive Austria of Lombardy and the two Sicilies (*i.e.* Naples and the island)—"which," wrote the Queen of Spain to her favourite son Carlos, "*being* created an independent kingdom, shall be thine. Go, then, and conquer. The finest crown of Italy expects thee."† Don Carlos was little more than seventeen years old; but he was active, ambitious, and not without ability. He had a very advantageous person, excellent manners and address, and he was encouraged and favoured underhand by Pope Clement XII., who liked not to see the Austrians settled on both sides of him. In the month of March he assembled in Perugia 16,000 foot and 5000 horse, Spaniards, French, and Italians; and then, with his prime adviser, and afterwards his excellent minister, the Pisan advocate and professor of *Jus publicum*, Bernardo Tanucci, he held a council of war, which was attended by many Neapolitan princes and nobles dissatisfied with the Austrian government, by many grandees of Spain who wanted to recover the vast estates and power they had lost in Naples and Sicily, by the Count de Marsilliac, and many Frenchmen of distinction. It was presently resolved to advance with all speed to the city of Naples, and to send beforehand proclamations to inform the people that Don Carlos was coming to relieve them from the oppression, hardness, and avarice of the Germans, and to reign like a father over them,—that the Inquisition, which the Neapolitans abhorred and had always successfully resisted, should never be imposed or be attempted to be imposed upon them. As the Austrian army north of the Apennines, under the command of the Count de Mercy, who appears to

* Letter to Horace Walpole. According to his friend Etough, Sir Robert himself spent in this general election 60,000*l.* of his *private fortune*. Walpole's original private fortune was about 2000*l.* a-year; but he had been adding enormously to it since he had entered *public* life.

† Pietro Colletta.—Muratori.

have been as fiery and imprudent as ever, had been defeated with great slaughter in the battle of La Crocetta, and as the King of Sardinia had engaged to secure the passes of the Alps, there was no fear of any attack in the rear; and, putting himself in motion, Don Carlos traversed the states of the Church, avoiding the city of Rome at the earnest prayer of the Pope, and taking the road of Valmontone and Frosinone to the Neapolitan frontiers. At the same time a strong Spanish squadron, with troops on board, sailed along the coast from Leghorn and the island of Elba, and, seldom out of sight of the land army until it struck among the mountains, made for the beautiful islands of Ischia and Procida, which lie at the head of the Gulf of Naples, and which, being left by the Austrians wholly without defence, were obliged to surrender and pass under the obedience of the fortunate Infant. Then the Spanish men-of-war ran into the gulf, scoured the coasts, and took sundry vessels and small forts within view of the capital, where the people, as was their wont, were complaining of being betrayed and abandoned, and shaping their mouths to cry Long live King Carlo! instead of Long live the Emperor Carlo! In the mean while the main Spanish army crossed the frontier and the river Garigliano, or Liris, without opposition, and reached the antique towns of Aquino and San Germano. At the latter place Don Carlos halted three days; as the Austrian general, Count Traun, was in his front with 5000 men, well defended behind the trenches and batteries of Mignano. But on the 30th of March some mountaineers and foresters of the village of Sesto offered to conduct the Spaniards through the woods which overhang Mignano, and lead them without fear of discovery on the flank and rear of the Austrian lines; and the Duke of Eboli put himself under the guidance of these peasants with 4000 men, while the Count de Montemar moved in another direction, to be at hand when a sudden night assault should be made. Eboli was well nigh surprising the camp in a dead sleep; but a vidette discovered some of his troops stealing across the mountains and forests, and ran into Mignano with the news. At first the Austrian general, who believed these mountains inaccessible, and his position unapproachable except in front and in the teeth of his cannon, would not credit the intelligence; but the fatal truth was presently proved; and then Traun broke up his camp in panic and confusion, spiked the heaviest of his guns, burnt his baggage-waggons, marched off in the depth of night, and never stopped till he had got beyond the deep and rapid river Volturno, and within the regularly fortified and exceedingly strong town of Capua, which stands on the left bank of that river. As soon as this was known in Naples, the lazzaroni and the countless mob of that city, encouraged by the presence of Spanish ships of war in the gulf, began to insult and threaten the imperial viceroy, who, without publishing any edict or establishing any provisional government, stole away and fled with his German ministers and a few German officers towards the Adriatic and the province of Apulia. Don Carlos, advancing slowly and cautiously, and crossing the Garigliano *above* Capua, fixed his head-quarters at Maddaloni, within twelve miles of the capital, where he received the visits, oaths, and allegiance of Neapolitan princes, dukes, and barons without number, and amused himself with shooting pigeons. The "Elect," or magistrates of the capital, waited upon him, and presented the keys of their city; and on the following day, the 10th of April, Don Carlos moved from Maddaloni to Aversa, whence he dispatched Marsilliac to occupy the city of Naples and reduce its three castles, in which the Imperialists still held out. Other squadrons were encamped in the plain of Sessa to watch and shut up the garrisons of Capua and Gaeta; and, finally, the main body of the Spaniards was marched across the mountains into Apulia, to look after the imperial viceroy, who had collected some forces there, and was expecting others from Sicily and Trieste. The Neapolitan castles had all surrendered by the 6th of May; and on the 10th Don Carlos made his triumphal entry as a conqueror and a king. The imperial viceroy contrived to collect about 8000 men in Apulia, but he fled before 12,000 Spaniards, and left the command of his forces to the Prince Belmonte, who was destitute neither of fidelity to the emperor nor of bravery, but wofully deficient in military genius. He was defeated on the 25th of May at Bitonto, on the shore of the Adriatic; and then nearly all the towns and castles of Apulia surrendered to the Spaniards. The rest of the kingdom soon followed the example; even the strong fortress of Pescara in the Abruzzo capitulated, and the stronger fortress of Gaeta surrendered in the month of August, if not without firing a gun, almost without losing a man. But Count Traun kept the flag of the emperor flying a little longer over the walls of Capua, which did not surrender till the month of November. The island of Sicily, which had been so recently won from Spain by the English fleet and the Austrian army for the emperor Charles, made even less resistance than the continental kingdom, and its conquest was effected with less bloodshed than had often been spent at the taking of an outpost. Don Carlos remained undisputed master of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Such was the fate of the war in Italy; nor was it much more favourable to the emperor on the Rhine, though there the imperialists were commanded by that great soldier Prince Eugene, the rival of the fame of Marlborough, a conqueror in many a hard-fought battle. The French in superior force, and under the command of Marlborough's nephew, the almost equally favoured Duke of Berwick, crossed the Rhine and invested Philipsbourg. But before the walls of this place Berwick ended his career, being killed by a cannon-ball. The command of the French army then fell to the Marquis d'Asfeld, who took Philipsbourg after a trying siege, in spite of all the

QUEEN CAROLINE. From a Painting by Vanderbank

skill and efforts of Eugene, who scarcely took any active part in war after this unfortunate campaign, and who died about two years afterwards at Vienna. The emperor called upon all Europe for succour and assistance, representing that the schemes of Louis XIV. were reviving—that the worst consequences ever apprehended from the union of France and Spain were now realizing; and he entertained some hopes that England and Holland would again take up arms to curb the ambition of France.

A.D. 1735.—On the opening of parliament, in the month of January, the minority was found to be larger than formerly; but the majority was still an overwhelming one. The king expressed his concern at the present commotions on the continent; and said that, though he had hitherto resisted the pressing solicitations of the emperor for aid in this war, he hoped that his subjects would not repine at furnishing the necessary means of placing him in a situation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him. The opposition, or some of the *patriots* who had been exclaiming so recently on the hustings that England was dishonoured by keeping out of this continental war, now declared that she ought never to intermeddle in the unintelligible and everlasting broils upon the continent, but keep herself quiet and reduce the standing army instead of increasing it; but the majority nevertheless voted an increase of the forces both for land and sea, and furnished the necessary supplies. A subsidy was also voted to Denmark. The session was closed in the month of May, and then George, leaving his queen as sole regent, took his departure for Hanover. Bolingbroke had gone to the continent some months before, with the intention of spending the remainder of his life in France. According to Tindal there was published this year, in London, an octavo pamphlet containing a correspondence of some length which had taken place between Bolingbroke and the secretary of the Pretender immediately after his abrupt dismissal from that prince's service in 1716. This pamphlet it appears was immediately suppressed, but Tindal has printed the letters at large; and their contents are such as must have been both disagreeable and alarming to Bolingbroke.* A recent writer attributes Bolingbroke's departure to his despondency at the result of the late general election, and at the retirement of lady Suffolk, which destroyed his expectations from the court. The first of these reasons may very well have been the motive; but we doubt whether the astute plotter could ever of late years have built any hope upon a person so passive and powerless as George's amiable mistress; and we are still inclined to give importance to the effect of Walpole's withering speech. But it further appears that Bolingbroke had disgusted his allies, the out-of-place discontented Whigs, and had quarrelled with Pulteney, who considered him rather as a hindrance than a help in the war carry-

* Note to Tindal's Hist. of Eng.

ing on against ministers. But, whatever were the causes, Bolingbroke went over early in the year and established himself in his beautiful villa of Chanteloup in Touraine. A few months after he wrote to his friend Wyndham—"My part is over; and he who remains on the stage after his part is over deserves to be hissed off. . . . . I thought it my duty not to decline the service of my party till the party itself either succeeded or despaired of success." Pulteney, at the same time, was observed to be gloomy and depressed. The day before the House rose some remarkable civilities passed between him and his former bosom friend Sir Robert, and subsequently he seemed to make advances towards a reconciliation. Going over to the Hague he sent a message to the minister's brother Horace, who, in consequence, went to see him. According to Horace Walpole's account he was very cordially received. "I endeavoured," says Horace, "to be easy and cheerful, and to make him so; but his constant complaint was lowness of spirits, and, in my opinion, he is rather dead-hearted than sick in body; in other respects, had a stranger come into the room, he would have thought we had never been otherwise than good friends."*

The emperor thought that at last he had discovered a certain means of moving both the Dutch and English government to take a part in the continental war; and he actually threatened to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands and cede that country to the French, whose occupancy of it had always been the stalking terror of Holland and England. But, as Walpole still remained averse to war and unmoved by a threat which he no doubt believed would never be realised, the emperor endeavoured to overthrow that ministry by a cabinet intrigue to be headed by Lord Harrington, who was known to be in favour of an armed interference. To this end one Abbé Strickland, who had intrigued for the Jacobites and against them, and who lived and thrived by intrigue, was sent over to England; but Walpole now found out the abbé under his false name, and Queen Caroline sent him out of England, intimating at the same time to the court of Vienna that they had been deceived by false reports, and that England would on no account engage in this war. Nothing therefore was left but submission, and the emperor finally consented to accept the mediation of the maritime powers. The march of armies was then stopped, and the diplomatists began their campaign, which, as usual, was very long and very formal. If the French minister Cardinal Fleury had not been as pacific as Walpole, it is quite certain that the business would never have been settled by the pen. In the end, however, it was agreed that Naples and Sicily should remain to Don Carlos, as a separate kingdom, independent of Spain and every other country; and that the infant, on the other hand, should resign Parma and his other possessions in Italy, together with the reversion of Tuscany—that the Milanese should be restored to the emperor—that Augustus, the protégé of Russia and Austria, should remain King of Poland—that his rival Stanislaus, the French king's father-in-law, should retain the royal title, and be put in possession of the duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, should devolve to the French crown, and be incorporated politically, as it was physically, with the kingdom of France. The Duke of Lorraine, weak and a mere vassal as he was, had rights which could not well be overlooked, and he had a natural reluctance to resign to the Pole his paternal dominions; but eventually the young Duke of Lorraine, who was going to marry Maria Theresa, the heiress of the emperor's states under the Pragmatic Sanction, was induced to comply by the persuasions and authority of his imperial majesty, by a pension from France, and by being promised the succession to Tuscany in lieu of Don Carlos. The treaty further stipulated that both France and Sardinia should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, upon which the tranquillity of Europe and the safety or greatness of the emperor's daughter depended. His Sardinian majesty, who had played so double a part, was rewarded with the cession of Novara, Tortona, and other districts sliced off from the emperor's Lombard dominions. France was well satisfied with the acquisition of Lorraine, which ought to have been hers long before, but which neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had been able to acquire. The people of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies were also great gainers by these arrangements, for, instead of hungry viceroys, ever changing, from Madrid or Vienna, they got a king and a court of their own; and the government of Don Carlos and his minister Tanucci was on the whole a blessing to the country.

Avoiding one war for the emperor, England ran some risk of being brought into another for her ally the King of Portugal. The origin of this quarrel was sufficiently insignificant. The government at Madrid accused the servants of the Portuguese minister there of rescuing a criminal, and threw the said servants into prison. Every foreign ambassador at Madrid took part with the Portuguese envoy, and considered himself insulted in the infraction of the ambassadorial privileges. On the other side, the proud Spaniards would make no apology or concession. The dispute, embittered by memorials and counter-memorials, ran so high, that hostilities between Spain and Portugal seemed inevitable, and the court of Lisbon sent over to London Dom Antonio D'Alzevedo to claim the assistance of their close ally King George. Our obligation to give this assistance was indisputable and imperative; and Walpole forthwith sent a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line to the Tagus, taking care, however, well to instruct the admiral, Sir John Norris, that he was to act only defensively, and, in case of Spain's beginning hostilities, to represent to the Portuguese the expediency and advantage of moderation. So

* Letters in Coxe's Walpole.

strong an English fleet riding in the Tagus produced an immediate effect at Madrid, where also the British resident intimated to his Catholic majesty that England must, and assuredly would, protect her faithful ally. Cardinal Fleury joined in this good work of peace, and the quarrel was soon made up without the logic of cannon-balls.

A.D. 1736.—When the parliament met, in the month of January, George announced that the affairs of Europe had taken a very happy turn, and that this would enable him to make a considerable reduction in the forces both by sea and land. His majesty added—"I am willing to hope this pleasing prospect of peace abroad will greatly contribute to peace and good harmony at home. Let that example of temper and moderation, which has so happily calmed the spirits of contending princes, banish from among you all intestine discord and dissension. Those who truly wish the peace and prosperity of their country can never have a more favourable opportunity than now offers, of distinguishing themselves, by declaring their satisfaction in the progress already made towards restoring the public tranquillity, and in promoting what is still necessary to bring it to perfection." The congratulatory address was carried not only without a division, but without a syllable of criticism or opposition. It was *gin* that disturbed this harmony. The vice of drunkenness had always been the worst defect of the English people, and it was conceived by Sir Joseph Jekyll and others that it had lately been on the increase, and that the best way to stop it was to put so heavy a tax upon gin as should make that liquor too dear for the poor, who chiefly or solely used it. Jekyll brought in a bill proposing that a duty of twenty shillings per gallon should be laid upon gin and other spirituous liquors, that no unlicensed persons should be allowed to retail the same, and that every licensed retailer should pay fifty pounds per annum for his licence. Walpole foresaw that these extravagant duties would lead to smuggling and fraud, and that his successors in office would be obliged to modify the bill which they now carried. The duties hitherto levied upon gin, &c., had belonged to the civil list, and had not exceeded 70,000*l.* per annum; but Walpole demanded that whatever deficiency might happen from the reduced consumption of duty-paying spirits should be made good to the crown, and obtained a vote to that effect. This Gin Act did as little good to the public morality as to the public revenue. Clandestine dealers increased their trade, and then were made only more vicious and reckless by being thrown into prison to pay fines which they either could not or would not pay; "persons of inferior trades" "journeymen," "apprentices and servants," got drunk upon gin as frequently as before, and committed sundry riots because, as they pretended, the minister had tried to put gin out of their reach, and had shown that he was indifferent to what they drank, provided the government purse did not suffer. One of the great Hogarth's engravings was likely to do better service than a thousand bills like Sir Joseph Jekyll's, which certainly, however, had the effect of serving the purposes of the opposition by increasing Walpole's unpopularity. The Jacobite plotters tried to avail themselves of this gin fever of discontent, but the government, aided by all the respectable classes of society, put down the riots without bloodshed. In the month of March Mr. Plumer prematurely brought forward a motion for repealing the Test Act. Walpole, who had deluded the dissenters with hopes of his support when the proper time should come, opposed the motion with great caution and daintiness of expression, for he could not afford to lose the support of the dissenters, who had almost to a man voted for him and his friends at the late election, and he feared to give offence to the church party or to provoke a new war about "the church in danger." The motion was negatived by a majority of 251 to 123. Nearly at the same time, however, the minister warmly supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers, who, in a petition to the Commons had complained—"that, notwithstanding the several acts of parliament made for the more easy recovery of tithes and ecclesiastical dues, in a summary way, by warrant from justices of the peace, yet, as the said people conscientiously refused the payment, they were not only liable to, but many of them had undergone, grievous sufferings, by prosecution in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the impoverishing and ruin of them and their families, for such small sums as were recoverable by those acts." The clergy took alarm, cried out spoliation, and blew their loudest blasts; petitions against the Quakers' petition were poured into the House, setting forth "that such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the law then in being for the recovery of tithes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the established church upon a worse foot than the rest of his majesty's subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill." The Quakers, however, had gained the universal esteem of the nation by their exemplary moral conduct and elevated notions of mutual charity; they had many and warm friends in the Commons, and the House generally seemed to favour the bill. Yet it was found necessary to submit the measure to numerous alterations in committee; for example, it was inserted that all church and chapel rates, if refused by Quakers, were, upon complaint of the church-wardens, to be levied by distress, by order of two justices, but no Quaker was to be sued or prosecuted in any other manner for non-payment of church and chapel rates. The bill, clogged with other clauses, was carried through the Commons by a majority of 164 to 48; but the Lords threw it out by a majority of 54 to 35. Walpole, who, among other considerations, was anxious to gratify the numerous and influential body of

Quakers established in his native county of Norfolk—a body that had stood by him in many a stern contest—was furious at this rejection, which he chiefly attributed to the bishops. He sent for Gibson, the Bishop of London, and rated him severely for his conduct in the House of Lords. Up to this moment he had entrusted the chief management of ecclesiastical affairs, the niceties of which he did not pretend to understand, to that prelate; but now he transferred the honours and advantages of that management to other hands. But Gibson, it appears, lost not only the minister's favour but also the see of Canterbury by his opposition to the Quaker Bill. The controversialist Whiston used to call him the heir apparent to the primacy, and it was universally believed from his intimacy with the minister that he would obtain that promotion; but on the death of Archbishop Wake, which happened in the following year (1737), the vacant dignity was conferred on Potter, bishop of Oxford.

The session of parliament closed on the 26th of May; and then his majesty went to Hanover. This time the temporary regency of Queen Caroline was far from being so tranquil as it had been on former occasions. The gin mobs were not yet tranquillized, and other riots were caused in London by the employment in the Spitalfields looms of a number of poor Irish, who had come over to mow and reap, but who had engaged to help to weave silk at two-thirds of the ordinary wages. But the disturbances in London were trifles compared to a tremendous popular outbreak in the city of Edinburgh. The tale scarcely needs telling, for it has been told by Sir Walter Scott in one of the best and most read of his exquisite Waverley novels. Two noted smugglers from Fife—Wilson and Robertson—were lying under sentence of death in the Tolbooth, for having robbed a collector of the excise. Through friendship or a bribe these doomed men procured a file, removed their fetters, and cut through the bar of a window. Wilson, eager to escape first, insisted upon making the first attempt, but, being a big, burly man, he stuck fast in the gap and was discovered by the jailors, when he and his more slender companion were again made fast. When the two unfortunate men were led out of prison into the neighbouring church to hear their last sermon, Wilson, who conceived himself to be the cause of preventing Robertson's escape—for, as a thin man, he might have passed through the bars if he had been allowed to go first—conceived a desperate and perhaps a sudden notion that he might yet liberate his comrade. The two were guarded by only four soldiers of the city-guard, and Wilson, though fat, was strong. When such a movement was no more expected than an earthquake, he sprung forward, seized two of the soldiers with his hands, bade Robertson run for his life, and secured a third soldier with his teeth. Robertson, whether warned or not, presently shook off the fourth soldier, rushed out of the church and was never again seen in Edinburgh. This was not a time of romantic feeling in high quarters, or Wilson, who saved his friend and remained to be hanged, would have received a pardon, or at least his life; but the people of Edinburgh were much moved by the incident, and, having besides no great affection for excisemen and officers of the revenue—and Wilson they said had done no more than rob one of those robbers—they earnestly wished and apparently even hoped that the sufferer might be respited, or saved by some other less legal means. But no respite came, and, as the magistrates were warned that a rescue would be attempted, they took every precaution in order to prevent any interruption of the hangman's performance, and drew out a considerable portion of their city-guard under the command of their captain, John Porteous. This Porteous is described as a daring and active police officer, but a harsh and brutal man, that was feared and hated by the Edinburgh populace. Backed by this array, the executioner performed his horrible office, nor was any interruption offered till Wilson was dead and about to be cut down. Then some of the rabble began to groan and curse, and this excited others to throw stones at the hangman. It is said that executions of the kind seldom took place in Edinburgh without some such expression of the popular disgust; but the stones now hit the city guard and perhaps their captain as well as the hangman, and Porteous, in one of his savage furies, seized a musket and fired right into the mob. Some of his men followed his example, and many shots were fired without the Riot Act being read, or any legal formality gone through. By the usual fatality attending these cases most of the people that were killed or wounded were quiet spectators. The indignation at Porteous's rash and bloody proceedings was universal and excessive: he was thrown into the prison from which Wilson had just issued, was brought to trial for murder before the High Court of Justiciary, and was found guilty by an Edinburgh jury, though only by a majority of eight to seven. It was made to appear on his trial that he had been attacked first by the mob, and it was even inserted in the verdict which condemned him, that "he and his guards were attacked and beat with several stones of a considerable bigness, thrown by the multitude, whereby several of the soldiers were bruised and wounded." As the best thing she could do under these circumstances, Queen Caroline sent down a respite of six weeks in order to have time to inquire into the circumstances. But the reprieve was no sooner known in Edinburgh than the populace, who well remembered how Captain Bushell, who had fired upon the people of Glasgow, had been promoted instead of being hanged, were convinced it was the intention of the government to extend a full pardon to the prisoner—who most assuredly merited, if not death, a severe and exemplary punishment; and soon there arose a more terrible storm than ever, which was the more dangerous from its concentra-

tion and the caution used in collecting and directing its elements. On the 7th of September the evening, previous to the day which had been originally appointed for his execution, Porteous, who interpreted the respite as it had been interpreted by others, gave an entertainment in his prison to a party of friends, drank wine and whiskey, and spoke with confidence of his approaching delivery. But at about ten o'clock that night a drum beat in the lower suburbs of Edinburgh, and a fierce multitude, which increased as the roll of the drum was heard, and which was apparently under the guidance of cautious and skilful leaders, soon seized and barricaded the West Port, the ports of the Canongate and Netherbow, and effectually cut off a regiment of infantry. These wary rioters next attacked and disarmed the city guard, who offered no resistance and received no injury, though among them were some of the very men who had fired upon the people at Wilson's execution. But the mob wanted not the blood of these inferior agents—the only man they had doomed to die was the captain. Armed with the guns, halberts, and Lochaber axes they had taken from the burgher guard, they rushed towards the Tolbooth shouting Porteous! Porteous! But the walls and low gates of that old prison were tremendously strong, and it was a long and doubtful task to drag their victim from his lair. The worthy magistrates of the good city of Edinburgh were all drinking at a tavern in the Parliament Close. Mr. Lindsay, who had the honour of representing the city in parliament, was at the tavern with the magistrates, and, as the riot increased, he undertook to carry a message to General Moyle, who was, with the regular troops, cut off in the suburbs. Lindsay, not without difficulty and danger, reached the general's quarters, and requested him to force the barricaded Nether Bow Port or Gate, and march into the city. Moyle, very properly, refused to move against the people unless authorised by a written warrant from the magistrates: Lindsay, on the other side, was afraid to be the bearer of any such paper, as the people were likely to tear him to pieces if they intercepted him and found it upon him. The general afterwards declared that Lindsay had come to him drunk;—that honourable member said that the general showed a wonderful want of alacrity—which might well be, considering the circumstances and the recent example of what had befallen Porteous; and it was with extreme difficulty that mischief was prevented between General Moyle and Mr. Lindsay. The general, however, seeing it impossible to obtain a written order to act from the magistrates in the city, sent to Andrew Fletcher, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, who was at his villa at the distance of about three miles; but Fletcher was in bed, no answer was procured until one o'clock in the morning, and then, by some, mistake, it was not delivered to the general, but to Lindsay. The governor of Edinburgh Castle having also refused to act without a written order, the magistrates, left to themselves, sallied out of the tavern, and tried to descend the High-street towards the prison; but they were presently stopped by the mob, who neither injured them nor insulted them, but made them go back to the tavern and remain quiet. After battering the iron-bound Tolbooth-gate without effect till their strength or patience was exhausted, a voice in the crowd cried out "Try fire!" The suggestion was acted upon instantly;—tar-barrels and other combustible materials were heaped before the door, and the old oak began to char and burn. The jailor then thought himself compelled to surrender, and he threw out the keys to the mob, who rushed in, while the other prisoners confined rushed out. The ringleaders went straight to the cell of Porteous and broke it open; but the cell was empty—the victim seemed gone. But a man cried out that he could not be gone far, and pointed to the chimney. A rush was made to that aperture and Porteous was pulled down by the legs, and told that he must die the death he deserved. The fierce but fallen and helpless man entreated and prayed and offered large sums of money; but it was all in vain. The ringleaders allowed him to give the money and papers he had with him to the safe keeping of a friend, who was in confinement for debt; and then, as if he had made his will in a regular manner, a man of a grave and reverend aspect offered him sundry spiritual exhortations of the sort considered proper to dying men. They then carried Porteous from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, the spot where Wilson had suffered, where the captain had fired upon the people, and where executions were usually performed. To obtain a coil of ropes they broke open a shop, but they left a guinea behind them to pay for what they had taken. They could not find the ordinary gallows, but they seized a dyer's pole and made that serve for the horrid office. When Porteous was hanged, and dead and cold, the mob dispersed quietly to their houses, and when day dawned nothing remained in the streets of Edinburgh but a few scattered halberts and Lochaber axes which the rioters had thrown away to be resumed by their proprietors of the city guard, and the suspended body of the wretched Porteous. The news of this remarkable outrage created astonishment at London and bewildered the government: Queen Caroline was greatly excited, as she considered the murder of Porteous, whom she had reprieved, as a direct insult to her own person and authority. It is said that in her first rage she exclaimed to the Duke of Argyll that, rather than submit to such things, she would desolate the country and make Scotland a huntingfield; when that high-born Scot replied, with a profound bow, "Then, madam, I will take leave of your majesty and go down to my own country to get my hounds ready!" Yet it was Lord Ilay, the Duke of Argyll's brother, that was sent down to Edinburgh as the only person capable of ascertaining the real nature of the riot and bringing the

offenders to justice; and he was intrusted by his friend Walpole with very full powers. Ilay offered rewards and denounced tremendous threats, but he could never elicit any disclosures as to the ringleaders or actors in the tragical affair. The fact appears to be that nearly all Edinburgh was about equally guilty—that the hanging of Porteous was considered a great national measure, and that the meanest man, woman, or child disdained to reveal anything that might point the vengeance of government against Scotsmen for so laudable a deed! Every body knew that persons of very superior manners and condition had been actively engaged. Lord Ilay was paralyzed and knew not what to do or think. "The most shocking circumstance," says his lordship in a letter to Walpole, "is, that it plainly appears the high-flyers of our Scotch church have made this infamous murder a point of conscience. One of the actors went straight away to a country church, where the sacrament was given to a vast crowd of people, as the fashion is here, and there boasted what he had done; all the lower rank of the people who have distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity talk of this murder as the hand of God doing justice; and my endeavours to punish murderers are called grievous persecution." The people of Scotland, however, remained perfectly quiet, leaving the execution of Porteous to appear as an isolated fact unconnected with any other scheme or intention of revolt.

A. D. 1737.—The parliament this year did not open till the 1st of February. Its first debates were upon the Edinburgh tumults, and were characterized by a violence almost as inexcusable as that of the Porteous mob. There were madmen in both Houses, who, if they had had their way, would have converted a night riot into a long and bloody civil war. A fierce vindictive bill was brought in proposing nothing less than to abolish the city charter of Edinburgh, raze the city gates, disband the city guard, and fine and imprison and render the provost, Mr. Wilson, for ever incapable of holding any public office. Witnesses were examined at the bar of the Lords, and even three Scottish judges in their robes were subjected to questionings and cross-questionings; yet all that could be fairly proved against the provost and magistrates was, that they had been somewhat careless; that they had disregarded some indirect warnings, and that they had been taken by surprise. But their strong Scottish feeling of nationality, which could often rise even in courtly lords and members of parliament high above the love of lucre and every other consideration, blazed forth with a heat which alarmed and deterred the prosecuting party. In the Lords the Duke of Argyll denounced the bill as contrary to law and justice; and in the Commons the wise and patriotic Duncan Forbes, though holding office under the crown as lord advocate for Scotland, spoke eloquently and vehemently in the same sense; and, though Walpole replied, the Scottish lawyer was generally considered to have had the best of the argument. Walpole, however, was wise enough to declare that he by no means made the bill a ministerial question. The harsh measure did not captivate the English people; and in spite of old national antipathy it soon became unpopular with them. It was well nigh cast out in committee. In the end it was rendered almost "stingless;" the most obnoxious clauses were allowed to drop one by one, and nothing was left but an act for disabling Alexander Wilson, the provost, from taking, holding, or enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain, and for imposing a fine upon the said corporation of Edinburgh of 2000*l.* for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. And so, as some humourist at the time observed, the end of all these great debates was, the making the fortune of an old cook-*maid*. There was, however, a second bill, originated by the Lords, containing a clause compelling the ministers of the Scottish church to read once every month for twelve months to come a proclamation from their pulpits, calling on their congregations to find out and bring to justice the murderers of Porteous. This order was exceedingly odious to the majority of the Presbyterian clergy, who complained, with some reason, that it was making the pulpit a place of hue-and-cry. Other conscientious preachers objected that, as the proclamation mentioned the lords spiritual in parliament, their reading of it might look like an acknowledgment of episcopacy, which they still abhorred. Between the bill and proclamation, the violence of the people and the irritation of the clergy, Walpole lost materially in his hold on the Scotch burghs; and this he was made to feel at the next elections.

The remaining debates of the present session were chiefly of a financial nature. In a committee of supply on the 9th of March Walpole moved that a sum of one million should be taken from the sinking fund, and applied to relieve some of the old South Sea annuitants. On the 14th this resolution was agreed to. But then Sir John Barnard proposed that the House should resolve itself into committee to consider the national debt, and receive any proposals which might be made to reduce the rate of interest to 3 per cent. The minister, after speaking about the danger of meddling with public credit, or taking any step likely to affect it, consented, and on the 21st the House resolved itself into a committee of supply. The national debt was proved to amount to 47,866,596*l.* Sir John Barnard produced his scheme, which was, that his majesty might be enabled to borrow money at 3 per cent. to redeem old South Sea annuities and others for which a higher rate of interest was paid. The land interest seconded the project, captivated by the notion of getting money at 3 per cent.; but the monied interest, the capitalists, in general opposed it, and, after a long debate and some of those parliamentary manœuvres of which Walpole was so great a master, it was rejected.

In the spring of the preceding year Frederick Prince of Wales, who had fixed his heart upon his cousin, Frederica of Prussia, reluctantly married, at the instigation of his father, Augusta Princess of Saxe Gotha, whose beauty and accomplishments seem soon to have made him forget his former unhappy passion. But marriage increases expense; and, as out of a civil list of 800,000*l.*, the prince received only 50,000*l.* a-year, he was much straitened, and the opposition, who had fastened upon him almost from the first moment of his arrival in England, easily led him to consider himself as ill used by a grasping and avaricious father. Two years before, Bolingbroke, who had been one of the prince's chief admirers, had recommended him to set his father at defiance, and apply to parliament for a settled revenue of 100,000*l.* a-year independent of him. It is probable that Bolingbroke's friend Wyndham gave the same advice, and that Pulteney and Chesterfield, Carteret and Cobham, and the other members of the mixed opposition of Whig and Tory who called themselves "the patriots," and who maintained a close intercourse with the prince, were equally regardless of the Fifth Commandment. Bubb Dodington, who has been *justly* described as "a man of some talent, and a patron of two boroughs,"* but who, by a severer pen, might be set down as one of the most thorough-going jobbers of those jobbing days, takes to himself the credit of attempting to dissuade the prince from following the advice of Bolingbroke. Bubb confesses, however, that his royal highness requested his assistance, "and designed partly to employ him in the measure," which would have been dangerous at that moment to his own interests. "The prince," he says, "entered into very bitter complaints of the usage he had all along met with from the administration, and even from their majesties: that he was not allowed wherewithal to live, &c., that he was resolved to endure it no longer, and had determined to make a demand in parliament of a *jointure* for the princess, and of 100,000*l.* per annum for himself, which his father had when prince, and which he looked on to be his right, both in law and equity. I objected to the very great danger of such an undertaking; put his royal highness in mind, how strongly I had always been against it, when he formerly mentioned it; and was going to show the fatal consequences it must produce, besides the great improbability of success. But he interrupted me, and said, that it was too far gone for those considerations; that he did not ask my advice, but my assistance; he was determined upon the measure, and designed to send and speak with my particular friends, namely, Sir Paul Methuen, Lord Wilmington, and the Duke of Dorset; but chose out of kindness to me, to acquaint me first with it: that he would send to Sir Paul by Sir Thomas Frankland, and asked me if I would break the matter to them, and what, I believed, they would think of it." Bubb Dodington continues in a style which is exceedingly characteristic of the man:—"Sensible of the danger and difficulties that attend negotiations *of this delicate nature, even among the best friends*, I replied, as to the first part, that I humbly begged to be excused from breaking it; that, whatever friendship those gentlemen did me the honour to admit me to, *I thought it a matter too high to undertake*; that, as he had mentioned his intentions of sending to them, and as they were, by their rank, and affection to his royal highness, every way qualified to be consulted, I thought it highly proper that he should know their sentiments *from their own mouths*, in an affair of this very great importance; that then what they said to his royal highness could not be mistaken, and what he was pleased to say to them could not be misrepresented. As to what they would think of it, I was confident, by what I felt myself, that they would be infinitely surprised: too much so, in my judgment, to give his royal highness any positive and determinate opinion." According to Bubb, his royal highness then said he did not want *their opinion*, but *their assistance*, and asked him what his friend the Duke of Argyll, who was now much out of favour with the court and ministry, would do for him? To which Dodington replied, that the duke would be as much surprised as himself; that he did not know what his grace would do, but was confident he knew *what he would not do*, which was to advise his highness to this dangerous measure. The minute recorder of his own shame, who had a moral obtuseness which seems to have made him insensible to the disgrace of his most shameful proceedings, then continues: —"He (*the prince*) answered, that the measure was fixed, that he was resolved, and wanted no advice; but he would not send to him, nor to Lord Scarborough, but to the Duke of Dorset and Lord Wilmington he would send, being resolved it should come into the House of Lords the same day, or soon after, let the fate of it be what it would in the House of Commons. He stopped here a little, and used some expressions, as if he would have me understand that he had said enough about all those that he thought I lived with in the closest connexion. I endeavoured, after assuring him with what affectionate duty we had always been his sincere servants, to show the great improbability of success in such an undertaking; but he cut me short, and said, none at all, that there were precedents for it, and mentioned that of the Princess of Denmark, in King William's time; that all the opposition and the Tories were engaged in it; that as it was his own determination, and he had been advised by nobody, when he had resolved it in his own mind he thought it necessary to speak to people himself; he had done so to Mr. Pulteney, Lord Carteret, Lord Chesterfield, Master of the Rolls (Jekyll), and Sir William Wyndham; that they were all hearty in it; that Mr. Pulteney, at the first notice, expressed himself so handsomely, that he should never forget it; but said he could,

* Lord Mahon.

at that time, only answer for himself, not expecting the proposition, but begged leave to consult with some of his friends, which his royal highness granted him, and he had since assured him that they were unanimous; that Sir William Wyndham had said that he had long desired an opportunity of showing his regard and attachment to his royal highness; that he would answer for his whole party, as well as for himself; and that he was very happy that an occasion presented itself to convince his royal highness, by their zealous and hearty appearance in support of his interest, how far they were from being Jacobites, and how much they were misrepresented under that name." Continuing his revelations as to the parties who had pledged themselves to assist him against his father, the prince said that Lord Winchelsea was gone down to Petworth, to bring up the old Duke of Somerset, who he expected would move the measure in the House of Lords; that Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gibbon, Sir John Barnard, and several others were acquainted with the project, of which they highly approved, and that possibly Sir John Barnard, the financier, who had recently been declaiming upon the necessity of reducing taxation, might move it in the House of Commons. The prince then asked Dodington, who was at this time about court, wearing a mask of devotion to the king and his ministers, whether he had heard nothing of this business at court; and upon Bubb's assuring him that he had not, the prince drew the consoling inference that the minister must be generally odious when nobody would tell him a thing that so nearly concerned him, though some forty-six to fifty were well acquainted with it; adding that this would make an end of Walpole's great power. Bubb wished for the minister's downfall very earnestly, but he told his royal highness that this did not seem to him the proper way of effecting it—that it would only make the king's cause and Walpole's inseparable, and rivet the minister yet faster where his only strength lay. At this very moment, George the Second was sick, and even apprehended to be in danger. Bubb says that he begged the prince to consider this circumstance, and to reflect how far it might be consistent with the *greatness and generosity of his character* to make such an attack, when his father was in a languishing condition. He says that the prince replied "that he was sensible of that, but he could not help it: he was engaged, and would go through: *the king could not live many years, but might linger thus a good while, and he could not stay that while:* that the time, indeed, had its inconveniences of one sort, and he wished it otherwise, but it had its conveniences of another, *it would make people more cautious and apprehensive of offending him:* that, besides, he had told the queen of it in the summer, and assured her that he designed to bring it into parliament; that she had treated it as idle and chimerical, that it was impossible that he should make anything of it, and seemed to think he was only in jest; that if his friends stood by him he should carry it in the House, but, if he missed then, he could not fail of it in six months; that I should *know the family* as well as anybody; he always thought I did, but found that I did not, or would not: but he himself *knew his own family best;* and he would *make a bet* that, if he failed now, he gained his point in less than a twelvemonth by this means; in short, he was resolved, and too far engaged in honour to go back; that it was his due, and his right, absolutely necessary to make him easy the rest of his life; he could never want his friends but on this occasion; *those that would stand by him in this he should always look on as his friends, and reward as such; those that would not he should not reckon to be so, they would have nothing to expect from him.*" Bubb made no particular answer, but expressed his alarm as to the consequences. He waited upon the prince down stairs to his horse, and begged him to consider how necessary it was to delay the motion from the great impropriety of the time. The royal and unloving son replied, "If a *little* time would do, it might be considered, but the king may linger out the session." Bubb suggested that no great harm would be done if the business were left over to another session; but the prince said that it could not be, that his honour was too far engaged, that he could not and would not wait.* Dodington assures us that he neither directly promised or refused to vote for the proposal, and that he left his royal highness with very great uneasiness and perplexity upon his own mind, considerably augmented "by the great ease and tranquillity that appeared upon the prince's"—"which," he adds, with a glorious disregard of the feelings of nature, "is the natural effect of great resolutions, when they are fixed and determined." This precious courtier thought it necessary to warn his friend, Sir Paul Methuen, of this disagreeable business, and he says that he and Sir Paul "joined in lamenting the fate of this country to be divided and torn to pieces by a disunion in this royal family, which, with so many ardent wishes, and with the profusion of so much blood and treasure, we had at last so happily placed on the throne, to end all our divisions, and protect us in union and tranquillity." They agreed that Sir Paul, when sent for by the prince, should seem not to be any ways apprised of the affair, but should lay hold on any opportunity that might be given him to represent to his royal highness the probable fate and consequences of the undertaking. Bubb and Methuen then waited upon the Duke of Dorset and the other lords, who agreed to do their utmost to prevent this ill-advised attempt, and to declare plainly to the prince that they would oppose it, as fatal to his royal highness, injurious to the king, and destructive to the quiet and tranquillity of the whole country; and they desired Dodington to speak in the same way to the

* The Diary of the late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis; from March 8, 1749, to February 6, 1761. Appendix—Narrative of what passed between the Prince and Mr. Dodington.

prince. A day or two after, Sir Paul Methuen had an interview with the Prince of Wales, to whom he represented the danger and impracticability of the measure, and "used all possible arguments that a good head and a good heart could suggest to dissuade him from it; but all without effect." Seeing that he could not move this most royal obstinacy, Methuen ventured to declare that he could not give the prince his vote in the House. This resolution, however, was soon modified by a promise that, as he could not vote for him, he would not vote against him—that he would not vote at all.* On the very next day the prince summoned Dodington to another private conference, and insinuated that Sir Paul Methuen had appeared to be well enough satisfied with the proposition. But upon Bubb's expressing his astonishment, his royal highness receded a little, and "seemed to give him leave to think that Sir Paul did not much approve of it, but, however, had promised to be absent." The prince assured him that he had talked to several other persons, and that they all entered into the plan most heartily. Bubb was silent. After some pause the prince said that Mr. Hedges his treasurer, and Lord Baltimore of his bed-chamber, were zealously for it. Bubb said that no doubt his servants would vote for it—nobody could take it ill of them—they would have leave to do it. The prince said he cared not whose leave they had, so he had their votes. His royal highness added that there was Mr. Arthur Herbert, who would vote for him and bring in all his friends. Bubb doubted whether this gentleman could get any vote but his own: the prince said he would bet Mr. Herbert would make above five. Bubb said that, if it were so, it must be by making use of his royal highness's name. The prince rejoined that everybody was for him—that he was absolutely determined to bring it in—that he would hear no advice upon it—and that if there were but seven of the Commons, and three in the Lords for him, he would do it. Dodington says that he then said that he thought it necessary to lay his humble opinion before him; and that the prince told him he did not want his opinion. "I replied," continues Bubb, "that I did not presume to offer my opinion as to what was to guide his actions, but to lay before him what was to direct and govern my own; which I should be glad to take the first opportunity of doing, this not being a proper one, because I saw one of the gentlemen coming to acquaint his royal highness that dinner was served." The prince took no notice of this, but walked further into the garden where they were talking, and showed Bubb a letter from the "humoursome, proud, and capricious," Duke of Somerset, as he has been called, who had once played a great part by accident, but who never showed any real political capacity of a high order. Somerset entertained so extravagant an opinion of his own value and importance that it was impossible any king or court should satisfy him; he was therefore discontented with the father; but he was not disposed to give himself much trouble for the son; and his letter contained one of those interminable accounts of the infirmities of his precious health which he was accustomed to write, an assurance that it was impossible for him to come up to town, a sly reference to Lord Winchelsea for his opinion about his royal highness's intention, and wishes that his royal highness might live many years in health, prosperity, and plenty. After talking about this unmeaning letter, and saying that though his grace should not come up he was quite sure he would send his proxy, the prince talked vehemently about his difficulties, and declared (as other princes of the family have done since) that, as he had sacrificed himself to the nation in marrying, the nation ought to stand by him.* As Bubb was a placeman, the prince's next argument or invective had a direct personal application. He said that if people would value their employments more than right and justice, he could not help it; though he was so strong that he was sure the court durst not touch any one that voted for him. The supple courtier made suitable protestations of his disregard of place or of any pecuniary considerations. The prince, who evidently valued these professions for just what they were worth, brought *him* up by saying that it was very hard that he should be all his life in want of money. "I asked him," continues Bubb, "if he did not think it very dangerous to drive things to such an extremity between him and his father, as might make it the interest of one half of the gentlemen of England that he should never come upon the throne? He replied Why would they make themselves desperate? Why would they not do what they owed him, and what was justice? It would be their own faults: did he deserve less than the Princess of Denmark? The gentlemen stood by her. I endeavoured to show him the difference of the case, in one essential point, which I thought most likely to strike him, viz.—in that case the addition was proposed when the civil list was precarious, and not granted to King William for his life; and, upon regranting the duties, which were then in the power of parliament, that addition was demanded in her favour. But he gave no attention to it, but walked about with great precipitation, and a good deal agitated. As I saw there was no room left to make any impression upon him, I thought it was high time to put an end to the conversation." Bubb, however, says that he thought himself obliged to declare to the prince, with exceeding great concern, that if the matter came into parliament he should think himself bound in honour and conscience to give his absolute dissent to it. The prince was very angry, but curbed himself a little—said that in the Princess of Denmark's time there were gentlemen

* It is pleasant to see how these things are put by one like Bubb Dodington:—"At the importunate and repeated request of his royal highness, and reflecting that he had not attended the House so as to give one single vote since the Excise Bill, he had been prevailed on to promise his royal highness to be absent, as he used to be."

* "And yet," says Bubb Dodington, "the princess was the best and most agreeable woman in the world,"

that valued doing right more than their employments—but he was sorry the race of them was extinct—and so they went to dinner. "As soon as dinner and drinking was over," continues Bubb, "we rose, and I shuffled myself into the midst of the company, in order to get away with the first of them, when he should please to make us his bow; but he dismissed them all, and ordered me to come with him into the little room." The conversation which followed lasted nearly two hours, and, according to Bubb, "contained a great deal of repetition." The prince said he should leave off talking about his own interests to talk a little about Bubb's, whose reputation in the world would suffer extremely by his leaving him at this juncture. He reminded the courtier that he had already gone great lengths with him in his opposition to his father and ministers, and that there would be no safety for him if he did not go on to finish the work and overthrow Walpole. Bubb says that he spoke about his conscience and his honour, which would both oblige him to dissent. His highness then asked whether he had never given a vote against his conscience or opinion—to which Bubb replied that he had certainly *given many, and believed it to be the case with every body who acted with a party, either for or against an administration*—but that he had never acted contrary to his opinion where he thought the whole immediately concerned, and never would. The prince, he says, then tried to overpower him with an array of names of men high in influence, who had promised their support; and asked him to go and consult Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney. Bubb shuffled out of this as well as he could; and then his royal highness tried whether the lawyers would not have more weight than laymen, and assured Bubb that the Master of the Rolls had told him that what he asked was his right in equity. But the courtier, according to his own account, was proof even against a lawyer, and represented that it could scarcely be equity to take the allotment of the estate or civil list vested in the crown out of the king's hands. Having come to this argument he suggested that it would be better for the prince to ask an addition of 50,000*l.* a-year from the parliament on his own account, than to attempt to make parliament forcibly deduct the money from the king's allowance; but his highness replied that he thought the nation had done enough, if not too much, for the family already—that he would rather beg his bread from door to door than be a further charge to them—and that he would have the money in his own way or not at all. The courtier hinted that the measure his royal highness proposed—that the family quarrel driven to desperation, might cost the nation more money than the 50,000*l.* per annum he wanted—that it might cost blood as well as money. Having said that he should not be surprised if the prince's friends all absented themselves from the House, his highness replied that, if they would not do their duty cheerfully, they must be *frightened into it.* Bubb says that he asked him whether he thought such gentlemen were to be *frightened*, and, if they were, whether that were a just return for their attachment—that he most earnestly supplicated him not to overturn the constitution and the whole royal family together—that to bring the parliament into the king's closet to examine into his most private domestic affairs, to intrude into the government of his private estate and family, was the most fatal precedent that could be made, and the most unheard-of to be attempted by a prince that was to succeed him. But all these and many other arguments were completely thrown away upon the prince, who was resolved to proceed, though now convinced that neither the Duke of Argyll nor Lord Scarborough, the Duke of Dorset nor Lord Wilmington, Sir Thomas Frankland nor Sir Conyers Darcy would vote for him—which keeping back he attributed to their having employments at court or to their being full of fears. His father, he said, was unpopular—he himself was popular—and therefore he must succeed in the end, in spite of placemen and cowards.*

On the next day, Sunday, the 13th of February, or, at latest, on Monday, the 14th, Walpole got the first hint of what was intended; but by the 16th the whole matter was public. On that evening Bubb was stopped by several gentlemen in the House of Commons, who desired his advice and opinion; and Sir Robert Walpole requested him to stay till the House rose, that he might speak with him. When the House was almost empty these two retired behind the chair; and then Bubb took credit to himself for having done his best to prevent this "great question;" saying, that for three years and more it had been the great struggle of his life to keep the prince from it. The minister begged the pliant courtier to engage his friends—by which Dodington understood him to mean five members whom he names—not to vote for the measure; and desired him not to do the thing "*by halves.*" From Dodington's reply we must conclude that by *wholes* Walpole meant bribes, for he subjoins—"I told him that they were independent gentlemen; that, though their fortunes were not large, yet they were sufficient, and they were resolved they always should be sufficient to keep them in independency; and that he best knew they had not been regarded or treated in a manner to give them any great present expectations." Here the minister interrupted him, and said,—"Well, we understand one another;"—and no doubt they did thoroughly. Bubb, however, returning to solid things, said that, as he knew his friends had no present expectations, he would by no means undertake to say how far they would care to forfeit the prospect of future favours and advantages under the Prince of Wales when he should be king. Walpole replied that there had indeed been great misunderstandings between

* Appendix to the same Diary. Bubb Dodington says that all he here puts down was while the transaction was fresh, and to aid his own memory.

him and those gentlemen; but then so great a service as this would wipe out a multitude of sins.* In other words, the minister was willing to give the multitude of places, or honours, or pounds sterling, for the service he wanted, or for the preventing of the parliamentary onslaught of the prince. Bubb, like most men in similar situations, protested that he wanted nothing, expected nothing, for himself—and said that he would lay the matter fairly before his friends, and plainly tell them that he intended to vote against the prince. "I did so the same night," he continues, "and they, from their own judgments, entirely unbiassed, or attempted to be so by me, all determined to vote for the king." On the next Sunday Bubb attended a meeting of parliament men at the minister's, and, when the company was gone, he told Sir Robert of his success with his friends. The premier thanked him, and was going on to mention future expectations. But it is impossible to do justice to this delicate quibbler, who was perhaps even quibbling with his own conscience, in other words than his own. "I prevented his offers," continues Bubb, "by saying that, if I had been so unfortunate as to take another part in this unlucky affair than that which the real sense of my duty and zeal for the whole royal family had determined me to take, I believed he must be very sensible that the connexion between those gentlemen and me was such, that we should not have differed in opinion. He said there could be no manner of doubt of it. I added that I then left him to consider whether, beside that real sense of my duty, I had had, from the day this king came upon the throne up to that hour, any one inducement to do what I had resolved to do. He answered, To be sure not; the misunderstandings between him and me were very public, but now—and was going on, but I thought it not proper to enter into explanations, and interrupted him by saying, I did not mention this in any the least way of complaint, but thought I owed myself so much justice as to put him in mind of it: that, as I acted from a principle of honour and conscience only, I was very regardless of the consequences that might happen to me from it, though I was not so blind as not to see that I stood exposed to future resentments by it, at least as much as any gentleman in England: with which I took my leave." Was ever disinterested patriotism heightened and put forward for a bribe in a finer style than this?* But after all, Bubb had only secured the votes of a few second or third-rate men—he had not won over Sir William Wyndham, nor had he made any impression on Pulteney or Sir John Barnard—the measure was not stopped, and the prince ran his course notwithstanding a message sent to him by the king at Walpole's persuasion, promising to settle a large jointure upon the princess, and to render his own income independent of his father's control. At the moment when this offer was made by the mouth of the lord chancellor (Hardwicke) and other great officers of state,* the king was worse than he had been, and indeed so bad that his recovery was despaired of. Yet, on the very next day, the 22nd of February, Pulteney brought forward the motion in the House of Commons, in the form of an address, beseeching the king to settle upon the prince 100,000*l.* a-year, and the same jointure on the princess as the queen had enjoyed when she was Princess of Wales, and assuring his majesty that that House would provide him with the necessary means. Pulteney supported his motion by a long historical speech full of references to heirs apparent and heirs presumptive, Princes of Wales, and Princesses of Wales; queens and queen dowagers, and consorts of queens; and he endeavoured to prove that, by equity, good policy, law, and precedent, the prince had a right to what was demanded, and an indefeasible claim to a permanent and independent establishment, which the king had it not in his power either to withhold or control. Sir John Barnard, the man of finance and economy, seconded Pulteney; and Walpole replied to both. He began with a courtly fiction, saying that, from his personal knowledge of the two great characters concerned, he was convinced that neither of them would think himself injured by any gentleman's giving his opinion or voting freely in parliament upon the question at issue; and that he was convinced the Prince of Wales had so much wisdom, and such a true sense of filial duty, that he could never consider as a favour bestowed on himself anything that had the least tendency towards offering an indignity to his father. The minister then declared that it was the prerogative of the crown, and the right of the king, to dispose of his civil revenues without the interference of parliament, and to manage his family in his own way. He communicated to the House the conciliatory message which had been sent by the king to the prince, with his royal highness's answer, and gently hinted that he thought 50,000*l.* a-year, added to the revenues enjoyed by the prince of the duchy of Cornwall, and which amounted to about 10,000*l.* a-year more, was income enough even for the heir

* The whole transaction reminds us of another recorded of Walpole. "He wanted to carry a question in the House of Commons, to which he knew there would be great opposition, and which was disliked by some of his own dependents. As he was passing through the Court of Requests, he met a member of the contrary party, whose avarice he imagined would not reject a large bribe. He took him aside, and said, 'Such a question comes on this day; give me your vote, and here is a bank bill of 2000*l.*,' which he put into his hands. The member made him this answer, 'Sir Robert, you have lately served some of my particular friends; and when my wife was last at court, the king was very gracious to her, which must have happened at your instance. I should therefore think myself very ungrateful (*putting the bank bill into his pocket*) if I were to refuse the favour you are now pleased to ask me.'"—*Dr. King, Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times.*

* Hardwicke had obtained the seals on the 21st of February through the death of Lord Talbot, and it appears to have been by Hardwicke's advice that the message was sent to the prince. The new chancellor, however, did not wish to go in person with the message, but George prevented all discussion by exclaiming, "My lord chancellor shall go." The prince, in his *verbal* reply to his father's written message, said, that the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it. And after a parade of dutiful expressions and humility to his majesty, he added —"Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, I am sorry for it." The affair, of course, was in the hands of the opposition.

apparent, and quite as much as his father could afford out of the civil list. He represented the dangerous impropriety of interposing between father and son, and making a lasting breach between them; he met Pulteney's historical references with other references of the same kind; he denied that any precedent for such parliamentary interposition could be found except in the reign of the weak and imbecile Henry VI.; he declared that the prince had no claim either in equity or good policy, and still less in law, or precedent; and he affirmed that the civil list had been granted unconditionally to the king, without stipulations, without restrictions, without a hint of 100,000*l.* per annum for the prince. Pulteney said in reply, that in reality the prince had only 52,000*l.* a-year; that the whole expense of his household amounted to 63,000*l.*, "without allowing his royal highness one shilling for the indulgence of that generous and charitable disposition with which he was known to be endued in a very eminent degree;"—that the prince was being reduced to real want, even with respect to his absolute necessities, "and consequently to an unavoidable dependence, and a vile pecuniary dependence too, upon his father's ministers and servants." Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning the House divided, when the numbers for the king were 234, for the prince 204. According to Bubb Doddington, forty-five Tories were absent, but thirty-five members of the class who had never voted against government before voted for the prince. If the Tory opponents of Walpole had all remained and voted, he and the king would have been left in a minority; but the hottest of the Tories as Jacobites were disposed neither to give any vote in favour of the heir of the House of Hanover nor against the prerogative and authority of the crown.* The prince, or the party acting with him and driving him on, was determined to "go through." On Friday, the 25th, precisely the same motion was made in the House of Lords by Carteret, who, since his return from his Irish government, seems to have been more inimical to Walpole than ever. Lord Carteret was seconded by Lord Gower, and the debate lasted till half-past eight at night, when the motion was rejected by a majority of 103 to 40. The prince set no bounds to his rage, and studied how he might best insult his father. His wife had been for some time *enceinte*, but he did not deign to announce this fact either to the king or to the queen until the beginning of July, when her time approached. All the royal family were then at Hampton Court, where the usual stately preparations were made for the birth. But, upon the 31st of July, when the princess was seized with the pains of labour, the prince, at the hazard of her life and the life of her offspring, hurried her off in the middle of the night to London, to the unaired palace and beds of St. James's, without giving the slightest intimation to the king and queen, or to any of the great officers of state who were required to be present to certify the birth of an infant that might inherit the crown. George, angry and alarmed, sent off Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth; but though they used speed they did not arrive till after the *accouchement*. The princess was safely delivered of a daughter in St. James's, but had run a near risk of being delivered at a road-side inn. According to Horace Walpole, Queen Caroline hastened up to town, and was with the princess by an early hour on the following morning. "The gracious prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but, on her retreat gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb; but, a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed her majesty's hand! Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt."* The edifying quarrel, the exemplary hatred, between father and son was now pushed to extremities, even as it had been in the preceding reign when George II., as prince, had exercised that filial undutifulness of which he was now the victim. Frederick, however, for the sake of public opinion, proffered submissions and apologies to his parents, and, to account for his strange conduct in removing his wife, told stories which no one believed; and the father was at the very least as harsh and obstinate as the son was rash and undutiful. Walpole, at the same time, apprehending that his removal from office might be made the condition of a reconciliation, opposed all the prince's overtures, and endeavoured, it is said, to keep alive the unnatural enmity. Yet, for ourselves, we are disposed to believe that there was small necessity for any such exertion on the part of the minister; and that the feelings of the king might be safely left to their own deep resentment and unforgiveness. Lord Hardwicke, the new chancellor, exerted himself to the utmost to effect a reconciliation, and failed; and even so, we apprehend, would Walpole have failed if he had made the attempt. Possibly, too, such an attempt might have shaken the king's confidence in his premier, as much as any reconciliation could have done. When Frederick intimated his design of visiting the king, the queen strongly advised him to delay his visit for a few days. In the mean while the king dictated the draft of a message to Sir Robert, who submitted it to the consideration of the Lords Hardwicke, Wilmington, and Harrington. Hardwicke suggested gentler terms; Wilmington, who seldom spoke

* Forty-five was near about the number of determined Jacobites in the House of Commons at that moment. But, with all his enemies arrayed against him, Walpole could never have dropped to the small majority of thirty if it had not been for the pretty general belief that George II. was dying, and that his son would in the course of a very few months or weeks, or perhaps days, be king. Hence arose the votes of the thirty members who had never voted against Walpole before. The courtly instinct of others both in parliament and out of parliament went, no doubt, in the same way.

* Reminiscences. Horace repeats the same story in his Memoirs; and in many letters of the time, written by less caustic pens, the circumstances are alluded to. Horace says—"A baby that wounds itself to vex its nurse is not more void of reflection. The scene which commenced by unfeeling idiotism closed with paltry hypocrisy." Yet such was Frederick Prince of Wales, and, such as he was, he was made, for selfish ends no doubt, the idol of a party.

decidedly on any subject, maintained with warmth that the message ought to go as it was written, and Harrington was silent. On the 3rd of August the message was therefore sent as it was by the hands of Lord Essex. It ran in these words:—"The king has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness that his majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe delivery of the princess, but that your carrying away her royal highness from Hampton Court, the then residence of the king, the queen, and the family, under the pains, and certain indications of immediate labour, to the imminent danger and hazard both of the princess and her child, after sufficient warnings for a week before, to have made the necessary preparations for this happy event, without acquainting his majesty or the queen with the circumstances the princess was in, or giving them the least notice of your departure, is looked upon by the king to be such a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness that he resents it to the highest degree." As a birth had begun, so a baptism completed, the family rupture. George took no heed of a letter which Frederick wrote to excuse himself, and refused to admit him to his presence. On the morrow a royal message, conveyed by the Earl of Dunmore, appointed the baptism of the infant princess to be performed on the 29th of August, intimating that his majesty would send the lord chancellor to stand godfather as his proxy, that the queen would send a lady of the bedchamber as her proxy, and that the princess might appoint one of the ladies of her own bedchamber to be proxy for the Dowager-Duchess of Saxe Gotha, the other godmother. The prince, who, as Bolingbroke observed—for Bolingbroke, though at Chantloup, had his eye on all these transactions at St. James's—asked pardon in the terms of one who owned himself in the wrong, and wrote again to his father; but his submissions, his entreaties, were of no avail; and the king adopted the violent resolution of dismissing him and his family from the palace. There was a conference upon this knotty point; and Chancellor Hardwicke again vainly attempted to make up matters, or, at least, prevent the slander likely to arise from so public and so extreme a measure. Walpole, according to Hardwicke, said it would be better "*to be short at first*;" and on the 9th of September a very short message was submitted to the consideration of all the lords of the cabinet-council then in London. These lords agreed that, as the king was undoubtedly master in his own family, and as he had been highly offended, he was himself to judge whether he would forgive or resent. As his majesty, instead of dying, had grown better under these altercations, there was evidently less fear than formerly of the wrath and revenge of the Prince of Wales. After a few verbal alterations, suggested by different members of the council, the following message was agreed to and sent by the hands of the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Pembroke:—"The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me are so contradictory to all your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well you did not give the least intimation to me, or to the queen, that the princess was with child, or breeding, until within less than a month of the birth of the young princess: you removed the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her labour; and both times upon your return you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and the queen every circumstance relating to this important affair: and you, at last, without giving any notice to me or to the queen, precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton Court, in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise and tenderness for the princess, as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities offered to me and to the queen your mother. This extravagant and undutiful behaviour, in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only. But the whole tenor of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you. And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until your return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole. In this situation I will receive no reply; but, when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, *that* may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent. In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. I shall for the present leave to the princess the care of my grand-daughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education." After this peremptory message the prince retired with his family to Norfolk House, St. James's Square, which became the centre and head of opposition. Irritated anew by the numbers that flocked constantly to Norfolk House, the king issued an order that none of the persons who visited there should be admitted to his presence in any of the royal palaces. Moreover, as every court in Europe was excited by these family squabbles, George

ordered an official circular to be sent to all the foreign ambassadors at London with his account of the affair; and this paper was afterwards published, together with the correspondence which had taken place between the king and the prince. Lord Hardwicke has hinted that there was more in this quarrel than met the public eye. "Sir Robert Walpole," says his lordship, "informed me of certain passages between the king and himself and between the queen and the prince, of too high and secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative; but from thence I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the king and queen and his royal highness turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared."*

A few weeks after the departure of the prince from St. James's, Queen Caroline, who appears indisputably to have been the best person of the family, departed this life. From an excess of delicacy her majesty had carefully concealed, even from her personal attendants and physicians, a bad rupture under which she had suffered for many years. "The queen's great secret," says Horace Walpole, "was her own rupture, which till her last illness nobody knew but the king, her German nurse, Mrs. Mailborne, and one other person (*her confidante, lady Sundon,*† *who had exercised an extraordinary degree of influence over the queen, and who was accused of swaying her majesty's countenance towards the heterodox or less believing part of the clergy*). To prevent all suspicion, her majesty would frequently stand some minutes in her shift talking to her ladies; and, though labouring with so dangerous a complaint, she made it so invariably a rule never to refuse a desire of the king, that every morning at Richmond she walked several miles with him; and more than once, when she had the gout in her foot, she dipped her whole leg in cold water to be ready to attend him. The pain, her bulk, and the exercise, threw her into such fits of perspiration as vented the gout; but those exertions hastened the crisis of her distemper." Ignorant to the last of her real malady, the physicians treated her majesty as if she had gout in the stomach, and thereby hastened her death. When the secret was disclosed it was too late, though one of the surgeons is said to have declared that if he had known it only two days sooner he could have set her upon her legs within four-and-twenty hours; but such professional declarations, not very rare even now, were common then. The high-minded, strongly-nerved woman bore her agonies with wonderful fortitude. Her friendship to Walpole, or her conviction that he was the most likely minister to carry her husband honourably through the increasing difficulties of government, remained unshaken to the last. It is said that the day before her death, as the king and the premier were standing by her bedside, she pathetically recommended, not the minister to the sovereign, but the master to the servant, saying to Walpole, "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity; I recommend his majesty to you." But it appears that, even in dying, her orthodoxy to the church of England was questioned,* and it has been asserted that she could not make up her mind to the natural and truly Christian duty of forgiving† the Prince of Wales, who had not merely wronged her by recent insult, but who, ever since his arrival in England, had treated her with marked aversion, arising, probably, in good part, from her great political influence and his own nothingness in the cabinet, and from the king's constantly leaving her regent during his absences on the continent, without deputing the least share of authority to her son. The story of the queen's implacable resentment even on her dying bed is, however, open to some doubt. Horace Walpole, who certainly had the fullest means of information, though not in all cases the most perfect veracity—as he would twist a tale to make it tell the better, and turn circumstances so as to favour the character of his own father or his father's great patroness—affirmed positively that Caroline sent both her forgiveness and her blessing to her unaffectionate son, and said she would have seen him with pleasure had she not feared to embarrass and irritate the king her husband.‡ The generally amiable character of Caroline facilitates our belief; and, if Horace Walpole was prejudiced on one side, the authorities which state her unforgiveness were at least as much prejudiced on the other. Pope was Caroline's enemy and a friend of Swift, and, as a poet, quite as much given to turning truth to make a point as was the anecdote-telling Horace Walpole; Lord Chesterfield was her enemy upon many

* Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.

† "It was great shrewdness in Sir Robert Walpole," says that minister's son, "who, before her distemper broke out, discovered her secret. On my mother's death, who was of the queen's age, her majesty asked Sir Robert many physical questions; but he remarked that she oftenest reverted to a rupture, which had not been the illness of his wife. When he came home he said to me, 'Now, Horace, I know by possession of what secret Lady Sundon has preserved such an ascendant over the queen.' He was in the right."—*Reminiscences.*

* Horace Walpole, who was not very orthodox himself, says that the queen declined taking the sacrament, which was offered to her by Archbishop Potter, very few persons being in the room at the time. He adds—"When the prelate retired, the courtiers in the anteroom crowded round him, crying, 'My lord, has the queen received?' His grace artfully eluded the question, only saying, most devoutly, 'Her majesty was in a heavenly disposition;' and the truth escaped the public."

† Lord Chesterfield, who occasionally rhymed, though he had no genius for poetry, circulated a copy of verses, in which was the line,—

"And, unforgiving, unforgiven, dies."

Pope, who took another occasion of saying, in the coarsest manner, that Caroline had no bowels, put the following sarcasm in the Epilogue to his Satires:—

"And, hail her passage to the realms of rest,
All parts perform'd, and *all* her children bless'd."

‡ Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. The archdeacon says that he had some circumstances from Lord Orford, *i. e.* Horace Walpole, in his old age. In his Reminiscences Horace says, in his most caustic manner—"She suffered more unjustly by declining to see her son, the Prince of Wales, to whom *she* sent her blessing and forgiveness; but, *conceiving the extreme distress it would lay on the king,* should he thus be forced *to forgive so impenitent a son,* or to banish him again if once recalled, she heroically preferred a meritorious husband to a worthless child."

grounds;* and Mr. Charles Ford, who gives the most distinct account on this side, could not have been her friend, as he was the correspondent and friend of the black-biled dean of St. Patrick's. In fact, this particular account is given by Ford, in a letter to Swift. Ford says—"She absolutely refused to see the Prince of Wales, nor could the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her the sacrament,† prevail on her, though she said she heartily forgave the prince." But was Ford at all likely to deck out Caroline as a saint to the malicious revengeful man who had been cursing her for years for not making him a bishop, for adhering to Walpole, and frustrating all the schemes and intrigues of his close allies, Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and the rest? But, again, Ford's prose account disagrees with the poetical points of Pope and Chesterfield—for it admits that the dying queen heartily forgave her son. Although written in a different spirit, indeed, it is, in what relates to the prince, substantially the same with that given by Walpole.

Whatever was her conduct on her death-bed, Queen Caroline died on the 20th of November, and her loss was deeply felt both by the king and the nation, and probably by Walpole more than all. That minister knew that she had been the better genius that guided the king—that she had been the only person in the world that could properly understand and manage her husband—that her good sense had carried him through all his official difficulties, and that without her he could have no sure reliance on George. He vented some of his feelings in a letter to his brother, relating the queen's death. "I must have done," said he; "our grief and distraction want no relation; I am oppressed with sorrow and dread." The king, however, repeatedly assured him of his intention still to follow his advice in all things, and reminded him how the queen on her death-bed had recommended her husband to the minister, which his majesty emphatically said was a just and wise recommendation. These royal sentiments lasted as long as grief for the deceased, which was at first passionate; for, as we have already observed, though George kept mistresses, he never loved any woman as he did his wife. Some time after the queen's death, he called Baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, to his bedside, and said, "I hear you have a picture of my wife—a better likeness than any in my possession—bring it to me." When the picture was brought, the king was deeply affected, and after a short pause he said, "It is very like; put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." The bell was not rung till two hours had elapsed, and when the baron entered the bed-chamber, George said, "Take the picture away; I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe."*

And yet George had at Hanover—and had had for some time—a successor to Lady Suffolk, in the person of the Countess of Walmoden; and not very long after the queen's death he brought her over to England, and on the 24th of March, 1740, created her Baroness and Countess of Yarmouth.† Fortunately, the Walmoden was almost as inoffensive as her predecessor Lady Suffolk, albeit somewhat fonder of money. She looked to the main chance, and tried to enrich her family and friends, leaving politics to take their own course, and shunning any dangerous connexion either with rabid Tories or discontented Whigs. A more dangerous woman was the princess royal, Anne, whom George had married to the Prince of Orange. Anne, who is described as being of a most imperious and ambitious nature, came over from Holland soon after the queen's death, in the hope of succeeding to her mother's influence: but the king, aware of her plan, was so offended that he sent her to Bath as soon as she arrived, and then, in as peremptory a manner, back to Holland. The Princess Amelia and the Princess Caroline remained in England, unmarried, but they took little or no part in cabinet intrigues, and their brother, the Duke of Cumberland, whose passion it would have been to command the army, rarely interfered in politics.

A.D. 1738. The opposition, or all that part of it linked at Norfolk House, took alarm at a curious attempt to reconcile the Prince of Wales to the king. At a masquerade, Madame Hoppe, wife of the Dutch minister in London, went up to the prince, and, asking him if he were afraid to talk to a lady, presented to him Madame Walmoden, "who proposed some things to him, and talked of being reconciled to his father, and they agreed to

* According to Horace Walpole, Chesterfield had been put in the Queen's Index *Expurgatorius* some years before, on account of a suspicion that his lordship was intriguing (*politically*) with Mrs. Howard, afterwards Lady Suffolk. "The queen," says Horace, "had an obscure window, at St. James's, that looked into a dark passage, lighted only by a single lamp at night, which looked upon Mrs. Howard's apartment. Lord Chesterfield, one Twelfth-night, at court, had won so large a sum of money that he thought it imprudent to carry it home in the dark, and deposited it with the mistress. Thence the queen inferred great intimacy; and thenceforward Lord Chesterfield could obtain no favour from court; and, finding himself desperate, went into opposition. My father himself long afterwards told me the story, and had become the principal object of the poet's satiric wit, though he had not been the mover of his disgrace. The weight of that anger fell more disgracefully on the king." The noble lord's revenge on George II. was instituting proceedings at law about the suppressed will of George I.—[*See ante.*] Chesterfield, moreover, had made a close league with the old Duchess of Marlborough, who lost no occasion of venting her spite against the present government. Her grace hated St. James's, but she could never long agree with Norfolk House. For some time Chesterfield was her mouthpiece in the House of Lords. The opposition, on the whole, seem to have been rather troubled than served by the self-willed imperious old woman—*only*, now and then, she obliged some of them with loans of money out of her enormous wealth.—*Marchmont Papers.*

† Horace Walpole, as we have seen, says that the queen did not take the sacrament at all. He was more likely to know the fact than was Ford.

* This anecdote was communicated at the end of the last century to Archdeacon Coxe by Theodore Henry Broadhead, Esquire, grandson of Baron Brinkman, who possessed the portrait alluded to.

† "After the death of the queen," says Horace Walpole, "Lady Yarmouth came over, who had been the king's mistress at Hanover during his latter journies—and with the queen's privity, for he always made her the confidante of his amours. . . . . In his letters to the queen from Hanover, he said, 'You must love the Walmoden, for she loves *me*.' She was created a countess, and had much weight with him, but never employed her credit but to assist his ministers, or to convert some honours and favours to her own advantage. She had two sons, who both bore her husband's name; but the younger, though never acknowledged, was supposed the king's, and consequently did not miss additional homage from the courtiers."—*Reminiscences.*

meet at another masquerade, better disguised." * But the secret got wind, and the Earl of Marchmont warned the prince that a reconciliation, or the talk of a reconciliation, would spoil everything; "that the talk of his going to court on his birthday had done harm, the bad consequences of which must inevitably follow, for he would be at mercy, and lose the interest he had gained, which was a great security to the Hanoverian establishment, to himself, and to the whole family." † The Scottish Whig lord farther assured the prince that since the quarrel he had been gaining ground in the hearts of the people; that he was surrounded now by those most loved and respected by the people, by men of unblemished characters, that is to say the Pulteneys, the Carterets, the Chesterfields, and the Marchmonts. In reply, the prince assured Lord Marchmont that he would never make any dishonourable terms, and would never speak to Sir Robert Walpole. He said, that, if ordered to go to court, he must go; but he wished that might not happen. In this manner did a faction labour to prolong the unnatural discord. The assurances of the prince were satisfactory, but the opposition was split into sections, each jealous of the other; and, a day or two after this interview, the Earl of Marchmont and his more particular allies were alarmed at a project revealed to them by Lord Cobham, as having been formed by Lord Carteret and Pulteney, "to get the Prince of Wales into their hands, by which they might have made a property of him." It appears, however, that as soon as the Earl of Chesterfield and Lord Cobham got a glimpse of this scheme they went to the prince and prevented it. ‡ At the same time all kinds of stories were circulated, and probably for the most part invented, to exasperate the prince still more against the prime minister, and to render Walpole odious and ridiculous to the people. It was said, for example, that, when a deputation was appointed to compliment the prince on the birth of his child, Sir Robert called across the House to Alderman Heathcote, member for Southwark, who was one of those named to go up with the address—"Take a bank bill of 20,000*l.* with you; he needs it; he will touch!" It was also said that Walpole called the Prince of Wales one of the pretenders to the king's crown, saying that there were two of them, one at Rome, the other at Norfolk House! "You may guess," says the Earl of Marchmont, "how this is taken. . . . . What does not such a fellow deserve? What do you think of all this flagitious madness from one in his situation? The Duchess of Marlborough showed me a drawing which points out his deserved exit. You know where it came from." § This able and busy Scot professed to love the prince well "for many valuable qualities," especially for his goodness of heart, which did not "*dispose him to be over fond of money or of power:*" but it is quite evident that he could never depend upon the prince's promises and solemn assurances, and that he considered his royal highness as little better than a well-oiled weathercock, affected by the slightest breath of air, and always denoting the last wind that blew.

The session of parliament, which began in January, was very stormy, and seemed to prove to most men that Walpole would not be able long to maintain the pacific system on which he prided himself. The "patriots," as they persisted in calling themselves, resolved to inflame the public mind against Spain, and that country unfortunately pursued a jealous and unamiable course, which afforded a broad background for high colouring and exaggeration. Yet, while they clamoured for a foreign war, these "patriots" cried out quite as lustily against any increase of the forces as if war were to be made by means of loud speeches in St. Stephen's Chapel. Walpole proposed 17,000 men for the army—no great number, considering that if we went to war at all we were likely to have France as well as Spain against us; but they insisted that 12,000 men would be enough. The minister, irritated at the declamations of the disguised Jacobites, laid them bare and scourged them with unusual severity. "No man of common prudence," cried he, "will now profess himself openly a Jacobite; as by so doing he not only may injure his private fortune, but must render himself less able to do any effectual service to his cause.... Your right Jacobite now disguises his true sentiments; he roars out for revolutionary principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers who every day endeavour to sow discontent among the people. These men know that discontent and disaffection are, like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions, and therefore they hope that, if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected." The patriots paid so much homage to truth as to remain silent, and the increase of the army was carried without a division. Atterbury had called Walpole in rhyme, "The cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain;" and the Jacobites and discontented Whigs now went on to prove the latter part of the proposition, by showing that he had not protected smuggling, had not put down the Spanish Guarda Costas in the West Indies, and had not proclaimed a war to force the Spanish court to change its commercial code and admit the principle of free trade for her colonies in South America and everywhere else. By the law of nations, which sanctioned to every independent power the right of regulating her trade and colonies in her own way, however jealous, exclusive, or irrational—by treaties, old and new, which sanctified this principle, and expressly bound England to submit to the Spanish regulations in the New World—Walpole had been deterred from pursuing the course which he was now censured for not following. By the treaty of 1670 Spain

* Memorandum by Alexander Earl of Marchmont, in Marchmont Papers.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Letter to the Earl of Stair; Marchmont Papers.

recognised the British colonies in North America; but England agreed that none of her ships should approach the Spanish colonies in South America, unless by stress of weather, or with a special licence for trade from the Spanish government. By the latter clause the right of search was virtually acknowledged, and Spain had always kept up her guard-ships on the coast of the Spanish main; though sometimes through negligence, sometimes through bribery, and not seldom on account of the imposing attitude of the English ships that navigated those seas, and the dare-devil spirit of those that manned them, they had been remiss in exercising the right of search. Occasionally, indeed, they had been vigilant and severe enough; but then, on other occasions, English adventurers, like Dampier, little better than the buccaneers who had preceded them, plundered the Spanish towns on the coast, and captured or defied every Spanish ship they met either in the Atlantic or in the Pacific. If, on the one side, the Spaniards sometimes exceeded the letter of the treaty, these men never regarded any treaty whatsoever. The treaty of Seville, signed in 1729, did not profess to do much more than put our trade in the West Indies and South America upon its old footing,—that is, it allowed us to sell slaves, and to send one ship annually to the Spanish dominions in America. The restriction was abominable; and, perhaps, when England was at war she ought not to have concluded a peace until it was removed; but she had concluded a peace, and she had solemnly recognised and submitted to the restriction. But the market was too tempting to allow of her subjects submitting to it, and English merchants exercised their ingenuity in devising means to elude it. Sometimes a bribe did that business, and made the Spanish governor stone blind to the presence of English ships on the coast. Another method was to send a number of smaller vessels in the wake of the annual ship allowed by the Spanish court; and, while this ship went into port in a regular manner, the others, beating about in the offing, or lying snug in some creek at a short distance, supplied the large ship with fresh goods over her larboard side, as fast as she unloaded her original cargo over the starboard. In other cases, English ships, jauntily rigged so as to escape observation at a distance, hove to, many a league at sea, till the South American smugglers, with their fine, large, and fast boats, put off to them, and gradually landed the merchandise they brought. As the people wanted the commodities, as many of them were absolutely indispensable, and as they could not get them so good and so cheap in any other way, it became impossible, along a coast where distances are counted by hundreds of leagues together, to prevent this contraband trade; and from either shore to the ridges of the Andes, from the Gulfs of Mexico and Panama to Cape Horn, English goods were found wherever a few civilised men were settled. That part of the revenue of government which was to be received from duties fell, of course, to a very insignificant sum, and the annual fair of Panama, where the goods licensed by Spain or imported directly by the government were sold, instead of being the mart of South America as it once had been, dwindled away almost to nothing. To make up for the losses she thus sustained, Spain ought to have altered her system; but she was not wise enough for this, and she endeavoured to enforce it by employing more vigour and vigilance. On our side a terrible storm was raised whenever an English ship was captured or detained, or even subjected to the search; the merchants constantly affirming either that the goods were not contraband or that the vessel had been driven upon the coast by stress of weather. There never yet was found a set of sailors of one nation that could exercise the right of search without insolence and violence, or a set of sailors of another nation that could submit to the search with moderation and temper. It appears, however, that, in consequence of the new and rigid instructions sent out from Madrid, some of the commanders of the guarda-costas became not only vigilant but excessively insolent, harsh, and cruel. The English sailors, too, had terrible traditions about the cruelties practised in former times, and hereditarily, and, as it were, constitutionally, they detested the right of the Spanish flag, and hated the Dons at sea more than they did rocks or storm, the devil or the Pretender. It was easy for the opposition to gather many an exasperating tale of oppression and barbarity, practised beyond the Western main. The one they chose is well known, but perhaps it was not the best. Burke has since called it "The *Fable* of Jenkyns's Ears." This Jenkyns had been skipper or master of a small vessel which ran from Jamaica, and he had been boarded and searched by a guarda-costa. Like every English skipper in the like circumstances he declared that he had no contraband goods on board, no intention to break through the jealous and harsh regulations of the Spanish government; but, he added with more than usual emphasis, that he had been most barbarously treated by the officers and crew of the guardship. He said that they had tortured him and some of his crew, had cut off one of his ears, and even told him to go and carry it to his king, and inform his majesty that they would be glad to treat him in the same manner. The circumstances thus related had occurred long before—the story was seven years old—but now, when the table of the Commons was loaded with petitions, and the city of London ringing with complaints against the barbarity of the Spaniards and the mean-spiritedness of ministers, the opposition laid hold of it, and determined to bring Jenkyns before them, in order to give increased weight and effect to his narrative. On the 16th of March it was ordered "that Captain Robert Jenkyns do attend this House immediately." On the same day they went into committee on the Spanish grievances, and heard counsel and examined several witnesses. The skipper had evidently been trained; and an

answer which he gave had the turn and cadence of parliamentary oratory. Being asked by a member what he, a free-born Briton, felt when subjected to such treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, Jenkyns exclaimed—"I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." Rarely in England has an oratorical point produced such effect: it stirred the parliament and the country up into fury, and Pulteney declared that we had no longer need of allies or confederacies to enable us to command justice upon Spain—that Jenkyns's story alone would raise volunteers everywhere. It has been said since that Jenkyns had both his ears on at the very moment he was describing how one of them had been cut or torn from his head; and that, in the excitement produced by his narrative, people never thought of examining the rough head of the skipper—who might have worn a wig. But it appears, upon better authority, that he really had lost an ear, and that he carried a bit of one in his pocket wrapped up in cotton—but a cotemporary intimates that he had not been mutilated by the Spaniards, but at home, in the fashion of Prynne and Bastwick, *i. e.* that he had lost his ear in the pillory.* When the committee made its report to the House the general indignation was heightened; and Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, made it rise still higher, for he was heard as counsel for the petitioners, and he supported the petition, justified the complaints, and called for vengeance upon the Spaniards, with remarkable eloquence. Pulteney then rose and delivered one of his best speeches: he drew a frightful picture of Spanish cruelty and injustice, assuming the facts to have been fully proved by the witnesses the committee had examined; he stated that the British nation had the right of free navigation to every part of the American seas, provided the ships did not touch at any Spanish ports—the right of carrying all sorts of goods from one part of the British dominions to the other—the right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy—the right to gather salt on the island of Tortuga (which two last rights the Spaniards had always resolutely opposed, nor had the English ever enjoyed them except as exercised by buccaneers and smugglers that went to Campeachy Bay and Tortuga with arms in their hands, and cut logwood and carried away salt, because they were, *pro tempore*, stronger than the Spaniards); and Pulteney concluded his long speech by proposing a series of resolutions asserting these rights. Walpole did not attempt to deny that the Spaniards had given great offence; but he expressed a hope that they would yet make satisfaction. Pulteney's resolution, he said, would make matters worse—would cramp the pacific negotiations still carrying on with the court of Madrid; and he reminded the Commons that, with respect to several of the rights claimed, they had never been explicitly acknowledged by Spain except in general terms. If a treaty could do the business without the horrors of war, he was for continuing the negotiation, though it might, as usual, be somewhat tedious; but he added that, if he saw their object was not to be obtained otherwise, he was ready to demand and obtain it by force. "But still," said he, "I think, if proper satisfaction and full reparation can be obtained by peaceable means, we ought not to involve the nation in a war, from the event of which we have a great deal to fear; and the utmost we can hope for from the most uninterrupted success is a proper satisfaction for past injuries, and a proper security against our meeting with any such hereafter." In the course of prolonged debates he replied to the charge which had long been made against him, that his love of peace proceeded merely from his love of place, and that he avoided war, and was ready to tolerate any injury or affront offered to the nation, solely because he knew that a change in our foreign policy would lead to a change of ministers. "I have always," said he, "disregarded a popularity that was not acquired by a hearty zeal for the public interest, and I have been long enough in this House to see that the most steady opposers of popularity founded upon any other views have lived to receive the thanks of their country for that opposition." His experience he said proved to him that a cabinet was as likely to last in war-time as in a time of peace. "Nay," he added, "if we are to judge by reason alone, it is the interest of a minister, conscious of any mismanagement, that there should be a war, because by a war the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct." He proposed several amendments in a mild spirit, agreeing, however, to declare that the Spaniards had unjustly interfered with the freedom of navigation and commerce, had committed depredations attended with many instances of unheard-of cruelty and barbarity; that the court of Madrid had been exceedingly backward in giving satisfaction to his majesty's injured subjects and bringing the offenders to condign punishment; that the orders or cedulas granted by the King of Spain for restitution and reparation had been disobeyed by the Spanish governors, or totally evaded or eluded; and that all these violences and depredations were in direct violation of existing treaties. His amendments were carried; but Alderman Perry, who had been chairman of the committee, proposed and carried a very warlike address, beseeching the king to use his endeavours to obtain prompt and effectual redress, and pledging the House to support his majesty in a war if his negotiations were not presently attended with full success. In the Upper House Chesterfield and Carteret went more into extremes than Pulteney; and a majority of the Lords voted with them, and passed resolutions, absolutely denying the right of search as practised by the Spaniards on the coast of South America, &c. Their lordships also voted an address, promising effectual support if his majesty should have recourse to war. The king replied to the address of the Lords in a very warlike tone. Pulteney,

* Tindal, Hist. Eng.

who undertook the chief management of the business, because he hoped that a war would raise him to Walpole's seat, brought in a bill for effectually securing and encouraging our trade to America—a strange bill, which one might almost fancy had been drawn up by a band of buccaneers, as, by its most important clause, the sailors were to keep everything they could get, and to appropriate all property found under the Spanish flag, without reference to the rights of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe. The bill, in fact, if carried, would have converted the English nation into one great buccaneering power. It must have given such an alarm to the French for their property, which was often even greater than that of the Spaniards on board the galleons or plate-fleet, that they would hardly have hesitated to take part with Spain and join her with their whole naval force. Walpole made use of other arguments equally strong, and Pulteney's bill was negatived by a large majority. Parliament rose a few days after, but the prorogation brought no quiet to the minister, whose pacific disposition continued to be reviled by the mass of the nation, and whose party enemies carried on fifty intrigues at once, but all concentrating in two objects—the declaration of a war and the downfall of the ministry. The king himself, passionately fond of his army, longed to distinguish it;—the wisdom and moderation of Queen Caroline were gone, and several of Walpole's colleagues or subordinates had, for some time and for various reasons, taken up the war cry. This was more particularly the case with the Duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, who had been entertaining hopes, ever since the death of the queen, to supplant Walpole, who, as the duke and others understood it, monopolised far too large a portion of the power and profits of the state. The premier, however, still clung to his pacific measures and pressed his negotiations with the court of Madrid; but, at the same time, to show that he could and might make war, he sent Admiral Haddock into the Mediterranean with ten ships of the line, sent many single ships to the West Indies, offered letters of marque and reprisal to the merchants, supplied the infant colony of Georgia with troops and stores, and directed the British merchants in the several sea-ports of Spain to register their goods before notaries public, in case of a rupture. These things and the proceedings and speeches in the British parliament made the Spaniards somewhat more modest and humble. They liberated some prizes they had captured, sent home some English sailors that had been taken by guarda costas, and declared that they would hasten the consideration of the English claims for reparation. On our side it was admitted that certain sums were due to Spain, but on striking a balance it was made to appear that there remained due to England 140,000*l*. The Spaniards tried to reduce this balance, but finally they agreed to pay it by assignments upon the revenues of their American colonies. It was represented to Walpole that if our debt was to be paid in that quarter it would not be liquidated for many a year—perhaps never paid at all; and the minister was therefore induced to agree to receive in prompt payments in Europe 95,000*l*. in lieu of the 140,000*l*. in America. Having settled the sum and the mode of payment, a convention was signed on the 14th of January (1739), at Madrid, by Mr. Keene and La Quadra. This convention stipulated that the 95,000*l*. should be paid within four months from the date of the ratification; that the mutual discharge of claims should not extend to any existing differences or balances between Spain and the English South Sea Company as holders of the Assiento contract; that within six weeks two English plenipotentiaries should meet two Spanish plenipotentiaries at Madrid, to regulate the rights of trade and navigation, and settle the boundaries of Carolina and Florida, all which they were to do within eight months. La Quadra, who signed this convention, had insisted all along that the English South Sea Company owed his master 68,000*l*., and had declared that the convention could not be ratified until Philip got that money. Mr. Keene, on the other hand, had maintained that the government of England and the South Sea Company were entirely distinct, and that the government could not control the company; but he declared that, if it should be proved there was really a debt of 68,000*l*. owing to his Catholic majesty, he would undertake that it should be honourably discharged. La Quadra chose to consider this as a positive promise that the 68,000*l*. should be paid before the execution of the articles; and at the very moment they were signing the convention he delivered to Keene a declaration or protest, purporting that his Spanish majesty reserved to himself the right of suspending the Assiento treaty, unless the South Sea Company satisfied his claims forthwith. The English negotiator was greatly embarrassed, but he went on to sign the convention notwithstanding, and even consented to receive the protest, though without admitting its demands, but merely as referring them to the consideration of the British cabinet.

A.D. 1739.—Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, when George in his speech from the throne mentioned the ratification of the convention, and stated that the King of Spain had agreed to make reparation, and that plenipotentiaries had been appointed to regulate within a limited time all the grievances and abuses which had interrupted our commerce and navigation in the American seas, &c. "If," said the king, "all the ends which are to be hoped for even from successful arms can be attained without plunging the nation into a war, it must be thought by all reasonable and unprejudiced persons the most desirable event." But the nation had been filled with a dream of war, conquest, and revenge; and the convention, even interpreted in its best sense, was not a peace or a security for peace—it was not, in

fact, even so much as a good preliminary to a treaty, seeing how it was hampered by the protest. The opposition, in both Houses, fell upon its weak and bad parts, and Sir William Wyndham moved that in the address everything like an approbation of the convention should be carefully struck out. Walpole said that at all events an opening to a peace was better than the beginning of a war—that, if he had declared war, the very men that were now reviling him and his peace would be engaged in attacking him and his war—that he would tell the world that a trading people ought by all manner of means to avoid war—that any peace was preferable even to a successful war; and his original address was carried by a large majority. But when the articles of the convention were laid before parliament, the ministerial majority of 234 against 141 dropped suddenly to "a miserable baker's dozen," or to thirteen. As under no point of view the convention was or could be more than a preliminary, there was not a word in it about the right of search, about the limits of Georgia, which Spain claimed almost in toto, or indeed about any of the more difficult of the points in dispute. And now, without heeding the nature of that diplomatic instrument, people in the House and out of the House exclaimed and clamoured as if the document was a final one, as if England had given up the pretension of being exempted from search, renounced her claims to Georgia, &c. And, as if this were not excitement enough, there was a clause in the convention that Spain was to be allowed 60,000*l.* for the ships taken by Admiral Byng off the coast of Sicily in the year 1718.* This, they said, was paying the enemy for our victories—was giving them back more than they had lost! Of course the opposition took no heed of the peculiar circumstances attending Byng's battle off Cape Passaro, or of the facts that, in an article in the peace of Madrid, concluded during the administration of Sunderland, a mutual restitution was promised, that this promise had been confirmed by England in the more recent treaty of Seville, and that Spain had never foregone her claim. In the Upper House the Duke of Argyll, who had been wavering for some time, went openly into opposition; Chesterfield and Carteret continued and improved their declamations; and the Prince of Wales, the mortal enemy of Walpole, took this occasion of giving his first vote in parliament. The minister, by the mouth of Lord Cholmondeley, moved an address to thank his majesty for concluding the convention; to express a reliance that, in continuing the negotiations, care would be taken to secure our trade and navigation in the American seas; and to promise that, if these negotiations should not answer his majesty's just expectations, the House would support him in vindicating the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. This, after a long debate, was carried, but by a majority of only thirteen—fifty-eight lords, with the Prince of Wales at their head, voting against the minister. The same address was moved in the Commons by the premier's brother Horace, who spoke for two hours, and explained with tolerable fairness the real meaning of the convention. He insisted that nothing had been done to commit the honour of the country; that the great questions remained open; that there was nothing in them but might be settled by diplomacy; that to treat was better than to fight; that from the state of things in Europe England had not one ally upon whom she could count, while France was sure to take part with Spain; that in eight months a definitive treaty might be obtained. Sir Thomas Sanderson, who spoke first in reply to Horace Walpole, thought that nothing could go right till we had made war, and taken vengeance for the mutilating of Jenkyns's ear; and he vehemently proclaimed that the fellow—the pirate—the monster—that had done the deed, was now enjoying the fruits of his rapine—a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain, and of the triumphant pride and stubborn haughtiness of Spain. Lord Gage, leaving Jenkyns's ear in its owner's pocket, declaimed with almost equal heat upon the reduction of the balance due by Spain, which, his lordship said, ought to pay 340,000*l.* at the very least. Young William Pitt, who was already making himself known, and meriting from Walpole the designation of "that terrible cornet of horse," asked whether we had not wholly lost our nationality. "Is this," cried he, "any longer a nation? Or what is an English parliament if, with more ships in our harbours than in all the nations of Europe, with above two millions of people in our American colonies, we will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention?" From the date of this speech the tongue of William Pitt awed or commanded the House of Commons. In its abstract points few questions could have been better suited to a young and enthusiastic orator: the freedom of the seas, the might and right of the British flag, the jealousy of Spain and her inhuman policy, were subjects that never yet failed to excite the English people. After speaking of the merely financial part of the business and the suspension of the Assiento, Pitt maintained that Spain had imposed her conditions in the most absolute, imperious manner, and that England had submitted to them most tamely and abjectly. "Can any verbal distinction," said he, "can any evasions whatever, possibly explain away this public infamy? To whom would we disguise it? To ourselves and to the nation? I wish we could hide it from every court in Europe! They see Spain has talked to you like your master; they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it must stand with distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this convention. This convention, Sir, I think

* England originally claimed from Spain 200,000*l.*; this reduction of 60,000*l.* for the Spanish ships brought the sum down to the 140,000*l.* agreed upon; and 45,000*l.* as a discount for prompt payment finally reduced the amount to be actually paid by Spain to 95,000*l.*

from my soul, is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England a suspension as to Georgia of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; and on this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate but directly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament and the gracious promise of the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants—the voice of England has condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser: God forbid that this committee should share the guilt by approving it!" Littleton observed that the grievances of England admitted but of one remedy, and that a very short and simple one—her ships should never be searched by the Spaniards, or by any other power, upon any pretence whatever. He said that even as a preliminary the convention was disgraceful, and the very worst result that could have been produced by the most ruinous war. "Let us, then, reject it with scorn," he continued, "so that to all we have suffered before, to all the accumulated insults ever heaped upon a nation, a worse dishonour may not be added, and that dishonour fall upon the parliament." Walpole, who spoke last in the debate, urged in reply that the convention laid the foundation for a good definitive treaty; that he held it to be his greatest boast at present, as it would be his greatest honour in succeeding times, to be named as the minister who had endeavoured by this convention to prevent the necessity of making war upon a nation with whom it was our greatest interest to be at peace, at a time, too, when we could not hope to be assisted by any power, but might reasonably apprehend being attacked by several. He repeated again and again his fundamental maxim—that peace was better than war, and that, England being a trading nation, the prosperity of her trade ought always to be the principal object. Admitting even that the convention had not answered all the expectations of the House, they ought still to consider whether a declaration of war would answer those expectations any better, whether we had a fair prospect of success, and particularly whether even a successful war with Spain might not involve us in a very doubtful and expensive war with other powers. He spoke of the obligations, contracted in former treaties, of our submitting to and acknowledging the right of Spain to regulate her own colonies in her own way; and after other arguments he expressed a hope that parliament would sanction the convention. On a division he found himself supported by a majority, but by a very slender one—260 being for him, and 232 against him. On the next day Pulteney resumed the attack, and was supported by Wyndham; but the motion for a recommitment of the address was negatived by 244 against 214. Wyndham, who was still following the advice of Bolingbroke, then rose, and with great solemnity announced his intention of taking his leave of the House of Commons. "I have seen," said he, "this shameful, this fatal measure approved of by a majority of but twenty-eight, and I now rise to pay my last duty to my country as a member of this House." He said he had entertained hopes that the unanswerable arguments urged in the debate against the convention might have prevailed upon gentlemen to have for once listened to the dictates of reason, to have for once distinguished themselves from being a faction against the liberties and properties of their fellow-subjects; that those hopes had been the stronger since he had never found one single person out of doors that pretended to justify the dishonouring convention. He added—"The majority of this House must, then, proceed either from their being determined by arguments that we have not heard, or from my wanting common sense to comprehend the force of those we have heard. In the first case I think I cannot, with honour, sit in an assembly which is determined by motives which I am not at liberty to mention; and, if the last is the case, I look upon myself as a very unfit person to serve as a senator. I here, Sir, bid a final adieu to this House. Perhaps when another parliament shall succeed, I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity. I therefore appeal to a future, free, uninfluenced House of Commons. Let it be the judge of my conduct and of that of my friends on this occasion." Pelham was so incensed at the insult offered to the House, and the calling of the ministerial majority a corrupt faction, that he was rising to move for Wyndham's commitment to the Tower; but Walpole stopped him, and said, with quite as much warmth as the Tory or Jacobite orator, that the measures that that gentleman and his friends might pursue gave him no uneasiness. "The friends of the nation," said he, "and this House are obliged to them for pulling off the mask, by making this public declaration. We can be upon our guard against open rebellion, but it is difficult to guard against secret traitors. The faction I speak of never sat in this House, they never joined in any public measure of the government, but with a view to distress it, and serve a popish interest. The gentleman who is now the mouth of this faction was looked upon as the head of those traitors who, twenty-five years ago, conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, to set a popish pretender upon the throne. He was seized by the vigilance of government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he ungratefully made of that clemency has been to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party may, some time or other, have an opportunity to overthrow all law. I am only afraid that they will not be so good as their word, and that they will return; for I remember that, in the case of their favourite prelate, who was impeached of treason, the same gentleman and his faction made the same

resolution. They went off like traitors as they were; but their retreat had not the detestable effect they expected and wished, and therefore they returned. Ever since, Sir, they have persevered in the same treasonable intention of serving that interest, by distressing the government. But I hope their behaviour will unite all true friends of the present happy establishment of the crown in his majesty's person and family more firmly than ever; and that the gentlemen, who, with good intentions, have been deluded into the like measures, will awaken from their delusion, since the trumpet of rebellion is now audaciously sounded." In thus seceding, Sir William Wyndham calculated upon carrying and keeping the whole of his party with him; but these Tories soon grew weary of their secession, which, to the popular eye, looked like cowardice, and several of them never seceded at all. Sir John Barnard, Mr. Plumer of Hertfordshire, and one or two others, refused to desert their posts in parliament; and these gentlemen were much more praised for staying than was Wyndham for going. It appears, indeed, that that chief orator of the Tories hoped to get back through a call of the House, which had been fixed for the next Monday, and that Walpole baffled him by moving an adjournment till the following Tuesday. It is quite certain that the minister was not only unhurt by the secession, but was also anxious to prolong it. His measures passed off smoothly, always without a division, and often without a single opposition speech. He most undoubtedly rejoiced at the absence of Wyndham when he was compelled by the Hanoverian schemes of his master to ask for a subsidy of 250,000 dollars per annum for three years for the King of Denmark.* To improve our woollen manufactures and trade in cloth, a bill was brought in and carried, facilitating the importation of wool from Ireland, and laying additional duties upon the exportation of that commodity in its crude state. Another act was passed with the view of serving the British colonies in the West Indies, by permitting the introduction of sugar into foreign ports in British bottoms, without first landing it, as formerly, in Great Britain, and by rendering the importation of foreign sugar and molasses more difficult. Encouraged by the Tory secession, and hoping that, in the absence of the sturdiest opponents of religious liberty, a step might be made in their favour, the Dissenters renewed their petition for the repeal of the Test Act. This really embarrassed the minister, who knew that, though the desired measure might pass in the House of Commons, it would be assuredly rejected in the Lords. The seceders rejoiced in his dilemma, and, forgetting their exceeding great anxiety for the church, and relying upon the sure bar that would be interposed by the Lords, they kept aloof in spite of the warning voices of preachers who again declared that the church was in danger, and that its best defenders ought not to permit the bill to pass even through one branch of the legislature. But the measure was not destined even to that partial success: the Whigs could equally overlook their old principles in favour of religious liberty, and, incensed at the conduct of the Tories, and determined at all hazards to relieve Walpole from his embarrassment, they negatived the motion by a majority of 188 to 89. Walpole complained that the Dissenters had been too impatient, and had not waited for the time when he should be able to do them service; the Dissenters, on the other hand, began to perceive that the minister would run no risk whatever on their account; and from this moment they either withdrew their support altogether, or only gave it out of fear of a worse successor to the premiership. Yet it appears that, if Walpole, at this juncture, had exerted himself in favour of the repeal of the Test Act, he would have lost on the side of Whig churchmen quite as much as he could have gained on the side of the Dissenters; and, after all, he must have failed in reconciling the Upper House to the bill. Parliament was very quietly prorogued on the 14th of June.

But our foreign negotiations were anything rather than smooth and tranquil. When, in pursuance of the convention, two British plenipotentiaries went to Madrid to confer with two plenipotentiaries of Spain, there seemed little probability that the preliminaries would end in a definitive, amicable treaty. The Spaniards were enraged at the declarations and denunciations made in our parliament, and they seemed determined to talk as loud as we did: they bitterly complained of the presence of a British squadron off their Mediterranean coast; they assumed a high tone about their right of search, and they declared that that right must be admitted, or they would not treat at all: they also complained of the non-payment of the 68,000*l.* by the South Sea Company, and told the English diplomatists that the King of Spain thought himself justified in seizing the effects of the company, and suspending their trade in negroes. It is quite certain that these Dons would have spoken less boldly if Walpole had said less about his anxious desire to prevent hostilities. The equally pacific Cardinal Fleury, however, stepped in with an offer of the mediation of France, and he undertook to guarantee to England the immediate payment of the 95,000*l.* stipulated for in the convention, provided only the British squadron were recalled from the Mediterranean. But the course of events, together with the disposition of the nation and of the king, who had all along been far less anxious for peace, convinced Walpole that the time for friendly compromise was past, and that he must either engage in a war or retire into private life, leaving his enemies to triumph in his fall, and undo, perhaps in

* George II., as Elector of Hanover, had bought from Holstein the petty lordship and castle of Steinhorst; but his Danish majesty pretended that Holstein had no right to sell it—that the thing belonged to him. A detachment of Danish troops had even attempted to take forcible possession of Steinhorst; but George's Hanoverians had beaten them off after a smart skirmish. The King of Denmark hereupon had raised a terrible clamour, had threatened war, and had put himself in correspondence with the French. But the English subsidy conjured the storm.

a single session, the system which he had framed in so many laborious years. Thanks to the opposition orators in the House of Commons and to skipper Jenkyns, the mass of the nation was in a high Spanish fever, which nothing could moderate but Spanish blood. Under these circumstances Walpole took his stand on the very best ground that was offered—for he demanded from Spain an absolute renunciation for ever of the right of search, and an express acknowledgment of all the British rights and claims in North America. At the same time he reinforced the squadron in the Mediterranean, sent Sir Chaloner Ogle with more ships to the West Indies, and put another fleet to sea under Sir John Norris. Spain proudly rejected the English demands, and on the 19th of October war was proclaimed in London in the most jubilant manner. The stocks, which had been on the decline, rose instantly. The colonies in South America, the mines of Mexico and Peru, were already, by anticipation, the conquests of England; and every loud-tongued vagabond in the streets of London that shouted for joy, or rung the bells in the church steeples, seemed to fancy himself a sharer in the prey. Several of the leaders of the opposition joined in the jubilee, which they in reality had made by striving for the war; and they walked in procession after the heralds who had to proclaim, by sound of trumpet, that an indefinite quantity of human blood was to be shed. The Prince of Wales was not far behind his friends, and he stopped before the Rose tavern, at Temple Bar, to drink, with the mob, "Success to the war!" Walpole, in the mean while, was muttering, in a sure spirit of prophecy, "They may ring the bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands." If there was any excess of joy to be compared to that of the thoughtless London mob, it was that of the Pretender's court in Italy and the exiled Jacobites, who all held that the war would soon be a general one, and that France and Spain would unite in setting King James on his throne when the fleets and armies of England should be engaged in distant hostilities. In fact, the heralds of King George had scarcely finished their flourishes, when the agents of King James began to post and gallop in all directions; and the most zealous of the Jacobites assembled at Edinburgh to draw up a bond of association, and to engage to take arms and venture their lives and fortunes for the restoration of the Stuart king.

Before the declaration of war Walpole sent his brother Horace to Holland to require the auxiliary troops which the States were bound to furnish. But the court of France prevailed upon the Dutch to remain neutral, by threatening them with an army of 50,000 men, and alluring them with hopes of procuring the best part of the trade which the English had carried on with Spanish America. England was then left without an ally, and France continued to wear a threatening rather than an amicable aspect.

Parliament assembled on the 15th of November. "The present posture of our affairs," said his majesty, "has obliged me to call you together sooner than has been usual of late years, that I may have the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament at this critical and important conjuncture. I have, in all my proceedings with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to the sense of both Houses, and therefore I can make no doubt but I shall meet with a ready and vigorous support in this just and necessary war, which the repeated injuries and violence committed by that nation upon the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, and their obstinacy and notorious violation of the most solemn engagements, have rendered unavoidable." He mentioned the necessary increase of his forces, and his confidence of being furnished with fitting supplies; he spoke of the heats and animosities which had been fomented throughout his kingdom, and which had chiefly encouraged the proceedings of the court of Spain, and expressed his hope that there would be as general a concurrence in carrying on the war as there had appeared for engaging in it. This, he said, would make Spain repent the wrongs she had done us, and convince those who aimed at the subversion of the present establishment that England was well able to vindicate her injured honour, and to defend herself against all her enemies, whether open or secret, at home or abroad. Sir William Wyndham and the rest of the seceders had by this time returned to their posts, confident that they should soon make them a stepping-stone to the cabinet, which was now greatly divided against Walpole. When Mr. Archer moved the usual address, the seceders almost lost sight of the subject in their anxiety to justify their recent secession. Pulteney said that nothing else had been left to them for clearing their characters to posterity—that the step they had taken, though hitherto much censured, would, for the future, be treated in a different manner, as it was fully justified by the declaration of war, which was so universally approved—that the seceders had only been moved by their zeal for the honour of their country—that war was just as necessary when they seceded as it was now—that the minister had at last made up his mind to do precisely what they had recommended while opposing the convention. He then declared that we ought to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and never allow any minister, under any pretence whatsoever, to give up the conquests we might make; that he was ready to support the present ministry in carrying on the war with vigour; but that he wished no mention had been made in his majesty's speech of heats and animosities, and must move that the House, in its address, should take no notice of that particular clause, which seemed to go against the honour of the House. Walpole, vexed and harassed on every side, and conscious that he had taken a false step, gave full vent to his spleen. He said that, after what had passed last session,

he little expected to be so soon favoured with the company of the seceders; he was always pleased when he saw gentlemen in the way of their duty, and glad that those members had returned to theirs, though, to say the truth, he had entertained no great apprehension that the service either of his majesty or of the nation would suffer much by their absence. "I believe," continued Walpole, "that the nation is generally sensible that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of last session were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of these gentlemen; and, if they are returned only to oppose and perplex, I shall not be at all sorry if they secede again. . . . . I cannot, however, believe that the honourable gentleman and his friends have found any reason to boast of the effects produced by their secession upon the minds of the people, for it was a very new way of defending the interests of their constituents to desert them when they apprehended them to be endangered." He said other things equally bitter, and ended by declaring that he could not see how his majesty's not issuing a declaration of war at the precise moment when they were pleased to require it was a good reason for their running from their duty, nor how its being issued at last was any apology for their return. The original address passed in the Commons without a division, but the address of the Upper House had a different fate—Chesterfield, Carteret, and others harangued at great length, and forty-eight peers voted against sixty-eight. The Duke of Argyll was now in resolute opposition, and he was even more formidable by his eloquence and address than by the influence he possessed over other Scottish lords and leaders. Walpole had been taunted with want of courage, for he had left the great Scottish duke in possession of all his offices, places, and military commands,—and this, as Pulteney had said in the House, because he durst not turn him out. But, a few months after this, the minister prevailed upon the king to dismiss Argyll from all his employments by one stroke of the pen or by a single order. According to a Jacobite authority, the Highland blood of the duke got the better of his prudence, and he exclaimed—"Fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people." "Which," adds the Jacobite reporter, "might imply both man and master, or only the man."* The opposition, who correctly considered themselves as the parents of the war, thought that they had a right to manage it in their own way; and Walpole found himself obliged to withdraw his resistance to a bill, for encouraging seamen by giving them *all* the prize-money, which had been thrown out the preceding session.

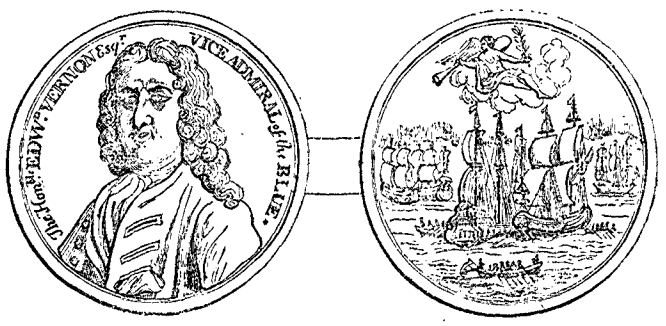
A.D. 1740.—Sir William Wyndham believed, or pretended to believe, that, notwithstanding the declaration of hostilities, Walpole was determined to get out of the war as soon as he could; and on the 21st of February he moved a most violent address, beseeching his majesty never to admit of any treaty of peace with Spain unless the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American seas, without being searched, visited, or stopped under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary. Wyndham had flattered himself that Walpole would resist the motion; but that minister, who could not be blind to its tendency, declared that he would be the first to agree to it; and it was carried without one dissentient voice. The place and pension bill was again produced, and was thrown out by a majority of only sixteen, or by 222 against 206. If the general election had been more distant, the minority would have been far less; but a considerable number of members began to depart from their usual course, and to vote, at least occasionally, for popularity-gaining measures, now that the hustings were coming in view. It was soon found that England was not altogether prepared for a war, even on her proper element; and that, though the sailors had clamoured loudly "to have a brush with the Spaniards," they did not like to serve his majesty for less wages than they could get from merchants, and had no taste for the arbitrary system of impressment. Thus we had ships ready for sea, and not sailors enough to man them; and, while we were getting ready, the Spanish cruisers picked up our trading-vessels with alarming rapidity. The merchants and others petitioned parliament for convoys to protect trade,—for fleets and squadrons to maintain the supremacy of the English flag everywhere,—and yet, at the same time, not to permit government to press the seamen. The matter was referred to a committee of the House of Commons, who concluded that the best method would be to establish a general register of all seamen and watermen capable of service, out of which men might be drafted from time to time as necessity required. A bill to this effect was presented by Admiral Sir Charles Wager. The opposition seemed to think that this general register would be a greater hardship upon seamen than the custom of impressing,—that it would compel married men, fathers of familes, to leave everything, and serve upon a sudden notice; and Pulteney proposed that the second reading should be deferred for a few days, and the bill be printed for the consideration of the House. Walpole declared that the impressing of seamen, though resorted to in times of emergency, was neither eligible nor legal—that it was ineffectual and insufficient—that the delay in procuring sailors was a general grievance and a great obstruction to offensive operations—that while we were publishing proclamations, and issuing press-warrants, and gleaning up our sailors man by man, our secrets were betrayed and our enterprises defeated. He consented, however, to the delay and the printing of the bill proposed by Pulteney: and this delay was fatal to the register scheme; for it

* Letter from General Keith to his brother, the exiled Earl Marshal, in Stuart Papers, as cited by Lord Mahon, who obtained this particular extract from the Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, who copied it at Carlton House.

gave time for a terrible outcry against the measure as a thing founded upon French edicts and ordinances, and tending to French despotism. When the bill was produced in the House it was received with silent horror, and was presently rejected. A motion was then made for a committee to consider of the heads of a bill for the better encouragement of seamen to enter into his majesty's service; but it came to nothing, though all parties seemed to agree that a register was necessary. On the 13th of March the committee resolved that a *voluntary* register of seamen would be of great utility to the kingdom! Walpole found himself compelled to sanction letters of marque and licenses to a vast number of privateers; for by this time many adventurers, both French and Dutch, had taken to the profitable business of piracy, and were plundering our ships under bits of Spanish bunting. He, however, attended to the building of light twenty-gun ships, and fitted out as many cruisers of the royal navy as he could. "An embargo," says Tindal, "upon all shipping except coasters, had continued, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, from the 1st of February to the 28th of March, when a petition from the merchants and owners of ships, and others concerned in manufactures and commerce, was sent to the House of Commons, complaining of the great hardships the continuance of this embargo brought upon trade in general, and containing some insinuations as if it had been continued through wantonness. The fact was, the petitioners had been amongst the loudest in the outcry raised against government for not protecting their trade; and, as that clamour increased, the necessity of employing more seamen increased likewise. The lords of the admiralty had employed every fair means in their power to procure seamen, but without success, till they were reduced to the disagreeable alternative of either imposing the embargo, or permitting the service of the public to suffer. To give all the ease, however, in their power to trade, they soon took off the embargo on foreign ships, and acquainted the masters of British ships that they were willing to take it off entirely, if every master, or merchant, or owner of a ship, would, in proportion to their number of hands, contribute to the supply of the navy."* But this conduct was represented in the anti-ministerial speeches and writings as an intolerable oppression upon commerce, calculated with a view to make the city of London and the trading part of the nation weary of the war. The ministry, however, did not think fit to comply with the prayer of the petitioners, which was, to be heard by counsel against the embargo. They maintained that to admit counsel on such a head was stripping his majesty of one of his most unquestionable prerogatives; and the motion was rejected by a majority of 166 against 95. This firmness of the government was attended with the desired effect; for the merchants at last agreed to carry one-third of their crew landsmen, and to furnish one man in four to the king's ships; upon which condition these ships had protection granted them, and about the 14th of April the embargo was taken off from all merchants' ships in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland outward-bound. But, although the opposition thwarted the minister in everything else, they voted him the public money with an easy liberality, forgetting, as his biographer observes, their own repeated assertions that Walpole had so impoverished the nation that it could not possibly bear any further burdens.† With their consent the land-tax was raised from two to four shillings in the pound, the sinking fund was again encroached upon, and the whole amount of supplies came up to more than four millions.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of April. While it was yet sitting—on the 13th of March—advices were received that Admiral Vernon had taken Porto Bello from the Spaniards. Vernon was the pet admiral of the opposition, and a personal enemy to the minister. While people were making bonfires in the streets, the Lords sent an address to the Commons for their concurrence, in which they congratulated his majesty on the glorious success of his arms under the command of Admiral Vernon, by the taking of Porto Bello with *only* six ships of war. This was meant to blacken the memory of Admiral Hosier, and to

* Hist. † Id.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE CAPTURE OF PORTO BELLO BY ADMIRAL VERNON.
From an Original in the British Museum.

revive old animosities; yet the address was passed as it stood in a thin House by a majority of 36 to 31; and Vernon, a vain, hot-headed, incompetent commander, was informed in due course that Walpole's friends were the foes of his glory. Sir John Norris, having his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland with him as a volunteer, sailed away for Ferrol, in order to intercept the Spanish fleet about to sail for the West Indies; but the weather was contrary and foul; two of his best ships were greatly damaged, and before Norris could get clear of the English coast he received intelligence that the Spaniards had put to sea and were on their way to America.* In the autumn Commodore Anson was detached with a small squadron to assist Vernon and commit depredations in the South Seas. Anson was to co-operate occasionally with the admiral across the narrow Isthmus of Darien. But the grand exertion made by England was the fitting out a formidable armament for the northern coast of Spanish America and his Catholic majesty's settlements on the Atlantic. Four battalions were raised in the British colonies of North America, and conveyed to Jamaica to await the arrival of forces from England. These latter forces, consisting chiefly of marines and of detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in the month of October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart. Sir Chaloner Ogle accompanied them with a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, hospital-ships, and store-ships. The armament was exceedingly well equipped, and it was expected that Cathcart and Ogle between them would do nothing less than subvert the empire of the Spaniards in the western world.

After the departure of the king for Hanover the dissensions in the cabinet increased; and the Duke of Newcastle, who had hitherto seemed to be content with his subordinate office, began to aspire to the premiership. The duke even came to an open quarrel with Walpole; they were reconciled by mutual friends, but soon quarrelled again. Newcastle, who had always been inclined to the war, thought that he was the properer person of the two to have the entire management of it: he was for sending every ship of war that could be spared to the West Indies and South America, while Walpole, well knowing the schemes of the Pretender, considered it unsafe to leave our own coasts unguarded. Matters soon arrived at that point that no single measure was debated at the council-table without violent altercations. The premier must have felt he was losing ground daily, for he allowed himself to be overcome by frequent fits of passion; and, instead of being good-humoured and cheerful, as had been his wont, was peevish and querulous, and apparently anxious to throw all responsibility—at least as far as the war was concerned—upon the weak shoulders of Newcastle. As he had feared and foreseen, France concluded a family compact with Spain, and employed her accomplished diplomatists in every court in Europe to prevent England from forming new alliances, or to break those she had already formed. Walpole, however, succeeded in detaching Russia from the French interest, and he subsidized Sweden as well as Denmark, Hesse Cassel, and some other German states. But the great trial of diplomatic strength was at the court of Berlin. The capricious and inept Frederick William of Prussia died on the 31st of May of the present year 1740, and was succeeded by his extraordinary son, whom he had most brutally treated, but who became Frederick the Great. Frederick William left at his death a treasure of a million and a half sterling, and a disciplined army of 76,000 men. He had made little use of this imposing force, but his son was no sooner on the throne than he resolved to improve it and use it for conquest. This young king—he was in his twenty-eighth year—found himself courted by all the great European powers: France was most anxious to secure his friendship, and England hoped that, now that the personal animosities between his father and the House of Hanover were removed, she might secure him in her interests. The minister's brother, Horace Walpole, even drew up the plan of a grand confederacy against the House of Bourbon, of which the young Frederick was to be the head. The Duke of Newcastle gave his approbation to the scheme, and submitted it to George. But Frederick was in no hurry to conclude a bargain either with France or England; he amused both, and waited events. Circumstances soon occurred which tempted him to turn his 76,000 men against the House of Austria. On the 20th of October the Emperor Charles VI. died, and was succeeded in all his hereditary states by his daughter Maria Theresa, whose rights were guaranteed, in conformity with the Pragmatic Sanction, by all the great powers of Europe. At first, every one of these powers, except Bavaria, recognised her accession; but, in the end, not one of them, except England, adhered to its engagements. The Elector of Bavaria had claims of his own to a good part of the Austrian inheritance, and he maintained that the female line could not legally succeed. But the first blow against the fair Austrian did not proceed from that quarter; the elector was too weak to take the field except as a second to a greater power. The King of Prussia

* The old Duchess of Marlborough was busy commenting with her usual severity on the conduct of ministers, the war, &c. "Sir Robert," she says, "never likes any but fools, and such as have lost all credit. As to what happens to the sea affairs, I know no more for certain than you see in the prints. But I cannot but think it looks ill that so many delays are made in Sir John Norris's going out, and that he is still very near England. Perhaps this management may have been to let the Spaniards get out their fleet from Ferrol."—*Letter to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in Sir George Henry Rose's Selection from the Marchmont Papers.* In the same caustic epistle the old dowager says—"There is a great talk all over the town that his majesty is mightily in love with the Prince of Hesse's sister; and it is said she is extremely handsome, and about seventeen; and some people believe we shall soon have a queen. And as the Princess of Wales is ready to lie in again, we need not apprehend having an increase of princes and princesses, every year at least two, so that we shall never want heirs to the crown; nor they will never want good provisions as long as they have a *House* of Lords and Commons that are so liberal."

revived some antiquated claims to part of the province of Silesia, and he thought that he could not better employ his army and his treasure than in taking possession of the whole—"a project," as he himself observed afterwards, "which promised to fulfil all the political views he had most at heart, as it was the readiest means of obtaining reputation, of augmenting the power of his kingdom, and of terminating satisfactorily several long litigated questions." He, however, kept his secret till he was ready to act; and when, on the 15th of December, after a grand masked ball, he set out from Berlin at the head of 30,000 men, very few persons knew whither he was going, or what were his real intentions in beginning a campaign at so unusual a season. He merely said to the French ambassador as he was getting to horse—"I am going to play your game; if aces are dealt to me we will go halves." On the 23rd of December Frederick crossed his frontier, and found himself well received by the majority of the Silesians, who, as Protestants, inclined rather to Prussia than to Catholic Austria. Maria Theresa had very few troops in the province, and these were soon obliged to retire into Moravia. Breslau, the capital, through the harangues of an enthusiastic Protestant shoemaker, opened its gates to the Prussians; Namslau and Ohlau followed the example, and by the middle of January the whole province was overrun. On the first alarm the Queen of Hungary, as Maria Theresa was generally called, applied for advice and aid to King George. George and his English ministers, knowing her weakness, advised her to purchase a peace with her dangerous neighbour by sacrificing part or the whole of Silesia; but she indignantly rejected the proposition, and claimed, as a matter of right, the succour stipulated in the treaty by which England guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. All that George could do at the moment was to collect some troops on his Hanoverian frontier; but this obliged his nephew Frederick to leave a considerable part of his army in that quarter to watch the proceedings of these Hanoverians. At the same time, however, Frederick spent the money his father had left him in increasing his army, and before the winter was over he had nearly 30,000 more men to join to those already in Silesia. Nor was he less active in diplomacy: the Elector of Bavaria was ready to join him, and he won over the Elector of Saxony; the Kings of Spain and Sardinia engaged to abet him secretly, and the King of France, who was to go halves, promised a more open assistance. Other states, equally anxious to profit by the favourable opportunity of aggrandizing themselves at the expense of an apparently almost defenceless woman, merely waited a little to see how the game would be played.

Anne, the czarina of Russia, died nearly at the same time as the Emperor Charles. She bequeathed her crown to Ivan, the infant grandson of her elder sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg; but the Russian nobles soon set aside the helpless boy, and placed the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. This daughter of Peter the Great was of mature age and experience, and endowed with considerable ability and spirit. She, in her turn, was as much courted for her alliance as Frederick of Prussia had been, and much seemed to depend upon the course she might take. Altogether the politics of Europe were changed or modified—the cards were fresh shuffled, and statesmen hardly knew the hands they might get.

At home the year had not been so tranquil as usual: in the month of July there were riots in various parts of England, owing to the high price of bread; the military were called out and several persons were killed. While we were sending our ships to America, the Spaniards continued to pick up our merchantmen in our own seas, and our foreign trade was paralyzed. Walpole, who had laboured to prevent the real causes of the worst of these calamities, was blamed for them all, and the popular abuse grew so loud, that it is said at last not a man in the kingdom mentioned his name with decency except his own dependents and servants.*

George came back to England and opened parliament on the 18th of November. The speech from the throne mentioned the exertions made to fit out fleets and armies for the West Indies and South America, and the resolution of his majesty to add strength to those armaments in order to bring Spain to reason. It alluded plainly to the probability of France becoming an open enemy. "The court of Spain," said his majesty, "having already felt some effects of our resentment, began to be sensible that they should no longer be able to defend themselves against the efforts of the British nation. And if any other power, agreeably to some late extraordinary proceedings, should interpose, and attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against my declared enemies, the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms must call upon us to lose no time in putting ourselves into such a condition as may enable us to repel any insults, and to frustrate any designs formed against us in violation of the faith of treaties. And I hope any such unprecedented steps, under what colour or pretence soever they may be taken, will inspire my allies with a true sense of the common danger, and will unite us in the support and defence of the common cause." [At this moment our alliances were either insignificant or insecure.] The speech finally alluded to the unhappy event of the death of the emperor, and stated that it was impossible to determine what turn the policy, interest, or ambition of the several courts might lead them to take in this critical conjuncture.

Walpole had nothing more to fear from the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, for that Tory chief had gone to his grave in the course of the summer; but the opposition was now so formidable as scarcely to feel his loss. They were led in the

* Coxe.

Lords by the Duke of Argyll, who criticised and condemned the whole conduct of the war, and proposed an address very different from the ministerial one. Lord Bathurst seconded him, and Lord Carteret was even more violent than his grace, calling Walpole "a minister who has for almost twenty years been demonstrating to the world that he has neither wisdom nor conduct."* Lord Chesterfield, made sharp by accumulated disappointments and spites, spoke in the same vein; but the original address was nevertheless carried in the Lords by a majority of 66 to 38. In the Commons, Pitt and Lyttleton were very warm, which occasioned Sir Robert to be so too; but there also the original address was carried. No ways discouraged, the opposition began a sharp fire of motions and calls for papers. In the Lords they got up an address for the instructions to Admiral Vernon in taking Porto Bello, with the object of making it appear that the whole merit belonged to their pet admiral, and no portion of it to the minister, whom they accused of thwarting him. They pretended that Haddock had done nothing in the Mediterranean. The Duke of Newcastle thought fit to reply that Haddock had effectually guarded Gibraltar and Port Mahon, had blockaded Cadiz, and had protected an important part of the British trade. But the opposition had the audacity to reply that such were "*mean* and *mercantile* considerations." In the same breath they blamed ministers for not carrying on the war everywhere with more vigour, and proposed that the army should on no account be augmented. These, however, were only the skirmishes which precede a general engagement.

A.D. 1741.—On the 11th of February, Sandys, who has been well called "the motion-maker," left his seat and crossed the floor of the House to the minister, to tell him that he thought it an act of common courtesy to inform him that he should on Friday next move an accusation of several articles against him. Walpole, unmoved, thanked him for this piece of information. Sandys returned to his seat, and, standing up soon after, he acquainted the House with his intention of opening on Friday a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the chancellor of the exchequer, who he therefore hoped would on that day be present. Walpole instantly rose, and with great composure publicly thanked Sandys for his notice: he requested an impartial hearing, declared that he would not fail to attend the House on Friday, as he was not conscious of any crime, and then, laying his hand on his breast, he said with some emotion, "*Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ.*" His former friend, and now inveterate enemy, Pulteney, untouched by the minister's emotion, declared that his Latin was as bad as his logic—that he had misquoted Horace, who had written *nullâ pallescere culpâ*. Walpole, who had not had much time for the classics, was hurt at being called to task; he defended his quotation, and offered to bet a guinea on its correctness. Pulteney took the bet and referred to the minister's friend Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the House, and a reputed scholar. Hardinge decided against Walpole, and thereupon the guinea was tossed to Pulteney, who, holding it up to the House, exclaimed—"It is the only money I have received from the Treasury for many years, and it shall be the last." On the black Friday the motion-maker stood up in a crowded House, and began his terrible accusations with a sonorous voice.* After a preamble showing the difference between absolute monarchies and a kingdom like England, and saying that he had long expected such a motion to have been brought forward by some other gentleman more capable than himself, Sandys declared that the nation was in a most miserable condition, engaged in a war with one potentate, and likely to be involved in another, without one steady ally abroad, and with an immense debt bearing her down at home. In regard to foreign affairs he said that we had departed from all our old principles, which tended to depress our inveterate enemy the House of Bourbon, and had basely abandoned and consequently lost our natural ally the House of Austria. He could not attempt to deny that the treaty of Utrecht, in Queen Anne's time, had been the cause of much mischief; but he thought that the evils of that treaty might have been repaired by the Quadruple Alliance and by the glorious victory which Admiral Byng had gained over the Spanish fleet off the coast of Sicily. He insisted that our alliance with the French had been a monstrous thing, which had at last brought the balance of power into the utmost danger, if not to inevitable destruction; and he said that we ought to have taken advantage of the resentment entertained by Philip of Spain against the French court, for returning upon his hands the infanta his daughter after she had been affianced to Louis XV., and to have then assisted the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon in a war against the French branch. Neither Sandys nor any other politician of the day was capable of rising above dupery, or of viewing foreign politics in any other light than that of a clever system of trick. Continuing his long harangue, he said—"But the most pernicious of all our pernicious measures was the treaty of Hanover. When the alliance between Spain and the emperor was concluded, we, who by a little dexterity might have *duped* France, who has *duped* us so often, instead of doing so, by the treaty of Hanover flung ourselves into her arms, and England's affairs seem ever since to have been managed by a French interest." He asserted

* The continuation of Carteret's speech was still more indecorous. "He may," said he, "have a little low cunning, such as those have that buy cattle in Smithfield market, or such as a French valet makes use of for managing an indulgent master, but the whole tenor of his conduct has shown that he has no true wisdom."

* At one time there were nearly 500 members present. Several of the members had secured their seats as early as six in the morning The debate did not begin till one in the afternoon. The passages to the gallery were crowded, and an immense crowd was collected outside of the House.

that when we most needed assistance ministers had never demanded it from the French, because they knew that none would be granted. In the same manner he condemned the act of the Pardo, the treaty of Seville, and every other negotiation. He blamed Walpole for suffering the emperor to lose Sicily and Naples, and for permitting France to gain Lorraine. "That great man Admiral Vernon" —for so it suited the purposes of party to style a man who was neither great nor wise—had represented all these things frequently, and had warned the House of Commons against the perfidy of France—"for which reason it was contrived that he should be excluded from the next parliament, and he was likewise denied his rank." The convention, about which so much had been said, was again held up to abhorrence; and, having finished with foreign politics, the long-winded motion-maker fell upon home affairs. Here he threw the entire onus of the South Sea Company mania upon Walpole, whom he directly accused of wicked, avaricious, and fraudulent views. He went deep into the sinking-fund, and averred that since the year 1727 it must have produced not less than fifteen millions, all which he said had been "spent in Spithead expeditions and Hyde Park reviews." Among the unconstitutional doings of the minister he counted the large standing army—bribery and corruption—penal laws of an arbitrary tendency—frequent votes of credit—the increased expenses of the civil list—the successful resistance to the abolition of burdensome taxes, proceeding from the principle that the collection of these taxes rendered necessary a great number of officers and placemen —and the dismissing of officers from the army for voting against the excise scheme, which he called one of the worst projects ever set on foot by any minister. Having thus discussed foreign affairs and home affairs, Sandys went minutely into the management of this present war, declaring that everything that ought to have been done had been left undone, and that everything that ought to have been left undone had been done, and that the ministry had more particulary hampered and ill-treated the great Admiral Vernon. In concluding his harangue Sandys said—"I believe no one can mistake the person to whom I allude: every one must be convinced that I mean the right honourable gentleman opposite, and the whole House may see that the right honourable gentleman takes it to himself; that against him there is as general a discontent as there ever was against any minister. Yet, though this discontent has lasted so long, that right honourable gentleman continues in his post, in opposition to the sense of the country. This is no sign of the freedom of government, because a free people neither will nor can be governed by a minister whom they hate or despise. . . . . This gentleman has arrogated to himself a place of French extraction, that of sole minister, contrary to the nature and principles of the English constitution. . . . . If it should be asked why I impute all these evils to one person, I reply, because that one person has grasped in his own hands every branch of government; that one person has attained the sole direction of affairs, monopolised all the favours of the crown, compassed the disposal of all places, pensions, titles, ribands, as well as all preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; that one person has made a blind submission to his will, both in elections and parliament, the only terms of present favour and future expectation. . . . . I therefore move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and counsels for ever." Lord Limerick seconded the motion, declaring that the nation was reduced to the lowest state, that the reins of government were held by a sole minister, who lived by expedients, and who removed the best and ablest men in the army for opposing him in parliament. Next Mr. Wortley Montague, an enormously rich gentleman and the very dull husband of a brisk and witty wife, proposed that, according to many old precedents, Sir Robert should be ordered to retire from the House while his conduct was examined. Wortley Montague was seconded by Gibbon, but the motion was warmly opposed by Bromley and Howe, and the majority of the House seemed to consider the precedents quoted as very harsh to the party accused, or as altogether inapplicable. Gibbon then proposed that Walpole should be first heard in his own defence, and then ordered to withdraw; it being, he said, to be clearly understood, that neither the life and liberty nor the estate of the minister would be affected by the decision. It was urged, on the other side, that it was a most unprecedented mode of proceeding to charge a gentleman in general terms, by speeches only, without any written documents, without the statement of any particular facts, without any evidence of any kind; and then to expect that he should withdraw, and that other members should be permitted to load him with general accusations. Notwithstanding the absurdity and injustice of Gibbon's proposal, the opposition strenuously supported it; but at last, yielding to the general sense of the House, they withdrew it; and it was then resolved that the accused minister should hear every charge, and should be himself the last to speak. The House then reverted to the main question; and Pulteney, Pitt, Bootle, Fazakerly, Littleton, and others, charged Walpole with as much acrimony as Sandys had displayed in the beginning. Pulteney, who probably had had a hand in the composition of Sandys's speech, merely played a lively variation upon it; but he particularly insisted upon the monstrous folly and crime of which the minister had been guilty in contracting alliances with the French court, and exalting the House of Bourbon at the expense of the House of Austria. Pitt declared that during Walpole's administration debts were increased and taxes multiplied at home, while abroad the system of Europe was totally subverted; and he held "that at this awful

moment, when the greatest scene was opening to Europe that had ever before occurred, he who had lost the confidence of all mankind should not be permitted to continue at the head of his majesty's government." While other members of the opposition were comparing Walpole to the most worthless favourites and minions of royalty,—even to Piers Gaveston and Le Despenser,—and were charging him with crimes for which the scaffold seemed too mild a punishment, Edward Harley, the brother of the late lord-treasurer Oxford, displayed something that looked like magnanimity. "I have opposed the measures of administration," said he, "because I thought them wrong. . . . . The state of the nation, by the conduct of our ministers, is deplorable; a war is destroying us abroad, and poverty and corruption are devouring us at home. But, whatever I may think of men, God forbid that my private opinion should be the only rule of my judgment. I should desire to have an exterior conviction from facts and evidences, and, without this, I am so far from condemning, that I would not censure any man. . . . A noble lord, to whom I had the honour to be related, has been often mentioned in this debate: he was impeached and imprisoned; by that imprisonment his years were shortened; and the prosecution was carried on by the honourable person who is now the subject of your question, though he knew at that very time that there was no evidence to support it. I am now glad of this opportunity to return good for evil, and to do that right honourable gentleman and his family that justice which he denied to mine." So saying, he left the House, and was followed by his relative, Mr. Robert Harley. The thorough Shippen, who in many respects merited his other name, "the honest," also refused to strike the falling minister. He declared that he looked upon the motion merely as a scheme for turning out one minister and bringing in another; that, as he had never any regard to his own private interest, it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and that he should give himself no concern in the question: and, so saying, he too withdrew, and was followed by *thirty-four* of his party. Shippen's behaviour has been accounted for by the following circumstances. Some time before the minister had discovered a correspondence which a Jacobite, a bosom friend of Shippen's, was carrying on with the Pretender, and which by law might have been punished even with death. Shippen called upon the minister and implored him to save his friend, and Walpole readily complied, saying to him, "Mr. Shippen, I cannot desire you to vote with my administration, for, with your principles, I have no right to expect it. But I only require, whenever any question is brought forward in the House affecting me personally, that you will recollect the favour I have now granted you."* But the conduct of Shippen is also accounted for in another way, which will equally explain (which the anecdote just related does not) the conduct of the rest of the high Tories and Jacobites, who were bound by no obligation, and who had given Walpole no such promise. Thomas Carte, the Jacobite historian, whom Queen Caroline had permitted to return to England, says distinctly, in a letter to the Pretender, that his party were irritated at the suddenness of Sandys's motion, and at their not having been previously consulted. "It was set on foot," writes Carte, "by the Duke of Argyll and the party of *old* Whigs, without either concerting measures with the Tories or acquainting them with the matter; so that, when it was moved in the Commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence: and all they could say could not keep Will Shippen and twenty-three others of the Tories from leaving the House in a body. All Prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Littleton, Pitt, and Grenville, left the House; so that, though there were once above 500 members in the House, when the question came to be put there were not above 400 present."* There is still another reason given for the departure and non-voting of the Jacobites, and a strange one it is. In the midst of his embarrassments and difficulties Walpole himself addressed a letter to the Pretender, with the view of softening the animosities of his partisans in England; and it is said that James was induced to believe that George's prime minister intended to serve him, and sent suitable instructions to the Jacobite members.† How-

* Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. The archdeacon says that this curious fact was communicated to him by a member of the Shippen family.

* Letter to James, in Stuart Papers, as given by Lord Mahon, Appendix.

† See *Lord* Mahon's Appendix.—Bolingbroke seems to have thought that the hot Tories or the Jacobites marred the business through a miserable blunder; and that if his friend and their great leader, Sir William Wyndham, had been alive, matters would have been managed very differently. In a letter to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in which he calls England a despicable and despised country, he says,—"The conduct of the Tories is silly, infamous, and void of any colour of excuse; and yet the truth is, that the behaviour and language of some of those who complain on this occasion has prepared it, and given Shippen, who disliked the coalition (with the discontented Whigs) from the first as much as Walpole, a pretence to make his fools break it. . . . . The reflection you make concerning our departed friend renews all the bitterness of sorrow that I felt when we lost him. He did not expect, any more than I have long done, to render this generation of Tories of much good use to their country; and, though he came to it late, he came at last to have as bad opinions of Shippen as you see the man deserves. But still, if he had lived, he would have hindered these strange creatures (I can hardly call them men) from doing all the mischief they have lately done, and will perhaps continue to do." *Marchmont Papers.* —But unless Will Shippen had been a finished dissembler, a Proteus like Bolingbroke, he could never have acted consonantly with the discontented Whigs, who wanted a *change* of ministers, but certainly no change of dynasty. Shippen, on the other side, wanted above all things the restoration of the Stuarts; and, being a blunt, warm-hearted, and hot-headed man, he hardly ever made a secret of his inclinations: at the meetings of the heterogeneous opposition he disgusted the discontented Whigs, or "the *old* Whigs" as they called themselves, by proclaiming the absolute necessity of bringing the Pretender to the throne; while among his more intimate friends he would often declare that he waited for instructions or orders from the Pretender before he would give his vote in the House of Commons. Shippen's great and rare merit seems to have been his disinterestedness in money matters. His vote was never to be bought. It was a dictum of Walpole that he would not say who was corrupted, but he would say who was not corruptible,—and that man was Will Shippen. He once refused a bribe of a thousand pounds from the Prince of Wales,—a wonderful stretch of virtue in those days.

ever this may be, when the Jacobites were all gone, and when all the *old* Whigs had done speaking, Sir Robert rose to have the last word in defence of himself. The speech he delivered has been admitted to be his masterpiece; and, even as it is reported, it abounds with striking and most effective passages. He observed that the parties combined against him might be divided into three classes—the Tories,—the disaffected Whigs, calling themselves patriots,—and the *boys*. In fact, nearly every young man in the House was in opposition, as very young men, for the most part, are apt to be. To the first class Walpole's tone was mild and almost conciliatory, but it became sharp and cruel as a two-edged sword when he fell upon the discontented Whigs. "These patriots," he exclaimed, "are such from discontent and disappointment, who would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. They have laboured at this point for twenty years, and unsuccessfully; they are impatient of longer delay. They clamour for change of measures, but mean only change of ministers. In party contests why should not both sides be equally steady? Does not a Whig administration as well deserve the support of the Whigs as the contrary? Why is not principle the cement in one as well as the other, especially when they confess that all is levelled against one man? Why this one man? Because they think, vainly, nobody else could withstand them. All others are treated as tools and vassals. The one is the corrupter, the numbers corrupted. But whence this cry of corruption and exclusive claim of honourable distinction? Compare the estates, character, and fortunes of the Commons on one side with those on the other. Let the matter be fairly investigated; survey and examine the individuals who usually support the measures of government and those who are in opposition. Let us see to whose side the balance preponderates. Look round both Houses, and see to which side the balance of virtue and talent preponderates. Are all these on one side, and not on the other? Or are all these to be counterbalanced by an affected claim to the exclusive title of patriotism? Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable word when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that, of late, it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace; the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot! I have never been afraid of making patriots, but I disclaim and despise all their efforts. But this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and from disappointed ambition. There is not a man amongst them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition." Proceeding to consider the articles of accusation which they had brought against him, and which they had not thought fit to reduce to specific charges, he spoke of foreign affairs first, and complained, with some reason, of the way in which they had managed the question, by blending numerous treaties and complicated negotiations into one general mass, by stigmatizing the whole diplomacy of Europe for thirty years past, and making him accountable for all its shiftings and changings, and all its mischiefs and errors. "To form a fair and candid judgment," said he, "it becomes necessary not to consider the treaties merely insulated; but to advert to the time in which they were made,—to the circumstances and situation of Europe when they were made,—to the peculiar situation in which I stand,—and to the power which I possessed. I am called, repeatedly and insidiously, prime and sole minister. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that I am prime and sole minister in this country, am I, therefore, prime and sole minister of all Europe? Am I answerable for the conduct of other countries as well as for that of my own? Many words are not wanting to show that the particular views of each court occasioned the dangers which affected the public tranquillity; yet the whole is charged to my account. Nor is this sufficient; whatever was the conduct of England, I am equally arraigned. If we maintained ourselves in peace, and took no share in foreign transactions, we are reproached for tameness and pusillanimity. If, on the contrary, we interfered in the disputes, we are called Don Quixotes and dupes to all the world. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked, why is the nation wantonly burdened? If guarantees were declined, we were reproached with having no allies." He showed that the balance of power in Europe, and the whole scheme of European policy, had been affected and altered by the peace of Utrecht, which suffered the Bourbon Philip to remain on the Spanish throne, but which was concluded long before he became minister. The Quadruple Alliance, he said, was the inevitable consequence of that treaty, but he was not accountable for that, though he had been unwillingly an accessory to the execution of it. He maintained that France was not to be considered eternally the enemy of England; that there were circumstances in which the interests of the two countries might coincide, and in which the friendship of France was more valuable than that of any other nation. The treaty of Hanover he defended as an indispensable measure to counteract the treaty of Vienna, which aimed at nothing less than depriving us of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and forcing the Pretender upon us, while, in its continental bearings, it tended to produce the dangerous union on one head of the imperial crown, the crowns of France and Spain, the crowns of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, &c., as Don Carlos, the son of the Spanish king, was to have married Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter. In

concluding this subject Walpole said,—"I do not pretend to be a great master of foreign affairs. In that post in which I have the honour to serve his majesty it is not my business to interfere; and as one of his majesty's counsellors I have but one voice; but if I had been the sole adviser of the treaty of Hanover, and of all the measures which were taken in pursuance of it, I hope it will appear that I do not deserve to be censured either as a weak or a wicked minister on that account." He then went to the subject of the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, expressing his surprise to find that a measure which, at the time, had been so universally approved both within doors and without, should now be objected to. All men, he said, agreed that the inheritance of the late emperor should be secured to his daughter, and not parcelled out among a number of claimants, or left to aggrandize some other power already sufficiently great and formidable. Even those who were now blaming him for the guarantee had insisted, in this very debate, on the necessity of preserving entire the dominions of the House of Austria, as something essential to the political balance of power in Europe. He maintained that that balance had been scarcely disturbed at all by Don Carlos's conquests in Italy, for, though Austria had lost Naples and Sicily, she had got in lieu of them Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza; and as to the power of France being increased by the acquisition of Lorraine, he said, with perfect truth, that that country for a long time had been a mere province, of which she had taken and kept possession whenever she pleased or whenever war broke out. As to the Spanish Convention, he said, again, that he had gone into it out of his love of peace, and in the confident hope that all differences might be accommodated in an amicable manner; and that, if Spain had honestly performed her part of that preliminary treaty, his hope would not have ended in disappointment and war. He urged that it was no fault of his if England had to carry on this war single-handed,—that other countries shunned her alliance because, at this crisis, they had other views and interests. "Sweden corrupted by France; Denmark tempted and wavering; the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel almost gained; the King of Prussia, the emperor, and the czarina, with whom alliances were negotiated, all dead; the Austrian dominions claimed by Spain and Bavaria; the Elector of Saxony hesitating whether he should accede to the general confederacy planned by France; the court of Vienna irresolute and indecisive. In this critical juncture, if France enters into engagements with Prussia, and if the Queen of Hungary hesitates and listens to France, are all or any of these events to be imputed to English counsels? and, if to English counsels, why are they to be attributed to one man?" He next passed to his conduct of domestic affairs, maintaining that, if guilty, the whole cabinet shared in his guilt,—nay, that if there was any ground for this imputation, it bore equally upon King, Lords, and Commons: but that there was no ground for any such accusation; no proof of what was alleged; that no expenses had been incurred but what had been approved of and provided for by parliament; that he had practised no bribery or corruption (which was notoriously false); that, if some members of both Houses had been deprived of their commissions, or removed from their employments under the crown, they had been so removed because his majesty, who had a right so to do, did not think fit to continue them longer in his service. He was more successful in replying to Shippen's charges against his administration of the sinking fund; and he showed that, within the last sixteen or seventeen years, no less than eight millions of the national debt had been actually discharged by the new application of that fund, and that at least seven millions had been taken from that fund and applied to the relief of the agricultural interest by the diminution of the land-tax. As to the South Sea scheme, it was no project of his; and he asked whether he had not been called on by the voice of the king and the unanimous voice of the nation to remedy the fatal effects produced by it? He proceeded with these pertinent queries:—"Was I not placed at the head of the Treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived? Does it not now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height? and, if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved at home, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has not trade flourished?" As to the conduct of the war, he said, "As I am neither admiral nor general, as I have nothing to do either with our navy or army, I am sure I am not answerable for the prosecution of it. But, were I to answer for everything, no fault could, I think, be found with my conduct in the prosecution of this war. ..... If our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for so many years been haranguing against standing armies; for, without a sufficient number of regular troops in proportion to the numbers kept up by our neighbours, I am sure we can neither defend ourselves nor offend our enemies." In concluding his long and really eloquent defence, he said,—"What have been the effects of the corruption, ambition, and avarice with which I am so abundantly charged? Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon; a corrupter himself not corrupt! Is ambition imputed to me? Why, then, do I still continue a commoner? I, who refused a white staff and a peerage. I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders (the ribbon of the Order of the Garter) which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But, surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in another place, it cannot be supposed to raise any

resentment in this House, where many may be pleased to see those honours which their ancestors have worn restored again to the Commons. Have I given any symptoms of an avaricious disposition? Have I obtained any grants from the crown since I have been placed at the head of the Treasury? Has my conduct been different from that which others in the same station would have followed? Have I acted wrong in giving the place of auditor to my son, and in providing for my own family? I trust that their advancement will not be imputed to me as a crime, unless it shall be proved that I placed them in offices of trust and responsibility for which they were unfit. But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honour to hold; and should, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable. To conclude, Sir, though I shall always be proud of the honour of any trust or confidence from his majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not for the encroachment that will thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the crown. But I must think that an address to his majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogatives of the crown; and therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope that all those that have a due regard for our constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the crown, without which our constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion." It was four o'clock in the morning ere Walpole had done speaking, and then, upon a speedy division, Sandys's motion was rejected by a majority of 290 to 106. Carte says, in his letter to the Pretender already cited,—"Had all Sir Robert's actual opponents stayed, he would not have carried the question by above fifty votes; but the retiring of so many encouraged others to stay, and even vote for him, who durst not else have done it. Among those who so voted were Lord Cornbury, Lord Quarendon, the Earl of Lichfield's son, Mr. Bathurst, son of the lord of that name, and Lord Andover, son to the Earl of Berkshire; though the fathers of the three last voted against Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Lords." On the same day that Sandys made his motion in the Commons, Lord Carteret produced its counterpart in the Lords;* and was strenuously supported by the Dukes of Argyll and Bedford, the Earls of Sandwich, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, and the Lords Haversham and Bathurst. On the other side, the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the Lord Chancellor, Sherlock Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Ilay, and Lord Hervey spoke as warmly against the motion, which was finally rejected by a majority of 108 to 59. Thirty-one peers signed a hot protest. The Prince of Wales was in the House, but did not vote; and it was observed that Lord Wilmington, and several other peers holding places under government, neither voted nor spoke pro or con.* The peers' protest is said to have been prepared by the minister's arch enemy Bolingbroke, who could not be quiet in his rose-bowers at Chanteloup. "This weak attempt," says Carte to the Pretender, "to ruin Sir Robert, has established him more firmly in the ministry; and he was never known to have so great a levee as the next morning; though it is marking him out to the nation, and ministers once attacked in such a manner, though the attack be defeated, seldom keep their posts long, by reason of the general odium; and the Duke of Buckingham had a worse fate in 1628.†" It appears that Walpole himself felt that his fall was only delayed for a season; at least, it is said, that he remarked to Sandys, in a private conversation, that they might get the better of him, but he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done.‡ A recent writer, who, since expressing this opinion, has himself been tried in the same furnace, thinks that, after this victory, Walpole, tired of party war, and growing inactive from age, fell into a sort of lethargy of power, flattering his indolence with the belief that the opposition to his

* Chesterfield, in a letter to Lord Marchmont, relates what took place in the Upper House. "Pulteney gave up the point at once with alacrity in the House of Commons, seconded by your friend Sandys, who went still further than he to make his court upon the tender point of Hanover. The next day the king's speech was to be considered in our House, when, before the meeting of the House, Carteret came up to the Duke of Argyll and myself, and said to us, 'You heard what was done in the House of Commons yesterday; we shall do the same here to-day.' We answered that we had not the least intention of doing the same, for that we should certainly oppose the motion; at which he seemed concerned and surprised. Accordingly the Duke of Argyll threw the first stone at the motion for the address, and I, the second and last; then Carteret opened himself with all the zeal and heart of a convert or an apostate, which you please, if a man can be called either who has no religion at all. We divided the House, not so much to show our own strength, which we knew, but his weakness; and, indeed, it appeared upon the division that he left us *lui trosième et demi* only, that is, himself, Winchelsea, Roxburgh, and Berkeley of Stratton, who will not always go with him; the others who left us, such as Northampton and Oxford, doing it visibly upon other considerations. His Royal Highness behaved very sillily upon this occasion, making Lords North and Darnley vote against us; such was the power of the *natale solum*. This has hurt him much in the public. Our opposition in the House of Lords had liked to have spirited up one in the House of Commons in the committee, in which Pulteney would have been brought to the same trial as his friend Carteret, and I dare say would have acted in the same manner; but I prevented, though with difficulty, that opposition, because I plainly saw that it would be almost only a Tory opposition, and that Pulteney would have carried two-thirds of the Whigs present along with him; a triumph which I thought it better he should not have at the end of this parliament."—*Marchmont Papers.*

* Hence Wilmington and the rest got the name of *sneakers.*

† Letter already cited. The Jacobite writer says, in continuation, "Sir Robert, however, is as yet absolute master of the administration; and as the squabbles and animosities between those left in it last year obstructed all business then, he will take care, probably, to have it so modelled, now that his master is going into Germany, for his purpose, that all the power will be in his own hands. I wish he may make a proper use of it."

‡ Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough.

government was dispirited and dispersed.* But we confess that we can see no proof of this lethargy and inactivity, though we can see a thousand reasons why no vigour, no activity, no means within human control, could possibly have preserved him much longer in his envied seat.

As all parties in parliament had seemed to agree in the necessity of supporting the fair heiress of the emperor,—as Maria Theresa, a female attacked by a confederacy of selfish princes, was a popular favourite in England,—and as George was not without alarm for the security of his German dominions,—it was presently resolved to do something in conformity with the obligations of our guarantee. On the 8th of April the king, in a speech from the throne, announced his determination to adhere to the engagements he was under, in order to the maintaining of the balance of power and the liberties of Europe. "The war which has broke out," continued his majesty, "and the various and extensive claims which are made on the late emperor's succession, are new events that require the utmost care and attention, as they may involve all Europe in a bloody war, and in consequence expose the dominions of such princes as shall take part in support of the Pragmatic Sanction to imminent and immediate danger. The Queen of Hungary has already made to us a requisition of the twelve thousand men expressly stipulated by treaty; and thereupon I have demanded of the King of Denmark, and of the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their respective bodies of troops, consisting of 6000 men each, to be in readiness to march forthwith to the assistance of her Hungarian majesty." The speech further imported that other measures were concerting to disappoint the dangerous designs carrying on against the House of Austria; that his majesty might be obliged to enter into still greater expenses for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction; and that in a conjuncture so critical he desired the concurrence of his parliament in enabling him to contribute in an effectual manner to the support of the assailed and injured Queen of Hungary. When the debate came on in the Commons, Clutterbuck, one of the lords of the treasury, committed a great mistake by making too prominent his majesty's alarms about Hanover. "We ought," said this mal-adroit orator, "to pronounce that the territories of Hanover will be considered on this occasion as the dominions of England, and that any attack on one or the other will be equally resented." The opposition, who could not in decency have said a word against the supporting of Maria Theresa, caught hold of this unlucky expression, and declared that, but for the fears about Hanover, the Austrian inheritance would have been left to run its chance—the Queen of Hungary would have been unaided! Ever since the accession of the Georges the English people had been taught to loathe the very name of Hanover: any argument, any declamation about sacrificing their interests for the aggrandizement or preservation of that electorate, was sure to transport them; and therefore Pulteney made a long speech on the subject, affirming, among other things, that by the Act of Settlement, which advanced the present family to the throne, it was provided that England should never be involved in a war for the enlargement or protection of the dominions of Hanover—"dominions," said Pulteney, "from which we never expected nor received any benefit, and for which therefore nothing ought to be either suffered or hazarded." Walpole remedied the mistake of Clutterbuck by drawing attention from the electorate to that vast composite of states the Austrian empire, and by recapitulating the specific obligations we had contracted by the treaty in which we guaranteed the succession. He showed that the Dutch had engaged to supply the Queen of Hungary with 5000 men, and that it was agreed between the Dutch and ourselves to unite, if necessary, our whole force in the defence of our ally Maria Theresa, and in support of the balance of power. "By these stipulations," said he, "no engagements have been formed that can be imagined to have been prohibited by the Act of Settlement, by which it is provided that the House of Hanover shall not plunge this nation into a war for the sake of their foreign dominions, without the consent of the parliament; for this war is by no means entered upon for the particular security of Hanover, but for the general advantage of Europe, to repress the ambition of the French, and to preserve ourselves and our posterity from the most abject dependence." Sandys made a speech and said something about allegiance being due to the King of Great Britain and not to the Elector of Hanover; but an address in terms of assenting response to the royal speech was carried without a division; and on the 13th of April Walpole moved for and obtained—also without a division—a subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary. Yet this vote had scarcely passed ere Lord Carteret assured the court of Vienna that it was not owing to the good disposition of the ministry, but extorted by the unanimous voice of parliament and people; and by these and similar assertions Carteret and some of his party created a prejudice in Maria Theresa against Walpole, which made her turn a deaf ear to his suggestions for slight sacrifices of territory to secure the remainder.

On the 25th of April the parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, and, as it had sat nearly its limited term of seven years, it was dissolved immediately after, and writs were issued for new elections, returnable the 25th day of June. Walpole, well knowing the difficulties he should be left under, implored the king to put off his usual journey; but his influence was fast declining, George was anxious to get to Hanover, and he embarked on the 7th of May. About a month before his departure Frederick of Prussia won a great battle in spite of a lamentable display of per-

* Lord John Russell.

sonal cowardice—a display he never made again. Maria Theresa's general the Marshal Neuperg had collected an army in Upper Silesia, and after relieving some places that were besieged and retaking Grotkau, he established himself on the 9th of April at Molwitz. On the 10th Frederick came up and attacked Neuperg between Molwitz and Groningen. After a vigorous cannonade on both sides the brave Hungarian hussars—among the best light horse in the world—turned the Prussian left wing and got possession of Frederick's baggage; and soon after the Baron de Raumer, with a mass of Austrian heavy cavalry, fell upon Frederick's right, routed his horse there, and penetrated between the two lines of his infantry. Frederick, who had hardly ever been under fire before, thought that the battle was lost; and, carried along by his own flying cavalry, he fled as far as Oppelm, and there took refuge in a windmill. But in the mean time his well disciplined infantry not only stood their ground, but also repelled the Austrian cavalry, who, after losing de Raumer and a vast number of their men, drew off in such depressed spirits that they could not be brought to charge again. General Berlichengen led the Austrian right wing *en masse* against the Prussian left, and pushed it before him; but Frederick's foot soon rallied, and, under Marshal Schwerin, they not only repulsed the Austrians but gained ground upon them. Berlichengen tried to rally behind a ravine; but the attempt was vain; the disorder spread through the whole Austrian line, and presently the army which almost seemed the forlorn hope of Maria Theresa was in headlong retreat. Nearly five thousand men were killed and wounded; and nine pieces of cannon and four standards were taken from the Austrians. But the Prussians had paid dearly for their victory; 4,600 of them were killed and wounded. The discipline of their infantry was most admirable, and was mainly owing to Marshal Schwerin, who had been formed in the school of Marlborough and Eugene. Many faults, in tactics and in strategy, had however been committed. Frederick, who was afterwards the historian of his own wars, coolly confesses that in this campaign it seemed as if he and Count Neuperg had been trying which should commit the most faults:—but he adds, "Molwitz was the school of the King of Prussia and his troops, for that prince reflected profoundly upon all the faults and errors he had fallen into, and tried to correct them for the future."* After the battle Neuperg recrossed the river Neisse, and entrenched himself to wait for reinforcements; Frederick went and opened trenches before the important town of Brieg, which, though bravely defended by Piccolomini, was compelled to capitulate on the 4th of May. These rapid successes of the Prussians determined the King of France to disregard his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and to make common cause with Frederick, the French being once more transported with that old and so often defeated hope of making an end of the House of Austria. The Marshal de Belleisle, who had been watching proceedings at Frankfort where a diet had assembled to elect a new emperor, was dispatched into Silesia to conclude an alliance with the conqueror, the chief articles of which were to be—1. The elevation of that old ally of France, the Elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity.—2. The division and dismemberment of the provinces of the Queen of Hungary.—3. The guarantee of France to the King of Prussia of all Lower Silesia, provided only he would renounce his claims upon the Duchies of Juliers and Berg, and give his vote at the diet to the Elector of Bavaria. Belleisle had also power to stipulate that France should send two armies into the empire to assist the Elector of Bavaria and to keep in check King George's army collected or collecting in Hanover. A more unprincipled scheme of dismemberment and partition has rarely been entertained by any court; but Belleisle seems in his wishes and inclinations to have gone even farther than the cabinet which employed him, and to have entertained the idea that nothing should be left to Maria Theresa that could possibly be taken from her. "He seemed," says Frederick, "as if he thought that all the territories of the Queen of Hungary were already on sale to the highest bidder." One day, when he observed the unscrupulous Frenchman more preoccupied or absent-minded than usual, Frederick asked him whether he had heard any bad news? "None, Sire," said the marshal, "none: but what now embarrasses me is, that I cannot settle what we shall do with Moravia." Frederick, as a good joke, told him he had better offer it to the King of Poland! But the quick-sighted Prussian had by this time discovered that Belleisle was a visionary, and that he could not wisely conclude so important a bargain with France without deliberation and some fore-knowledge of the designs of England and her allies. These designs were still pacific, or, at least, Walpole most earnestly desired that all the resources of diplomacy should be employed before recourse was had to the sword. He was negotiating with all his might to procure some cessions and concessions from Maria Theresa, to detach Frederick from the confederacy of which France was or would be the head, and to convert him into an ally—judging correctly that if the sword of Prussia were once thrown into his scale the confederacy would break to pieces, and her Hungarian majesty be left undisturbed. In some respects the minister was not well seconded by the sovereign, and the difficulties he had to encounter from Austrian obstinacy and Prussian presumption were very great. He sent the accomplished John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford, to the camp of Frederick, and Mr. Robinson to the court of Vienna. Lord Hyndford, thinking perhaps that a young prince would not be altogether insensible to gallantry and magnanimity, and might even be

* Histoire de Mon Temps.—Life of Frederick II., King of Prussia, by Lord Dover.

brought to blush at the idea of falling upon a defenceless woman, tried hard to induce Frederick to lower his pretensions and display generosity and magnanimity, which were such beautiful things in a conqueror. The cold and wiry Prussian soon interrupted him by saying, "Talk not to me, my lord, of magnanimity! A prince ought first to consult his own interests. I am not averse to a peace, but I expect to have four duchies, and *I will* have them." At the same time Robinson was equally unsuccessful at Vienna. Weak as she was and as she knew herself to be—terrible as was the confederacy forming against her, Maria Theresa absolutely refused to yield to Frederick any part of Silesia, or to admit the justice of the Prussian claim. At last she most reluctantly agreed to buy a peace by giving up the Duchy of Limbourg and some other strips of land in the Low Countries. Yet in empowering Robinson to make this offer to Frederick she passionately exclaimed—"I hope he may reject it!" When Robinson arrived at the head quarters of the Prussian army and opened his commission to the king, he met precisely the kind of reception he expected, though probably he was not prepared for the stage-tone and action which the royal Prussian had learned from an attentive study of French tragedies and a close intimacy with French authors and courtiers. "Still beggarly offers!" cried this pupil of Voltaire; "since you have nothing to propose on the side of Silesia, all negotiations are useless. My ancestors would rise out of their tombs to reproach me, should I abandon my just rights." And, so saying, he took off his hat and rushed behind the curtain of his tent, after the fashion of a hero of a French tragedy, when something terrible is to be done. But, while Walpole sent Lord Hyndford as minister plenipotentiary from England, George sent to the same camp Mr. Schwickelt in the same capacity from Hanover; and, if we may believe Frederick himself, the Scottish lord and the Hanoverian were the bearers of very different messages. He says that Schwickelt offered the neutrality of his master George, if he would only cede or agree to the cession of certain territories to square the Electorate of Hanover! Frederick could lie, both royally and diplomatically; and, even though he narrates this story long after the events and the heats of the contest, some doubt may reasonably be entertained as to its truth, particularly when we reflect that a hatred of his uncle George was ever a strong passion in the mind of Frederick. Walpole also sent ambassadors or agents in other directions. He was well represented at the court of Russia by the Honourable Edward Finch, and it was agreed that a Russian army, assembled in Livonia, should act against Prussia, and thus oblige Frederick to divide his conquering army; but, unfortunately, France was all prevalent at the Swedish court; Sweden was made to declare war against Russia, and, owing to that circumstance, and to internal commotions and changes, Russia sent not a man in aid of Maria Theresa. Still, however, Frederick was alarmed by reports of the marching of Danish and Hessian troops in the pay of his uncle of England, and of demonstrations making in Saxony; and, seeing that he must have some great ally, or be quiet, he at length concluded the treaty offered by France, stipulating that it should be kept secret till the French arms were ready to act in his favour. He says himself that the secret *was* kept by the French; and he boasts how he succeeded in amusing Lord Hyndford and Schwickelt with empty negotiations as long as was necessary for his purpose. While fresh encouragements were given to the Jacobites to attempt another civil war in Scotland, the French court, where the pacific Cardinal Fleury had grown old and powerless, hurried Marshal Maillebois across the Rhine with one army, and detached the Marshals Belleisle and De Broglie with another. Maillebois, after crossing the Rhine, moved straight upon Hanover, where King George was then residing, and probably now wishing that he had taken Walpole's advice and remained in England. He was employed in assembling, reviewing, and drilling the troops he had subsidised, when he learned the rapid approach of the French. Too weak to stop their march, and dreading the worst for his electoral dominions, George hastened to conclude one year's neutrality for Hanover, stipulating that, during that period, she should afford no assistance whatever to Maria Theresa, and that, at the ensuing election of emperor, he, as an elector, would not give his vote in favour of her husband, who very unwisely pretended to the dignity. As soon as it was known in England this treaty excited universal indignation, and was denounced on every side as cowardly, selfish, and base. George had been very anxious for a war, but, personally, his *début* was a most unfortunate one! In the mean while Belleisle and De Broglie, having joined the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, reduced the important city of Lintz, and pushed forward for Vienna. When these French and Bavarians had thrown their outposts within three leagues of her ancient capital, Maria Theresa departed with her infant son into Hungary, leaving her husband and his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, to defend Vienna.* But, in calculating the weakness of the Queen of Hungary, her enemies had overlooked her really strong point—which was the devotion and valour of her Hungarian subjects. She had gratified that high-spirited people by many previous condescensions: in the preceding month of June she had been crowned at their ancient capital according to their ancient and national forms; and she had taken the oaths to preserve their constitution, which, defective and wholly aristocratic as it was, had yet tended more than any other cause to keep alive their gallant spirit. Though she spoke not Magyar, or the ancient and very peculiar lan-

* Maria Theresa, at the time of her flight from Vienna, was advanced in pregnancy; and she wrote to her mother-in-law, the Duchess-Dowager of Lorraine—"I do not know whether a single town will remain to me, in which I may be brought to bed."

guage of their country, she could discourse fluently in Latin, which all classes above the mere serfs used, and still use, as the general language of society, or as other nations employ French. She was then one of the most charming women in Europe; her countenance beautiful, her figure elegant, and her demeanour majestic. Now a fugitive and apparently abandoned by the rest of her subjects, she repaired again to the old walls of Presburg, where the Magnates and the other orders were assembled in diet or parliament. On the 11th of September she summoned them to attend her at the castle; and there, with her infant son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II., in her arms, she addressed the assembly in a Latin speech, made the more touching by the occasional interruption of sobs and tears. When she came to the words—"The kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown, are at stake!—forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valour of the renowned Hungarian states"—the Magnates and all present, as if animated by one soul, drew their sabres half way from the scabbard, and exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your majesty! We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa." Nor was this enthusiasm hollow or transient; the voice of war ran through the land; every Magnate flew to arms, and armed his vassals; every town—and there were several rich and flourishing, because they had been permitted to enjoy free municipal institutions—furnished troops, money to pay them, and provisions to support them; and the most distant provinces as the nearest—those who had only heard remotely of the beauty and distress of the queen, as well as those that were eye-witnesses—poured forth their warlike hosts, to fight to the death for Maria Theresa. In a country so poor in money, though rich in all natural products, the English subsidy of 300,000*l.* went a great way, and contributed very materially to the success of the war.

The Elector of Bavaria and the French marshal stopped short of Vienna, and turned aside into the kingdom of Bohemia, which was expected to be an easy prey. They advanced to Prague, the capital, and invested it. Prague was defended by Ogilvie, an Irish exile, with only 3000 men. Some of the Hungarian levies, headed by Maria Theresa's husband and his brother, moved rapidly to the relief of the Bohemian city; but before they could reach Prague it was taken. The Elector of Bavaria caused himself to be crowned as king of Bohemia, and then hurried away to Frankfort, where the Diet elected him emperor without one dissentient voice; George, as Elector of Hanover, being excluded from voting by the treaty he had made with the French. The solemn coronation of the Elector of Bavaria, who called himself the Emperor Charles VII., was not celebrated till the 14th of February of the following year, 1742, when this representative of the Cæsars was dying of gout and gravel, and scarcely able to stand.* In the mean time the King of Prussia, who had concluded a friendly treaty with the Elector of Bavaria before he became emperor, proceeded from one success to another, using both force and fraud with singular effect. By means of an intrigue of some Austrian old ladies, the important city of Breslau was taken without firing a shot, and the burghers took the oath of allegiance to Frederick. Count Neuperg was driven into Moravia by a lie: at the instance of Lord Hyndford, the court of Vienna had at length consented to cede Lower Silesia and a portion of Upper Silesia, and to withdraw Neuperg from that province, provided Frederick would declare upon his word that he would not attempt anything more against her Hungarian majesty. This temptation, says Frederick, was not to be resisted, the enemy being willing to rest satisfied with a *verbal* communication, which would acquire provinces to Prussia, and winter-quarters for her army, fatigued with eleven months of military labour.† This curious truce was, however, to be kept a profound secret; and the French and Bavarians were completely puzzled to see Frederick stop suddenly short in his career of conquest, and refuse to allow his army to act. He returned to Berlin; but, regardless of his promise, he left orders to Marshal Schwerin to push on his conquests at a proper moment; and, at the end of December, when the snow lay deep on the mountains, and when the Austrians expected no such attack, Schwerin rushed into Moravia, and besieged and took the important town and fortress of Olmutz. The French army, however, after getting a distant view of the old towers of Vienna, was driven out of Austria by Khevenhöller, who bravely pushed on into Bavaria, and eventually obliged the Bavarian army to abandon Prague and the whole of Bohemia, and hasten to the defence of their own country.

On our side the war had been attended with no success or glory. In the Mediterranean Admiral Haddock retreated before a Spanish fleet which had been suddenly joined by twelve ships of war from Toulon, and the commander of which announced that, though there was no war between France and England, he had orders to defend the Spaniards if they were attacked. There was no imputation on Haddock's courage, for the united ships of France and Spain doubled his own fleet. That great man of a party, Admiral Vernon, had proved himself a very little man in war. After the destruction of Porto Bello, nothing was done in Spanish America, or, we might say, worse than nothing. When Sir Chaloner Ogle and Lord Cathcart had joined Vernon at Jamaica,‡ the Eng-

* Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith.

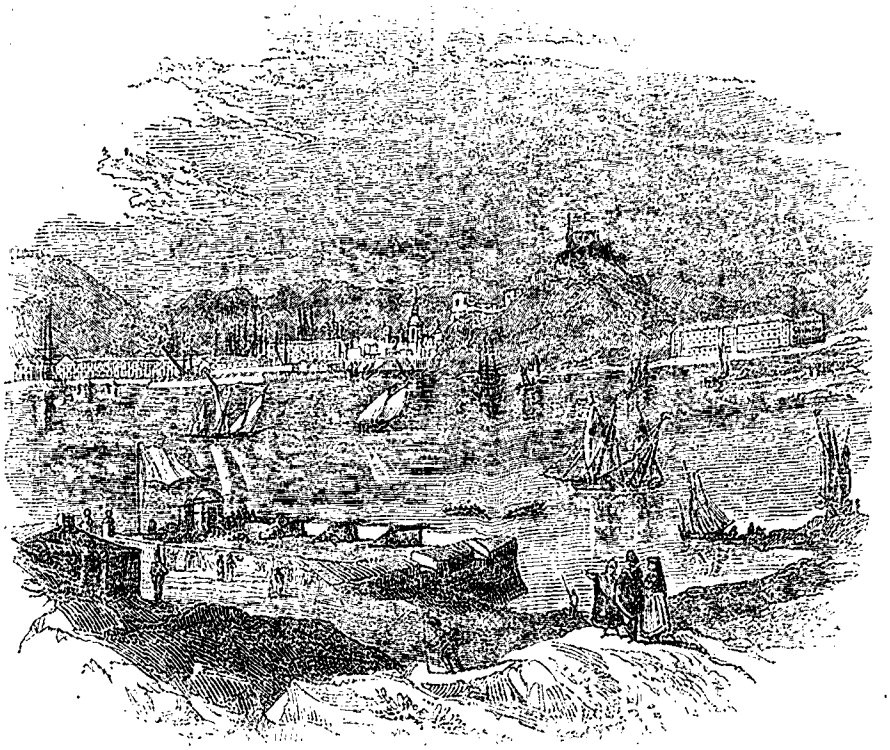
† Histoire de mon Temps.

‡ "As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best

lish armament was far greater than any that had ever been seen in those seas: there were thirty ships of the line, and nearly ninety other vessels, having on board 15,000 seamen, and 12,000 soldiers. Lord Cathcart caught the endemic fever and died; upon which General Wentworth took the command of the land forces. After demolishing the insignificant fort Chagre on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Darien, they knew not what to do next. A council of war was called, which, as usual, led to conflicting schemes, jealousies, and irreconcilable hatreds. Some proposed to attack the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, and which was said to be at that moment ill prepared for defence; but Vernon, who had "the voice potential," preferred beating up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motions of the French squadron collected there under the Marquis d'Antin, who continued to wear so dubious an aspect, that it was difficult to treat him either as a friend or as a foe. Many days were thus lost in beating and tacking in the teeth of the wind; and then Vernon learned that d'Antin, with a greatly diminished crew and exhausted provisions, had slipped off for France. The English armament reached Hispaniola, took in wood and water, and turned back towards the Spanish main. Another council of war was called, and, as the Spanish admiral de Torres had now sailed to the Havannah with ample means of defence, it was resolved by Vernon to attack Carthagena. But Carthagena was strongly fortified, and Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation, had just reinforced it, and lay there with a small squadron of large ships. Vernon, however, who was too rash and passionate to listen to advice, persisted in his plan of attack; but, as if the climate had affected his intellect, when he had anchored a little to the windward of Carthagena, he lay inactive for five days, and then the troops were landed on the islet called Tierra Bomba, near the harbour-mouth known by the name of Boca Chica, or little mouth, which, according to an eye-witness, was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British troops, however, effected their landing on the islet, covered their ground in good style, threw up a battery, and made a breach in the principal fort, being assisted by the admiral, who sent in a number of ships to divide the enemy's fire and attention. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain. The Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were, however, soon destroyed or taken; the land troops, advancing to the breach, carried the principal post, and found the rest of the forts and batteries abandoned; the passage of the Boca Chica was cleared, and the fleet sailed into the immense harbour. The Spaniards abandoned the great outwork of Castel Grande without a blow; but they continued strengthening Carthagena till 300 cannon were mounted on the ramparts. Vernon, exulting in his partial success, sent home a ship with dispatches to the Duke of Newcastle, dated the 1st of April, 1741. "The wonderful success of this evening and night is so astonishing, that one cannot but cry out with the psalmist, It is the Lord's doing, and seems marvellous in our eyes." So wrote the admiral; and so ready of belief were the English people, that they began to proclaim him the greatest of all commanders; and men were singing his praises at tavern dinners and about the streets when he was retreating with a dishonoured flag! After entering the harbour, the troops and artillery were landed within a mile of Carthagena, all the Spanish outposts retiring before them. But then there was a pause, Admiral Vernon seeming to think that General Wentworth ought to take the town with his land troops, and Wentworth seeming to be of opinion that that office ought to be performed by Vernon and the sailors.* The general complained that the sailors lay idle, while his troops ashore were harassed and diminished by hard duty, fevers, and other distempers: the admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town with any effect, and he accused the soldiers of inactivity and want of resolution in not attacking the fort of San Lazaro, which commanded part of the town, and might be taken by escalade. The truth appears to be, that there were grevious faults on both sides—that Vernon was so slow in landing the tents, stores, and artillery, that the soldiers were left for three nights on the bare and fatally dewy ground, exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns without the means of returning it, and that afterwards Wentworth left open the communication between the town and the neighbouring country, by which the garrison was recruited and well supplied with provisions. If, however, we may rely upon Smollett, Vernon was by far the more faulty of the two. Stung by the reproaches of the admiral, Wentworth called a council of officers, and with their advice he attempted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, and guided by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were either ignorant, or, what is more likely, in the pay of the Spanish governor, whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort; but the guides led them to the very strongest part of

part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron which had sailed from Europe under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral, de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased; the English and French commanders complimented each other, excused themselves mutually for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides."—*Smollett, Hist. Eng.* Smollett was in this action, and has given a most spirited description of it in his famous sea novel of Roderick Random. He was serving as assistant-surgeon, and was an eye-witness of most of the misdoings of this famous expedition.

* "The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve and separate cabals; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival than zealous for the honour of the nation."—*Smollett, Hist. Eng.*



BAY OF CARTHAGENA.

the fortifications; and, what was worse, when they came to try the scaling ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with a bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood under a terrible plunging fire, adjusting their ladders and fixing upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon them and thinned their ranks:—one party of grenadiers even attained a footing on the top of a rampart, when their brave leader, Colonel Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the face of the wall; but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till six hundred, or one-half of their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls. It is said that Vernon stood inactive on his quarter-deck all the while, and did not send in his boats full of men till the very last moment, when Wentworth was retreating. The heavy rains now set in, and disease spread with such terrible rapidity, that in less than two days one-half of the troops on shore were dead, dying, or unfit for service. Another council of war was therefore called; and it was then resolved to give up the enterprise as desperate, to re-embark the land forces, and to sail away to Jamaica. They first, however, destroyed all the fortifications and outworks they had taken.* On board, says Smollett, one of the sufferers, "nothing was heard but complaints and execrations, the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead; nothing was seen but objects of woe and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace."

* Smollett says—"The admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the Gallicia, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca Chica, to cannonade the town with sixteen guns, mounted on one side like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by Captain Hoare, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day at a considerable distance from the walls, and in very shallow water. In this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it altogether fallacious: he said it plainly proved that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town with any prospect of success. This, indeed, was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Gallicia was conducted; but a little farther to the left he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships abreast within pistol shot of the walls; and, if this step had been taken when the land forces mustered to the attack of St. Lazaro, in all probability the town would have been surrendered."

After quarrelling for a while at Jamaica, Vernon and Wentworth, in pursuance of fresh orders from home, set sail for the island of Cuba. The fine land army of 12,000 men which had left England with Lord Cathcart, was now reduced to less than 3000:—to make it greater 1000 Jamaica negroes were drilled and added to it. They anchored in the bay of Guentanamo on the south-east of Cuba, and re-christened the place Cumberland Harbour in honour of his royal highness at home—and this was absolutely all they could do, for the town of St. Jago was deemed too strong for attack, and the troops, after being landed and left inactive for months, were re-embarked in November, and carried back again to Jamaica. But the muster-roll was sadder than if those troops had come from a fierce campaign—disease, bad salted provisions in a state of putridity, and excesses in rum had reduced the whites from 3000 to less than 2000. After these failures it was madness, or something worse, in the ministry to send out to Vernon, as they did, four more ships of war and 3000 more soldiers. The land crabs of the Caribbees ate most of those unfortunate men, and Vernon did nothing with an armament that from first to last cost millions of money and many thousands of lives. As bit by bit the dreadful intelligence was made public in England, the kingdom became filled with murmurs, and the people were depressed in proportion to the sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. They then, adds Smollett, began to perceive that they had mistaken the character of the great Vernon. That admiral, however, threw all the blame upon Wentworth, and most indecently and outrageously boasted in a dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle, that, if the sole command had been left to him, both in the Carthagena and in the Cuba expeditions, he would have taken the towns of Carthagena and St. Jago with the loss of much fewer men than had died.

These dismal occurrences, though they were not half known until a month after that struggle was over, had a great effect upon the general election, and rendered still more unpopular the ministry of Walpole—for people would not remember that he had done his best to prevent this war, and his political opponents who had driven him into it did not scruple to make him answerable for every failure. At the same time the opposition aided by the purses of the wealthy old Duchess of Marlborough, of Pulteney, and of the Prince of Wales, who incurred considerable debts in the purchase of boroughs, practised corruption and bribery to an unprecedented extent. By these and other means the ministerial candidates were defeated in many places, and before parliament met the thickly coming news of disaster and disgrace converted many men who had started as friends to the minister into enemies or querulous critics. To organise beforehand their modes of attack in the two houses the chiefs of the opposition had numerous meetings and conferences; and that nothing might be wanting Lord Chesterfield went over to Avignon, and became the guest of the Pretender's ex-minister the Duke of Ormond, and by so doing procured from the Pretender letters to nearly a hundred of the principal Jacobites in England and Scotland, urging them to exert themselves against Walpole. With the most compact and harmonious cabinet that ever existed, this minister would not have been able to bide the storm; but his cabinet was more and more divided;—the Duke of Newcastle had opened a secret intercourse with the Duke of Argyll, and Lord Hardwicke the chancellor seemed determined to side with Newcastle in all things: Lord Harrington was incensed at Walpole's strictures upon his conduct in Hanover, where he was when his master King George was put to such straits by the rapid advance of Marshal de Maillebois; and as for Lord Wilmington he now thought himself great enough to be Walpole's successor in the premiership, though, as Sir Spencer Compton, he had fourteen years before thrown the cards into his hands and helped him to play them. When the king came over matters were not mended, for he was in an ill humour at the miserable exhibition he had made in his continental dominions, and was distracted by doubts and fears as to the result of the great confederacy between France, Russia, and Bavaria. He opened the new parliament on the 4th of December, in a speech in which he took care to remind the Houses that the war with Spain, in which he was engaged, had been entered into by the repeated advice of both Houses of parliament, who, moreover, had particularly recommended him to carry it on in America. He next mentioned the powerful confederacy formed against the Queen of Hungary, complaining that other powers that were under the same engagements as England with respect to the Pragmatic Sanction had not performed the promises they had so solemnly given. He said that he had used every possible endeavour to unite his allies in the common interests of Europe, and to reconcile the other princes and claimants; and he expressed a hope that a just sense of the common and approaching danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of the continental powers. The opposition in the new House of Commons allowed Arthur Onslow to be re-elected speaker without opposition; but they began their fight upon the address. Shippen moved an amendment to the effect that his majesty might be entreated not to engage the kingdom in war for the security of Hanover. Lord Noel Somerset seconded Shippen, and the now re-united Tories and discontented Whigs seemed anxious to divide the House and show their strength at once; but Pulteney, who was not quite sure of their numbers, told them that dividing was not the way to multiply. Walpole, embarrassed and dispirited, offered as a compromise the omission of the whole paragraph of the proposed address "for returning his majesty the thanks of this House for his royal care in prosecuting the war with Spain." This unusual concession was nothing less than a confession of hope-

less weakness: Pulteney chose to consider it as a consciousness and confession of guilt, and that orator then proceeded to heap invective upon invective, until he went so far as to assert that Walpole was purposely ruining the nation to serve the Pretender. According to the partial authority of the minister's son, Sir Robert replied with as much spirit, as much force and command, as he had ever shown; and there was enough in the extravagance of Pulteney's declamations to restore him for a moment to his old vigour. He quoted some words which had been used by Chesterfield in the other House, and he hinted at that lord's secret mission to the Jacobites at Avignon. He asked whether he as minister had raised the war in Germany, or advised the war with Spain—whether he killed the late Emperor and King of Prussia—whether he was the counsellor of the ambitious and conquering Frederick—whether he had kindled the war between Muscovy and Sweden, which was preventing the czarina from assisting the assailed Queen of Hungary. And in conclusion, he said, that he was so far from wishing to evade a strict inquiry that if the gentleman who had arraigned his conduct would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation, he would himself second the motion. Pulteney accepted the challenge, naming the 21st of January next; and Walpole keeping his word, seconded him. Meanwhile the whole clause about the Spanish war was struck out of the address, which was then passed unanimously.

But, before the grand contest of the 21st of January, there were several trials of strength on minor points. Walpole was defeated in the election of chairman of committees by a majority of 242 to 238.* But, on a motion for papers on the German negotiations, Walpole beat Pulteney by a majority of ten. The House was deluged with election petitions, the fruits of the animosities and unfair proceedings of both parties in the last general election, and election petitions were then decided upon, not, as in later times, by a select committee, but by the votes of all the House, which were always given from purely party motives, without any regard to justice or impartiality. In one of these election contests Walpole prevailed by a majority of only seven; and on the case of the Westminster election, in which the interference of the soldiery was proved, he was defeated by a majority of four. It was on this occasion that William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, who was retained as counsel for the petitioners, first won universal applause by his brilliant and persuasive eloquence. "Murray," says the minister's son, "spoke divinely, beyond what was ever heard at the bar."* The justices of Westminster, who had called in the soldiery, apparently because the riot and license at the hustings were alarming, had a day appointed for being reprimanded on their knees by the Speaker.

A.D. 1742.—If Walpole had consulted his own dignity he would assuredly have resigned before the declaration of war; but he clung to office even now, when the possession of it could only entail disgrace and wretchedness. Some allowance is to be made for use and long habit; and, after being for twenty years the real head of the nation, he probably considered the private life of a country gentleman monotonous and insupportable. He was rich and old; and, through continual vexations and incessant fatigues, the infirmities of age began to tell even upon his robust frame;† but still he wished to wear a crown of thorns to the last, and to die at the head of affairs. Some of his nearest friends ventured to suggest that he was losing daily, not only his adherents, but his health and his most enviable good humour; that he was becoming uneasy, fretful, and irritable; that it was utterly beyond his power to prevent the treachery of his colleagues; and that, finally, it would be more honourable and more safe to wrap his cloak about him and withdraw, than to stay for a few weeks or months to be stripped naked, dismissed, impeached! But all was of no avail; the old man thought (though, as he afterwards found, incorrectly) that life was not life without the premiership; and, to retain office, he had recourse to fresh schemes and intrigues, and to base, unpatriotic expedients. Fancying that he might gain his object if he could buy over the Prince of Wales and his party, he prevailed upon the king to offer his royal highness an additional 50,000*l.* a-year and the payment of all his debts, provided he would cease opposing the measures of government. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, was thought the proper messenger to carry this offer to the prince; but the prince declared that he would hearken to no proposals so long as Walpole continued in power.‡

* The minister had proposed Giles Earle, a man of wit as well as of business; the successful candidate brought forward by the opposition was Dr. Lee. "You have no idea of their huzza," writes the minister's son, "unless you can conceive how people must triumph after defeats of twenty years together. . . . . They say Sir Robert miscalculated: how should he calculate when there are men like Charles Ross and fifty others he could name?"—*Letters from Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann.*—This Ross, though under obligations and promises to the minister, suddenly deserted him; and these desertions now became very frequent.

* Letters to Mann.

† In the preceding month of October, Horace Walpole says:—"My father who used to be called in the morning, and was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow, for I have frequently known him snore ere they had drawn his curtains, now never sleeps above an hour without waking; and he who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together."—*Letter to Horace Mann.*

‡ "As many erroneous narratives of this transaction," says Coxe, "have been given to the public, I shall subjoin an account, which I found among the Walpole Papers, in the handwriting of Sir Robert Walpole, and bearing the following endorsement:—'An account of what passed between H. R. H. and Lord Oxford, January 5, 1741-2, with the printed letter that passed between the king and prince upon the breach.' 'An account of what the Bishop of Oxford said to the Prince of Wales, from Lord Cholmondeley, authorised by his majesty, January 5, 1742:—That if his royal highness would write a dutiful letter to his majesty, expressing his concern for what was past, in such a manner as might be consistent with his majesty's honour to accept, representing the uneasy circumstances of his fortune, and referring them to his majesty's goodness, Lord Cholmondeley had full and sufficient ground, from his knowledge of his majesty's intentions and dispositions, to assure his royal highness that his majesty would be reconciled to him, and would add 50,000*l.* a-year to his present income, and would not require any terms from him in relation to any of those persons who were in his royal highness's service, counsels, or confidence, nor retain any resentment or displeasure against him. To this Lord Cholmondeley added, that there was no doubt but that his royal highness's debts would in this

The minister must have been weakened as well as disgraced by this strange proceeding. During the Christmas holidays Walpole and his enemies were alike busy conferring, planning, bribing, promising; but the opposition were the more successful: and Walpole's underling, the courtly, silky Lord Hervey, formed one of a triumvirate with Chesterfield and Pulteney. Bubb Dodington renewed his close alliance with the Prince of Wales; and, seeing that there could now be no danger from his boldness,—that the minister he had so long feared could neither punish nor reward, he wrote a letter to Lord Wilmington, urging him to use his influence with his majesty for the immediate dismissal of Sir Robert. Bubb, who was accustomed to write and talk about patriotism and "the noble simplicity of opposition," wanted a peerage; but, though he contributed to that event, his wishes were not gratified till nineteen years after the fall of Walpole, and little more than one year before his own death. Parliament met, after the holidays, on the 18th of January; and on the 21st Pulteney began his great combat with the minister, protesting that his motion was not pointed against any particular person, but was simply intended to assist his majesty. Pitt, who was every day rising in consideration, and several others of the assailants, spoke to the same effect; but Lord Perceval, one of the "patriots," who had been returned for Westminster without opposition on the re-election necessitated by the vote of the House, soon let out the secret, that the combat *à outrance* was intended against Walpole, for his lordship declared that he should vote for a committee of accusation. The veteran minister rose, and said that he must therefore take the question upon himself; and he then proceeded to deliver his last great speech. He inveighed with as much vigour as he had ever displayed against the personal malice of the opposition; he taunted them with their long series of failures and defeats; he told them that, for twenty years, they had not been able to touch him; and that, even now, in order to get near his heart, they had been reduced to a disgraceful subterfuge. He defied them to substantiate their charges, and assured them he wanted no favour but to be acquainted with their articles of accusation. If Bubb Dodington had been capable of blushing he must have blushed now; for Walpole designated him as a person of great self-mortification, seeing that for sixteen years he had condescended to bear part in that administration which he now termed infamous. According to one account Sir Robert also dissected Pulteney, and laid his heart open to the view of the House; and, according to all accounts, the old minister had never before displayed so much eloquence and so intimate an acquaintance with foreign affairs. Sir William Yonge, Winnington, and Pelham distinguished themselves by their speeches in support of the minister; but it was not eloquence or argument that was to carry conviction and decide this struggle. Men and parties had been packed, not to listen, but to vote and condemn; and, upon a division, Pulteney's motion was rejected, *but rejected only by a majority of three.* There had not been so full a house for many a year, each party having "whipped in" to the very utmost. Members were brought in from the bed of sickness; but, according to the story of a contemporary who was favourable to Walpole, the minister was far more careful of his sick men than the opposition were of theirs, and for that reason and by a paltry trick he lost several votes. The ministerial sick had been placed in an adjoining apartment belonging to Walpole's son as auditor of the exchequer, which communicated with the House; and some of the opposition, aware of this fact, filled the keyhole of the door with dirt and sand, which prevented the admission of these sick members into the House till the division was over.* The Prince of Wales was present in the House to share in the triumph. When a member was brought in to vote that had lost the use of his limbs, his royal highness said to General Churchill, who was friendly to Walpole, "So, I see you bring in the lame, the halt, and the blind." "Yes," replied Churchill, "the lame on our side, and the blind on yours!" After the mournful exhibition of his majority of *three*, Walpole made no opposition to an address to the king for copies of the correspondence with his Prussian majesty; and the motion, though it had been rejected on the 18th of December by a majority of twenty-four, was now allowed to pass without a division. But it was a disputed election that sealed the old minister's doom. On the 28th of January, in a vote upon the Chippenham election petition, he was defeated by a majority of *one*, or by 237 against 236. He

> ..... stood i' the level
> Of a full-charg'd confederacy.

His brother, his sons, and all his truest friends advised an instant retreat; and his colleagues or subalterns seem to have refused to act with him a day longer, declaring, all of them, that his retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business. On the night of Sunday, the 31st of January, he got ready to retire to his splendid mansion at Houghton; and on the next morning, at a private audience, he informed his master that at last he must quit his service. George was not destitute of feeling; and such a

case be provided for in such a manner as, upon further consideration, should be found most proper and practicable.' 'The answer of his royal highness, January 5, 1741-2:—His royal highness used strong expressions of duty and affection to his majesty, and answered further to this purpose—that, if this had been a message directly from his majesty, it would have been his duty to have written a letter to H.M. on the occasion; but, as it was a proposition that came from Lord Cholmondeley, in the manner I had mentioned, his answer to Lord Cholmondeley was, that he would not hearken to it so long as Sir Robert Walpole was in power, by whom he conceived himself to have been greatly injured, and to whom he thought the most prudent advice for Sir Robert Walpole himself, and the public, was, that he should retire; and that he, the prince, had before this received intimations of the same nature with those I had now said to him, and desired not to have any more whilst Sir Robert continued in power.'"

* Letters of Sir Robert Wilmot.—Five hundred and three members were present, and voted.

separation, such a breaking of a connexion which had lasted so many years, and which, on the whole, had been so beneficial to his majesty's affairs, was enough to move a sterner heart. As Walpole knelt to kiss hands, the king fell on his neck, wept, kissed his cheek, and requested to see him frequently. The shade of Queen Caroline may at that moment have been in the mental vision of both king and minister. On the following day, the 2nd of February, Walpole sent a private intimation to the Prince of Wales, who must have joyfully announced his downfall to the opposition; for on that evening, when the House of Commons came to their final decision on the Chippenham election, the opposition majority of one was found to be swelled to sixteen. But, once having made up his mind to his fate, Walpole found that it was not so difficult to bear; and during the discussion, and upon the division, he was cheerful, and even facetious. Beckoning Sir Edward Baynton, the member whose return was supported by the opposition, to come and sit beside him, he pointed out to him several individuals, who were now voting against him, though they had begged and received great favours from him; said his time was come, and that he should never again enter that House. Next morning, the 3rd of February, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke intimated that it was his majesty's desire that the Houses should adjourn for a fortnight. On the 9th Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and on the 11th he formally resigned all his places. As we have repeatedly hinted, this great minister, in promoting the interests of his country, had not been neglectful of his own; and though he had indulged all along in a sumptuous hospitality and a most lavish expenditure of money, he withdrew a very rich lord; and the palace rather than house at Houghton, and the library and the splendid picture galleries there, denoted far different resources than his original patrimonial estate of 2000*l.* a-year. These, however, were not times in which statesmen served for nothing; there were few men of the day but would have paid themselves a higher price: a part of his large fortune had been made, not out of the exchequer, but in speculations on the stock exchange, which practice, bad as it might be, was many degrees better than that of some of his predecessors, who had taken money from France. Though not the best of possible ministers, Walpole was better and wiser than those who had gone before him—wiser, we believe, and more suited to the difficult circumstances of the times than any of his contemporaries or immediate successors. Still, however, we are not disposed to regret that he was driven from his post: he had seen his best days, and the country, under his care, had grown strong enough to do without a dictator or sole minister, which he indisputably, and, as we think, fortunately for England, was. In a country like this, one man, or one body of men acting, under a single head, can hardly hope for a permanence of power; and, in spite of the frequent mischiefs resulting from changes, it is not desirable that they should. His downfall was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the people; but Walpole could take with him the proud satisfaction that he had secured the constitution and the Hanoverian succession; that the people who were cursing him had made rapid strides in wealth and civilization; that their general condition and the whole aspect of the country had been wonderfully improved under his long administration; and that he had never been harsh, cruel, or blood-thirsty, but had, on the contrary, moderated, in practice, the barbarities of the law, and made an execution for political offences a most rare spectacle. The nation, however, long continued to rail at the parting favours conferred upon him by his sovereign, and which included, besides the peerage, a pension of 4000*l.* a-year, and a patent of rank for an illegitimate daughter by a mistress whom he had subsequently married. It is true Sir Robert relinquished the pension; but two years after, when the storm was somewhat blown over, he sued for it and got it again. On the 11th of January, the day of his resignation, he went to a lodge he had at Richmond, never again, as he said, to return to the turmoils and vanities of a court. On that same day Lord Morton wrote to Duncan Forbes, President of the Scottish Court of Session, to say that he was in some fear about their common friend Sir Robert's safety. "The letter of rank for his daughter," says Morton, "has raised such a torrent of wrath against him, that God knows where it may end. They now talk of a strict parliamentary inquiry; your lordship knows how little any man can stand such an ordeal trial after twenty years' administration. The last time I saw him, which was on Sunday evening, I told him of the clamour that was raised upon the subject of his daughter; but the thing was then past the offices, and could not be recalled (though she had not been presented), else I believe he would have stopped it. I would fain hope, after he is fairly away, that the fury may subside; at present it is very violent; happy had it been for him, had he had your lordship now here; last week there passed a scene between him and me, by ourselves, that affected me more than anything I ever met with in my life; but it is too long to trouble your lordship with it; he has been sore hurt by flatterers, but has a great and an undaunted spirit, and a tranquillity something more than human."* But Walpole was not, like Wolsey, hounded down by his king, and left altogether naked to the fury of his enemies: in dismissing him, George consulted him as to the formation of a new ministry, and allowed him to bargain with his successor for security as to the past. His successor in the Treasury was none other than his old friend and tool Wilmington, the Sir Spencer Compton of former days, who might have been prime minister at the accession of George II., if he had possessed talent and spirit,

* Culloden Papers.

and had not quailed before Sir Robert. In the new arrangements the leaders of the opposition were well nigh quarrelling among themselves, but they proposed nothing very dangerous to the retired premier. Anxious to keep out the Tories at all costs, Walpole had recommended George to appoint Wilmington first lord of the Treasury in case Pulteney should decline it; but in the first instance the offer was to be made to Pulteney, and it *was* actually made—through the mouth of the Duke of Newcastle—by the king, though he hated the man; and his majesty accompanied the message with the offer of full power to Pulteney upon the express condition that he should resist and defeat as premier any attempt to prosecute his predecessor. Pulteney at first replied, that if that condition was insisted upon he could never accept office, saying that, whatever might be his own inclinations, it might not be in his power to screen Walpole—"for the heads of parties are like the heads of snakes, carried on by their tails."* Still following the advice of Walpole, the king sent Pulteney another private message, and thereupon he quietly consented to let Wilmington slide into the premiership, which in such occupation could be little more than nominal. Lord Carteret thought that neither Pulteney nor Wilmington, but he himself, ought to have the highest post; but Pulteney told his lordship, that, if he would not acquiesce in Wilmington's promotion, he would take himself what had been offered to him. Carteret was flattered by a compliment paid to his knowledge of foreign affairs, and was fain to rest satisfied with the promise of being entrusted with the management of those affairs as secretary of state. All this was settled before Walpole resigned, and a few days after that great event the Duke of Newcastle, who saw that there was no hope of being premier himself, but who was resolved, if possible, to keep his seat in the cabinet, was commissioned by the king to conciliate Pulteney, and to obtain from him a promise, that if any prosecution were attempted against Sir Robert, if he could not oppose the motion, he would at least do nothing to inflame the debate. Pulteney replied that he was not a man of blood; that in all his denunciations of destruction he had meant the destruction of Walpole's power, but not of his person; that he could not say what was proper to be done, though he was free to confess that, in his opinion, some parliamentary censure, at the least, ought to be inflicted; and, finally, that he must consult his party and friends. Then his grace of Newcastle said a word for himself—as, that the king trusted Pulteney would not distress the government by making too many changes in the cabinet in the midst of a session of parliament. Pulteney politely replied, that he had no objection to the Duke of Newcastle or to the lord chancellor; but that he must insist that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed at once, and that he and his friends should have a majority in the cabinet, the nomination to the boards of treasury and admiralty, and the disposal of the office of secretary of state for Scotland—an office which had been abolished, but which they thought ought now to be revived. Being made easy as to his own place, Newcastle again advised Pulteney to take the premiership; but that patriot said modestly, that, as he had the disposal of all places in his hands, he would accept of none—that all that he wanted for himself was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet. And, according to the absolute dictum of this House of Commons orator, Wilmington was confirmed first lord of the treasury, Sandys the motion-maker was made chancellor of the exchequer, Carteret secretary of state, and the Marquess of Tweedale secretary for Scotland. Nor was this the only security which had been procured for the fallen minister: the court had consented to disarm the fierce enmity of the Prince of Wales by actually giving him the additional 50,000*l.* a-year, and by promising that Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton, two of his steady adherents, should have seats at the new board of Admiralty. After this his royal highness had granted Walpole a private audience, and had assured him that his enmity was at an end, and that, instead of attacking, he would defend him if assailed by others.

When the ministerial arrangements were divulged, they threw the Tories into a paroxysm of rage; for the Tories, who had helped the opposition to gain their victory by coalescing with them in the present parliament, got nothing—nay, not so much as a title or a promise. But this discontent was not confined to the Tories; all the leading Whigs that had not got a share of the ministerial spoils were as furious as they, and there presently arose a loud lament about the faithlessness of parties, and the iniquity of Pulteney and Carteret in treating and absolutely bargaining for themselves without consulting the great body of the opposition. Pitt, Lyttleton, the Grenvilles, and all those young men in parliament whom Walpole had been accustomed to call the "boy patriots," and who had done their best to prevent the arrangements which had been entered into, murmured the loudest of all, and sharpened their tongues and their wits for the continuation of the opposition harangues to which they had been so long accustomed. On the 11th of February, the very day of Walpole's formal resignation, a great Whig meeting was called at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand. Lord Carteret refused to go, saying that he never dined at taverns; but Pulteney went, and Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, and nearly three hundred more, peers and commoners, most of them dissatisfied men. Lord Talbot filled a glass to the brim, and drank, to cleansing the Augean stable of the dung and grooms. The Duke of Argyll, who had done as much against Walpole as

* At the end of this conference, which took place at Pulteney's own house, Carteret being present, some negus was brought in, and Newcastle drank—"To our happier meeting." To this Pulteney replied,—

"If we do meet again, why, we shall smile;
If not, why, then this meeting was well made."

any lord, and who had got nothing by the change, declaimed as if disappointment had turned him into a downright Jacobite, or as if he had been born and bred in Tory principles; and he finished a long speech by saying that nothing would go well until the Tories were provided with places as well as the Whigs, and the administration was founded "upon the broad bottom of both parties." Pulteney, in reply, made the tavern resound with protestations of disinterestedness, and with denials that he and his friends had selfishly taken the management of the negotiation into their own hands. As to the appointment of Tories, he said it must be a work of some time "to remove suspicions inculcated long, and long credited, with regard to a denomination of men who had formerly been thought not heartily attached to the reigning family." Motion-making Sandys also made a speech, saying that the king had offered him a place, and why should he not accept it?—that, if he did not, another would—or, if nobody would, his majesty would be obliged to employ his old minister again, which he fancied the gentlemen present did not wish to see. The meeting broke up in a humour much improved by wine and good cheer; "but," adds a recent writer, "what seems to have principally weighed with them was, that each remembered how many offices were still vacant, and hoped that some were reserved for himself or for his friends."* A few days after, a conference took place in the presence of the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Argyll and the Lords Chesterfield, Cobham, and Bathurst pressed their claims on Pulteney and the friends he had put into office. In the end, Argyll obtained for himself a seat in the cabinet, the mastership of the ordnance, and the regiment of which he had recently been deprived by Walpole; and he procured, though not without opposition and difficulty, the promise of a seat at the new board of Admiralty for his friend Sir John Hynde Cotton, a declared Jacobite. Chesterfield got nothing;† but Cobham, who had been dismissed on account of his opposition to the Excise Bill, was restored to the command of the Grenadier Guards, and made a field marshal. Cobham, who was maternal uncle to two of the "boy patriots"—Lyttleton and Grenville—could get nothing for his nephews. Gower and Bathurst got for the present nothing but promises for themselves or for their particular friends. As Lord Harrington chose to resign his secretaryship of state in favour of Carteret, he was created an earl, and made president of the council in lieu of Wilmington; Walpole's secretary-at-war, Sir William Yonge, and his paymaster of the forces, Mr. Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle, were both allowed to remain in office. Having settled these matters, the Prince of Wales and all the leaders of the late opposition went to pay their respects at court, where none of them had appeared for a long time. George received his son very coldly. His majesty said, "How does the princess do? I hope she is well." The prince kissed his hand, and this was all.* On that same day the parliament met, and the voice of opposition seemed to be mute. But the king positively refused to admit Sir John Hynde Cotton to the place promised him in the Admiralty, saying, with some reason, that they ought not to expect him to employ and promote the enemies of his family, and declaring that he would stand by those who had set the House of Brunswick upon the throne in opposition to the will of the Jacobites. This made a new storm. The Duke of Argyll, who had insisted upon Cotton's promotion, and who, moreover, is supposed to have aimed at the entire authority in Scotland, and to have been irritated at the appointment of the Marquess of Tweedale, thundered in the House of Lords, and the Tory party in both Houses expressed the utmost indignation at the rejection of the Jacobite Cotton, who, as a member of the House of Commons, had been almost as troublesome to the Whigs as the thorough-going Jacobite Shippen. This Tory opposition would have been insignificant enough if left to itself; but disappointment, irritation, and jealousy at once induced an abundance of Whigs to join it, and there was thus again a coalition of men of opposite principles, but one spite; discontented Whigs joining Tories and Jacobites, as they had done before in order to overthrow Walpole. The Prince of Wales himself grew dissatisfied, and soon began to cry down the government which he had helped to make. Wilmington, the nominal head of this government, had not improved in ability and energy in growing old; and Pulteney, who threw himself out of the Commons, his proper sphere, by taking a peerage and becoming Lord Bath, gave satisfaction to no party, but considerable disgust to the country. When towards the end of the session his creation was announced, the public everywhere called his peerage the price of his perfidy, and said that, though he had not taken places and money, which he did not want, being so very rich without them, he had sold his party and his country for a title and a seat in the House of Lords. As leader of the opposition in the Lower House, he had been accustomed to shouts of applause and vehement congratulations whenever he appeared abroad in the streets of London; but now he was hissed and hooted by his late admirers. It is said that Walpole artfully contributed to Pulteney's false step;†

* Lord Mahon.

† Lord Chesterfield says in a private letter—"The public has assigned me different employments; but I have been offered none, I have asked for none, and I will accept of none, till I see a little clearer into matters than I do at present. I have opposed measures, not men, and the change of two or three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me that measures will be changed."—*Maty's Life.*

* Horace Walpole to H. Mann.

† "Walpole was eager to secure the chief power in the future ministry to one whose enmity he did not fear. By his advice, it appears, the king sent a private message to Pulteney, requesting that, if he did not choose to place himself at the head of the treasury, he would let Lord Wilmington (Sir Spencer Compton) slide into that post. Carteret, who desired the place for himself, objected to this arrangement; but Pulteney having obliged him to consent, Walpole was fully satisfied. His great object had been to lure Pul-

and that, when he, as Lord Orford, first met the new Lord Bath in the House of Peers, he triumphed over him with these cutting words—"My Lord Bath, you and I are now two as insignificant men as any in England." "In which," adds the narrator of the anecdote, "he spoke the truth of Pulteney my Lord Bath, but not of himself; for my Lord Orford was consulted by ministers to the last days of his life."* In the poignant words of Chesterfield, "the nation looked upon Pulteney as a deserter; and he shrunk into insignificance and an earldom." He and his party soon found how much more easy it is to condemn than to rectify; how many things that served to adorn an opposition speech are impracticable, or even undesirable, in office. But the people are never disposed to make allowances for these seeming discrepancies in the conduct of public men; and they expected, as the least that the new cabinet could do, that they should undo everything they had opposed, everything they had complained of and protested against, during the long reign of Sir Robert. There was no want of clamours and petitions from towns and counties for the punishment of the expelled minister: the electors of Westminster asked whether such as he were to be permitted the enjoyment of a private tranquillity; and others spoke as if the blood of Walpole ought to be shed upon the scaffold. The "boy patriots" urged on by these clamours and petitions, displayed much boldness of innovation; and nothing less was proposed than the putting down of any standing army whatsoever in time of peace, the strict limitation of placemen in parliament, and triennial parliaments instead of septennial. The mad cry was continued that Walpole had ruined the trade of the country; but it appeared that no man knew how to suggest the remedy for this greatest of all evils. If we are to believe Tindal "many of the towns were for reducing if not abolishing almost all taxes, though they all agreed in the wisdom and necessity of continuing the war with double vigour." On the 9th of March Lord Limerick, who had been intended for secretary-at-war, but who was afraid of vacating his seat by taking office, moved in the House of Commons for a *secret* committee to inquire into the administration of affairs by Sir Robert Walpole during the last twenty years. Pitt and that section strongly supported the motion, which was as hotly urged by the Tories. Mr. Pelham, the principal member of the government who spoke, ably resisted Lord Limerick's motion; but Pulteney was not present, being engaged with a sick and dying daughter: as he, however, had intimated to his party his strong aversion to the measure, the ministerial bench had voted against Limerick, whose motion was lost by two votes in a House consisting of 486 members. But when Pulteney re-appeared he was bitterly reproached for his want of zeal in pursuing the old enemy; and thereupon this wavering statesman requested Lord Limerick to renew his motion in an *altered* shape, the forms of the House not allowing precisely the same motion to be reproduced in the same session. On the 23rd of March, Limerick rose and proposed the appointment of a secret committee to inquire into the *ten* last years of Walpole's administration; Pulteney not only voted but spoke in favour of the motion, and it was carried accordingly, the majority being 252 to 245. Pulteney, however, desired not to be named on the committee, and recommended moderation and fair play. The fallen minister's witty son Horace Walpole, though not so able with his tongue as with his pen, delivered a speech—the first he had ever made in the House—in defence of his father; and was answered in a fierce and ungenerous style by Pitt. They then appointed a committee to name the members of this secret committee of inquiry, a task which is said to have occupied them without intermission or rest for twenty-two hours. When the names of this secret committee were announced there were found to be among them only two decided friends of the ex-minister:—the rest of the twenty-one (the total number) were indifferent to his fate, or were his rancorous enemies. They chose Lord Limerick their chairman, and entered upon their investigation, not hesitating, in their active hatred, to attack and examine mountains of state papers and pyramids of treasury books. Sir John Bernard, the city member and financier, though so sturdy an enemy to the minister when in power, soon became disgusted with their unfairness, and declared that, since their views were not general, but particular, and all directed against one man, he would no longer take part in the labours of the committee. On the other side the king, who was in constant communication with Walpole and his friends, did all that he could to frustrate the inquiry and to encourage the obstinacy of witnesses in refusing to give evidence against their former patron and master. Mr. Edgecumbe, who had managed the Cornish boroughs for Walpole, and who might have told many a treasury tale, was raised to the peerage, and so shielded from the examination of the Lower House. Paxton, the solicitor to the treasury, was committed to Newgate for refusing to answer questions put to him; but this did not make other men more communicative, and Scrope, the secretary to the treasury, and several other officials resolutely refused to answer

tency to the palace without his party; and when the king, conquering his aversion, allowed this to be done, he said to his son Horace, making a motion with his hand, as if locking a door, 'I have turned the key of the closet upon him.'"—*Lord John Russell, Mem. of Affairs of Europe.*

* Doctor King's Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times.—This reformed Jacobite says, "No incident in this reign astonished us so much as the conduct of my Lord Bath, who chose to receive his honours as the wages of iniquity, which he might have had as the reward of virtue. By his opposition to a mal-administration for near twenty years, he had contracted an universal esteem, and was considered as the chief bulwark and protector of the British liberties. By the fall of Walpole he enjoyed for some days a kind of sovereign power. During this interval it was expected that he would have formed a patriot ministry, and have put the public affairs in such a train as would necessarily, in a very short time, have repaired all the breaches in our constitution. But how were we deceived! He deserted the cause of his country; he betrayed his friends and adherents; he ruined his character; and from a most glorious eminence sunk down to a degree of contempt."

the queries put to them by the committee, lest, as they said, they might criminate themselves, which they were not bound to do by any law. Recourse was then had to a very irregular and unjustifiable bill, which proposed to grant to every witness a full indemnity to himself, let his disclosures be what they might. Bad as was this bill, the Commons in their heat passed it by a majority of 12 in a House of 444. When carried up to the Lords it was supported by Chesterfield and Bathurst, but effectually opposed by Carteret and Hardwicke. The chancellor declared that this was a bill calculated to let loose oppression and perjury upon the world. "It is," continued he, "a bill to dazzle the wicked with a prospect of security, and to incite them to purchase an indemnity for one crime by the perpetration of another. It is a bill to confound the notions of right and wrong, to violate the essence of our constitution, and to leave us without any certain security for our properties or any rule for our actions." It was rejected by a large majority. The Commons were inflamed, and the violent and petulant Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, moved a resolution that the proceedings of the peers were an obstruction to justice. Pulteney then thought it necessary to stand forward to prevent a collision between the two Houses, and upon a division Lord Strange was beaten by a majority of 52. This made some of the members of the secret committee more violent than they had been before, and Scrope, the secretary of the treasury, who still refused to answer their questions, was threatened and insulted in a terrible manner. But this old Whig, who in the days of his youth had fought for Monmouth at the battle of Sedgemoor, merely said, "that he was fourscore years of age, and did not care whether he spent the few months he had to live in the Tower or not, but that the last thing he would do was to betray the king, and, next to the king, the Earl of Orford."* As the best thing they could do, the committee dismissed old Scrope without further trouble. On the 30th of June, when the session was drawing to its close, the secret committee presented a report, alleging that, during an election at Weymouth, a place had been promised to the mayor if he would use his influence in obtaining the nomination of a returning officer, and that a living in the church had been promised to the brother-in-law of the mayor with the same corrupt design; as also that some revenue officers, who refused to give their votes for the ministerial candidate, had been dismissed; that a fraudulent contract had been given to Peter Burrell and John Bristow, two members of the House of Commons, for furnishing money in Jamaica towards the payment of the British troops, by which the contractors had gained fourteen pounds three shillings and twopence halfpenny per cent.; that Walpole had employed for secret services, during the last ten years of his administration, much greater sums than had been expended in the like manner during any other ten preceding years; or that there was set down under the head of secret and special services between the first day of August, 1707, and the first day of August, 1717, no more than the sum of 337,960*l.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*, whereas Walpole's sum for ten years amounted to no less than 1,453,000*l.* Part of this money had indisputably been spent in bribing and corrupting electors; but it can be proved almost to a positive certainty that the far greater part of it had been employed in foreign negotiations, or in smoothing the road to treaties and alliances with exceedingly poor and exceedingly mercenary courts. Besides, the parallel between the last seven years of Queen Anne and the first three years of George I. and the last ten years of Walpole was most unfairly drawn: the value of money was different at the two periods, and our foreign relations were far more complicated during the latter than during the former period—and, moreover, the committee took no notice of the allowance granted in Anne's time of 10,000*l.* per annum for procuring secret intelligence, or of the two-and-a-half per cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops in the service of Great Britain, and set down to the same secret service account; and they wholly overlooked the rather important sum of 500,000*l.* voted to Anne in 1713 to pay off her civil list debt. It is quite clear that, if on the one side impediments had been thrown in the way of their investigation, the secret committee on the other side had been as far as possible from the impartial and just spirit which ought to have guided their inquiry and dictated their report. These gentlemen gained no honour by their doings, for the report was received by the public with universal contempt, and their labours were compared to those of the parturient mountain in the fable that brought forth a ridiculous mouse. Personally, the character of the ex-minister seemed, in some respects, to gain by these proceedings; for, though he had so often been accused of being harsh and tyrannical to his dependents, there was not one of his subalterns in office, though threatened with severe punishment, and, no doubt, tempted by the offer of rewards, that would speak against him or betray any of his secrets.

Sir Robert Godschall, lord mayor and member for the city, and a very dull heavy man besides, brought forward a motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act. Pulteney, who was not yet gone to the Lords, opposed this repeal with all his might, though it had been the burthen of some of the longest and best of his opposition speeches. On the motion of Pulteney five hundred thousand more pounds were granted to the Queen of Hungary; and a supply of more than five millions was voted for carrying on the war with vigour. Little else passed worthy of notice during this session, which was closed on the 15th of July, when his majesty in the prorogation speech intimated that a treaty of peace was concluded between her Hungarian majesty and the King of Prussia under his

* Horace Walpole to H. Mann.

mediation. Lord Gower was now appointed keeper of the privy seal in the room of Lord Hervey, and Lord Bathurst, a Jacobite, as Gower was, or had been, was made captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners in the room of the Duke of Bolton. But the party called "the boys" still remained out of place and out of humour. Carteret prevailed upon his colleagues to send 16,000 men to serve as auxiliaries to the House of Austria in Flanders; but the result of the British campaign in the great scene of Marlborough's glory is told in a very few words. The Dutch would not act with them, nor make any vigorous effort in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, and our troops remained in Flanders "idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants."* But, fortunately for her, Maria Theresa did not depend upon the States General or upon English auxiliaries. Her best General Khevenhüller, continued to serve her well in the field, and doubts and misgivings as to the intentions of France crept into the cabinet of Frederick of Prussia, and of most of the minor princes, who had entered into or had favoured the confederacy. A battle gained by the Prussians in the month of May at Czaslau, in Bohemia, had, moreover, the effect of inducing the Queen of Hungary to be less tenacious about Silesia; and, as she agreed to yield that province to Frederick, all present obstacles to a peace were removed, and a treaty between them was signed in the month of June. Left to themselves, the French who had penetrated into Bohemia or the other hereditary dominions of Austria could neither maintain their footing nor extricate themselves without tremendous loss. Marshal Belleisle made his renowned retreat, which has been considered as a masterpiece in war; yet when he got across the Rhine he found that, of the 35,000 men he had conducted with him into Germany, he had not brought back more than 8000. The Marshals Maillebois and De Broglie, who were acting with the Elector of Bavaria, or, as he was now styled by one part of Europe, the Emperor, remained yet awhile in his electoral dominions.

As the Queen of Spain had obtained Naples and Sicily for her son Don Carlos, she thought she might acquire some other sovereignty south of the Alps for her younger son Don Philip. This scheme of hers produced a great effect in the Peninsula: the King of Sardinia, who had contributed to the conquest of Naples by suddenly declaring against the House of Austria, now as suddenly broke his alliance with the Bourbons of France and Spain, allied himself with Maria Theresa, and enabled her troops to drive the Spaniards out of Lombardy, where Montemar lost nearly half his army. To keep in check Don Carlos, who was collecting an army at Naples, and who had already sent troops to Upper Italy to co-operate with the Spaniards and his brother Don Philip, the English government dispatched Commodore Martin with five ships of the line. Martin, when no such bold measure was expected, sailed into the bay of Naples, and, without firing the usual friendly salute, lay to, off the city, and sent a messenger on shore to inform the king that Great Britain, as the ally and confederate of Austria, and as the enemy of Spain, proposed to the two Sicilies an absolute neutrality in this war; that if his Sicilian majesty would accede to this proposal, and engage in writing to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army and to remain neutral, no harm should happen to him; but that, if he refused, the English men-of-war would bombard his city. Don Carlos and his court were thrown into consternation, for the city was without defences and almost without any garrison, and the people, according to their wont, were beginning to riot. The Neapolitan ministers endeavoured to gain a little time, and sent a noble messenger on board the English commodore to debate and defer proceedings; but Martin, a decided sailor of the true stamp, pulled out his watch, laid it upon his cabin table, and told them that in two hours' time he should begin to bombard. Upon this the Neapolitan counsellors of state, who had been assembled in a hurry, loudly declared to the king that nothing was left for them but to accede to the neutrality; and then Don Carlos wrote out the promises required of him, and, at the same time, a letter to his general, the Duke of Castropignano, commanding him to leave the Spaniards and return home with the Neapolitan troops forthwith. The haughty messenger of the English commodore, says a native historian, insisted upon reading this letter to Castropignano. He then returned on board, and Martin, who had done his business, sailed out of the bay and was lost sight of before night. When he was gone, the Neapolitans thought of fortifying the city and port, and of building some ships of war; but Don Carlos kept the promises he had made, and wisely remained neutral until the armies of Maria Theresa attacked him in his own territories.* Another English sailor behaved with equal decision. Haddock, who had done nothing in the Mediterranean, was recalled, and succeeded by Admiral Matthews, who took out seven additional ships. One of Matthews's captains, irritated by the strange conduct of the French, who acted as enemies, though there was as yet no declaration of war, followed five Spanish galleys into the French port of St. Tropez, and attacked and destroyed them there, in spite of the French flag, which had so often been allowed to cover the ships of Spain in similar circumstances. In other directions our navy did little to distinguish itself. Captain Smith and Captain Stewart with two frigates engaged three Spanish ships of war near the island of St. Christopher's and fought them till night, when the Spaniards withdrew in a shattered condition. The Tilbury, a ship of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire and destroyed off the island of Hispaniola:

* Tindal.

* Pietro Colletta, Storia del Reame di Napoli.—Coxe, Memoirs.—Tindal.

127 men perished; but the rest were saved by Captain Hoare of the Defiance. While we were planning a land expedition across the Isthmus of Darien to attack Panama—a scheme which came to nothing*—the Spaniards, with 4000 men, fell upon our new colony of Georgia, and began to march for Frederica, the capital; but the gallant and philanthropic General Oglethorpe defeated them in two encounters, and, with merely a handful of men, he drove them out of the colony after they had suffered a terrible loss.

The king and the Duke of Cumberland had at one moment thought of proceeding to Flanders to take the command of the 16,000 British troops there; and they had even embarked their baggage; but the arrival of the old Earl of Stair, who had had the command of those troops, and the return of Lord Carteret, who had been sent to the Hague to quicken the Dutch, altered his majesty's determination. The plain truth was, the States General would risk nothing in this war, and the Dutch merchants were carrying on a profitable trade at the expense of the English. Parliament met on the 16th of November, when George told them that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians, and 6000 Hessians; that the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary and the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia had done wonders; that Sweden had applied to him for his good offices in procuring a peace with Russia; that he had concluded defensive alliances with the Czarina and the King of Prussia—events which could not have happened if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour in defending and assisting her ancient allies, and maintaining the liberties of Europe; and that he must still recommend the same spirit, vigour, and prudence, as essential to the success of our war with Spain, and the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe. The address proposed by ministers encountered some resistance, particularly in the Upper House from the Earl of Chesterfield. But the opposition reserved their fire till the 10th of December, when Sir William Yonge, as secretary-at-war, intimated that we must pay for the 16,000 Hanoverians (the 6000 Hessians had been already provided for under a convention made in Walpole's time), and proposed a grant of 657,000*l.* for maintaining these troops from August, 1742, till December, 1743. Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, who had delivered so many sonorous speeches against Hanover and Hanoverian interests, and the folly and wickedness of employing mercenaries, supported the secretary-at-war, apparently without a blush at his inconsistency. The terrible ex-cornet of horse, Pitt, said that it was now too apparent that this great kingdom was considered only as a province to a despicable electorate, and that, in consequence of a scheme formed long ago, and invariably pursued, these troops were hired only to drain this unhappy nation of its money. Sir John St. Aubyn and others spoke with equal heat; but, when they came to a division, the new opposition found that they could only muster 193 against the ministerial majority of 260. The remodeled cabinet had had the good sense to strengthen itself with the splendid abilities of William Murray, whom they had made solicitor-general; and Murray, in his first speech in parliament, which was about the British troops in Flanders, proved that he could cope even with Pitt as an orator and debater. The learned, eccentric, and almost republican Lord Stanhope, son and successor of the late prime minister of that name, delivered a remarkable speech in the House of Lords against this constant subsidising and engaging of mercenaries.* Alluding to the Hanoverians more particularly, he said,—"The country these troops come from makes it probable they will frequently be taken into our pay, and that affairs abroad will be embroiled for the sake of lending them. . . . . Why should not some regard be had to the opinion of the people, who will always judge right from the end, though not of the means, as well as to the inclinations of rulers, who may aim wrong in both?" And Stanhope concluded by moving an address that his majesty would be graciously pleased to exonerate his people from those mercenaries taken into pay without consent of parliament. Lord Sandwich seconded Stanhope, talking with great contempt of Hanover; and the Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. Lord Hervey, evidently because he was out *of* place, attacked the Hanoverians, whom he had so often defended; and Lord Bathurst, just as evidently because he was in place, defended the Hanoverians whom he had so often attacked. Lord Carteret replied to Stanhope and the opposition in general; and Pulteney, speaking for the first time in that House as Lord Bath, made use of the very arguments which Walpole had so often employed, and for which that minister had been so often taunted by him and his party. On the division, ministers had a majority of 90 to 35; but two members of the new cabinet, Lords Cobham and Gower, voted with the minority. The public expected that they would be both dismissed for this conduct; but they were allowed to remain in office. None were so clamorous against the employ-

* All kinds of schemes had been entertained and proposed by various individuals in high offices and employments. Thus, at the beginning of the war, when the conquest of the Spaniards in America seemed so easy, we find Trelawney governor of Jamaica writing to Duncan Forbes, under date of the 29th of August, 1740—"I am very warm for a project which a great many will look upon as visionary and ridiculous, but I think far from being so; and that is, to restore the Indians to their liberty, and put them into the possession of their own country, driving out the Spaniards, and only keeping for ourselves a fort or two at most in the South Sea to have communication between the two seas: for the rest of the country, let the natives, to whom nature has given it, enjoy it; and let us only have a commerce with them, which is more beneficial than having the land, which we could not inhabit. By the best accounts I have, the thing is feasible, and I think right; so I could put my hand to the plough with pleasure."—*Culloden Papers.*

* "He spoke a pre-composed speech, which he held in his hand, with great tremblings and agitations, and hesitated frequently in the midst of great vehemence; but his matter was not contemptible."—*MS. Reports of Archbishop Secker, in Parliamentary History.*—His lordship broke off abruptly, saying, "Some sudden indisposition obliges me to contract my plan, and conclude much sooner than I intended."

ment of the foreign troops as the Jacobites, who knew that 22,000 men would have great effect on the war, and defeat their hopes of succour from France and Spain—for these insane men were still corresponding with both those countries and plotting with increasing activity in Scotland as in England.

A. D. 1743.—Walpole, in 1731, at the passing of the Gin Act, had foretold that it would encourage fraud and increase drunkenness. When those severe duties were imposed they were intended to check the drinking to excess of what Smollett styles "the pernicious spirit called gin, which before was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order." This historian, who witnessed the horrors he describes, continues—"Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no license was obtained and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They, therefore, pretended that, should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and the licenses granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licenses."* Upon these principles the new bill was framed, proposing, in addition to the twenty shilling licenses, that a small duty per gallon should be laid on the spirits at the still head. It passed through the House of Commons with the utmost precipitation, and almost without the formality of a debate. But in the Lords it encountered a vigorous resistance, being denounced as a license to the people to poison themselves,—as "a bait spread over the pitfalls of debauchery,"—as an attempt to raise the revenue at the expense of the health and morals of the people.* Chesterfield, who was becoming more and more eloquent by being left out of place, prophesied that, if the bill passed, it would depopulate and absolutely ruin these kingdoms. Lord Hervey, the former lord privy seal, spoke against it, and proposed that eminent physicians should be summoned to the bar of the Lords to prove the fatal effects of gin drinking; and Lord Gower, the new privy seal, voted for it. "These two noblemen," says Smollett, "had exchanged principles: the first was hardened into a sturdy patriot; the other suppled into an obsequious courtier." The whole bench of bishops voted with the opposition, yet the bill was carried by a great majority. When the question was put for committing the bill, and the bishops were joining in his division, Chesterfield said, "I am in doubt whether I have not got on the other side of the question; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn sleeves for several years." A faint attempt was made by Mr. Waller, seconded by Sir Watkin Wynn, to renew the inquiry into the ministerial conduct of Walpole; but a vast majority declared against any such proceeding. As Walpole had been accused by the secret committee of prosecuting and persecuting the mayors of boroughs that had opposed his interest, a bill was prepared by the opposition for securing the independence of corporations, but it was rejected on a division. Having voted for the year 40,000 seamen and 11,000 marines, 16,000 British troops to serve in Flanders, and 23,000 for guards and garrisons at home, and six millions of money as supplies, the parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April, when his majesty told the Houses that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army on the continent to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance.

Immediately after the prorogation George hastened over to Germany accompanied by his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and attended by Lord Carteret as secretary of state, and by many other noblemen and gentlemen. The pacific Cardinal Fleury had died at the beginning of the year, in the ninetieth year of his age. For a long time he had been overruled and driven into measures which he disapproved, but his death removed the only hope there was of France being induced to remain at peace with England. His power as minister was divided between Count d'Argenson, minister of war, and Cardinal Tencin, who was devoted to

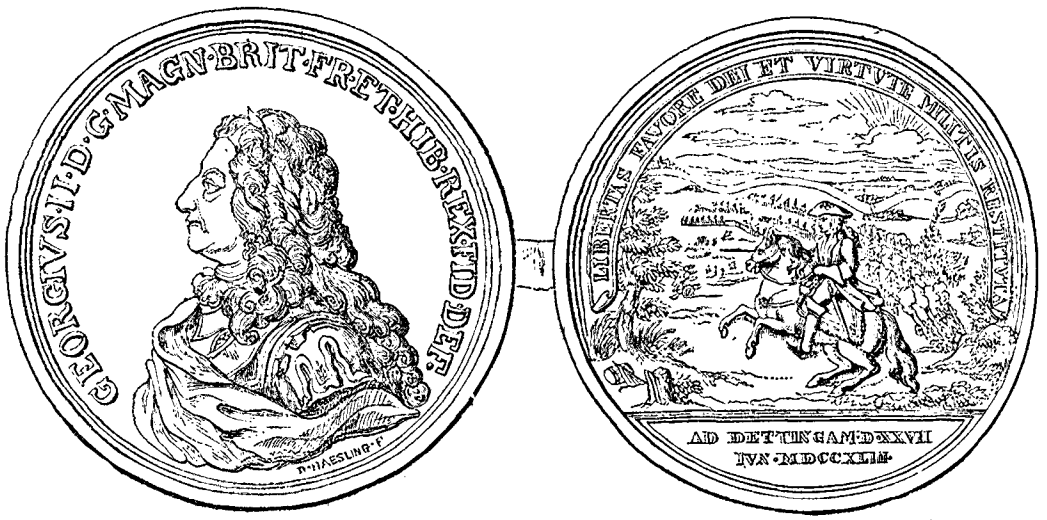
* Chesterfield's Speeches.

the House of Stuart, which had favoured his advancement in the Roman church. Bolingbroke had been so extremely intimate with the cardinal's sister, a woman of wit and intrigue in the Parisian fashion of those days, that he was even supposed by some to have been the father of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher d'Alembert, of whom she was the reputed mother.* Bolingbroke, who had written and talked so pathetically about leaving his unhappy country for ever, returned to England in the month of January, and fixed his residence at the family seat near Battersea, whither he drew around him most of the wits of the time, and all the opponents of ministers. He still directed many of the attacks in parliament, but it appears that he never again corresponded with the Stuarts. He had seen enough of the Pretender, and could never forgive the treatment he had received at his hands.

The French ministers d'Argénson and Cardinal Tencin sent a considerable army under the Duke de Noailles to support de Broglie in Germany; but, before these reinforcements arrived, de Broglie had been compelled to retreat to the banks of the Neckar; and the poor emperor, "beloved of the French," had been defeated by the Austrians and driven out of his hereditary states to seek shelter as a helpless fugitive in the free city of Frankfort.† Hotly pursued and sorely harassed by the excellent Hungarian cavalry, de Broglie hardly stopped until Noailles brought up 12,000 men; but he then faced about, and endeavoured to keep in check Prince Charles of Lorraine, while Noailles, whose army, even after the deduction of the 12,000 men, amounted to 60,000, crossed the Rhine, and pushed towards Frankfort, which was now threatened by the united army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and some Austrian regiments from the Low Countries, under the Duke d'Aremberg. The supreme command was still in the hands of the Earl of Stair, who was too old for action, and perhaps somewhat too scrupulous, as he respected the neutrality of Frankfort, and so lost an excellent opportunity of finishing one part of the war by making the emperor his prisoner. Stair was on the northern bank of the Maine when Noailles and the French approached its southern bank. This confronting of the two armies was somewhat embarrassing, as there was still no declaration of war between France and Great Britain, both countries professing to act merely as auxiliaries to their respective allies, and there being at the moment a British minister at Paris and a French minister in London. Stair, however, as an old practitioner, knew enough of the insignificancy of diplomacy to be quite certain that if two such armies met they must fight: but to fight he was not prepared; and with the view of establishing communications with the Austrian forces behind him, and of obtaining reinforcements from Hanover, he retreated before the French. Noailles followed him so closely, and so completely out-manœuvred him, that he cut him off from his magazines at Hanau, and left him almost without bread and forage. To make matters worse, Stair and d'Aremberg disagreed as to what was to be done; and the French, after depriving them of the resources collected at Hanau, succeeded in intercepting their communications with Franconia, whence they might have derived sufficient supplies of provisions. Affairs were in this critical state—the united army being cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Maine from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen—when King George, with the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Carteret, arrived at head-quarters from Hanover. The force of the allies was reduced to 37,000 men, and these were put upon half rations, while the horses of the cavalry were starving for want of sufficient forage; the Hessians and Hanoverians that were to join them had marched upon Hanau, where the magazines were, and were equally cut off from the main army, and were in danger of starving or being taken by the French. Still, however, the soldiers were full of heart, and George was no coward. After holding several councils of war, the king resolved to get out of that narrow valley at all hazards, and force his way back to Hanau. According to a French authority, if he had stayed only two days longer in that position, he would have been obliged to sacrifice his horses from want of forage. But George was watched by a far superior force, and by a general who was exceedingly quick-sighted. Noailles, as soon as he saw the allies in movement, altered his position so as to point on their flank and rear, and he detached his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men to secure the defile of Dettingen. He also threw up batteries on the opposite bank of the river Maine, having previously thrown two bridges across that river, which served for the advance of de Grammont and to keep open the communications between him and his uncle. It was on the 27th of June when the allies marched towards Dettingen in two columns. George commanded in person in the rear, which he considered the post of danger, being as yet ignorant of Noailles's change of position, and of the movement of the Duke de Grammont; nor did he find out his mistake till he saw the heads of his columns suddenly halt, and his advanced posts running back from the defile of Dettingen. This unwelcome sight was soon succeeded by another—the French showed themselves in great force in the Dettingen pass. George instantly halted his columns, and riding from the rear to the front, the real post of danger, he made his arrangements for a battle, placing his infantry

* Mademoiselle de Tencin had taken the veil, but had soon grown weary of the life of a nun. She was afterwards the mistress of many men, simultaneously and consecutively.

† Voltaire's Twelfth-night verses for the year 1743 are well known. He describes the Stuart, driven out by the English, as telling his beads in Italy; Stanislaus, ex-king of Poland, smoking his pipe in Austrasia; the emperor, beloved of the French, living at an inn in Franconia; and the beautiful queen of the Hungarians laughing at this Epiphany. The thing tells better in French, particularly as the Epiphany, or Twelfth-day, is called the day of kings "*le jour des rois.*"



Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of Dettingen.
From an Original in the British Museum.

before and the cavalry behind. He was by this time completely shut up in the valley, for a French division of 12,000 men had pushed into Aschaffenburg, which he had left behind him, and his flank was now exposed to the batteries on the bank of the Maine. Nothing was left but to surrender or cut his way through the defile, which was fully occupied by Grammont, and covered by a morass and a small rivulet in front. But the rashness of Grammont relieved George from this jeopardy; while his uncle, Noailles, who had given him strict orders not to move, was bringing up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine to make the pass of Dettingen still more terrible, he rushed from the village in the ravine, crossed the rivulet, and engaged the allies in front. As the French approached with a tremendous noise, George's horse took fright, and, with the bit in his teeth, nearly carried his majesty into the midst of the enemy. But a lucky hand stopped him in time; and then the king, dismounting, put himself at the head of his British and Hanoverian infantry, flourishing his sword, and addressing a few encouraging words to his men. His speech to the English was short and suitable;—"Now, my boys," said he, "now for the honour of England! fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!" His son, the Duke of Cumberland, was also in front, on the left, and behaved as staunchly as his father. At the first onset Grammont and his impetuous cavalry threw the allies into some confusion; but the steady foot soon rallied; and at this critical moment the batteries across the Maine suspended their fire, which they could not continue without striking their countrymen as well as their enemies; for they were mixed. George, in person, formed his infantry into one dense column, and charged with them till they broke de Grammont's squadrons, and pushed both horse and foot before them. Noailles, from the opposite side of the river, beheld the fatal mistake of his nephew, and tried to redeem it; but, before he could get to Dettingen, the affair was decided, and Grammont's men were in headlong retreat, and so panic struck that he could not rally them. The French made for the bridges across the Maine; the English pursued them with the sabre and bayonet in their loins: multitudes were killed before they could reach the bridges; others, in their mad speed, rushed into the river or fell over the choked-up bridges, and were drowned; others, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by running up the hills on the opposite side of the valley, and were for the most part taken prisoners without a blow. Altogether the loss of the French, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at 6000. The English and their allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 2000 men, including many officers of rank. Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed; the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and others were wounded. The king, who had exposed his person as much as any of them, was not touched. This much-famed battle of Dettingen lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, and George remained on the ground till dark at night. The Duke of Cumberland, though wounded in the leg, had refused to quit the field. Both father and son displayed the greatest personal bravery; but, as for generalship, there was none in the allied army. The great merit rested with the unflinching infantry of England and the steady Hanoverian foot. When the battle was over the allies were still without victuals, drink, and tents to lie in; but the road to the well-furnished

magazines of Hanau was now opened, and thither they marched, after a short rest, leaving their wounded behind them on the field at the mercy of the French.* Lord Stair, though wounded in the shoulder, proposed that instead of going back to Hanau they should go forward and pursue the French; but provisions were indispensable, and, though de Grammont had been so thoroughly defeated, nearly one-half of the French army had never been engaged at all, and the junction of those retreating with those who had not fought and were fresh for action would still have presented a force far superior to that of the allies. There remains, however, to be considered the effect of a sudden panic, and of a closely pursued advantage; but as some time was lost in deliberation, and as the stomach arguments were so strong, it was generally considered that George did well in rejecting the advice of the brave old Scotch lord. Stair, nevertheless, continued to think that his advice ought to have been followed.† George reached Hanau and obtained provisions and the columns expected from Hanover, and, his force being thus nearly equal in numbers to the whole French army, Stair again proposed a pursuit; but his advice was again rejected, and then his lordship quarrelled with Hanoverians, Hessians, officers, princes, and all. But another battle, in reality, was hardly necessary —de Broglie, to whose assistance Noailles was marching into the heart of the empire, was driven across the Rhine (near Manheim) by the troops of the Queen of Hungary, under the command of her brother-in-law, Prince Charles of Lorraine; and thereupon Noailles burnt his magazines, retreated towards Worms, crossed the Rhine on the 17th of July, and joining de Broglie, left the German frontier to return in a lamentable plight to his own country. Thus abandoned, the Elector of Bavaria, or Emperor beloved of the French, who was without an army and almost without a shilling, prostrated himself before the House of Austria and signed a neutrality for his hereditary states, which, however, were to remain in possession of the Queen of Hungary, whose armies had overrun and occupied them, till the conclusion of a general peace. The quarters of King George, at Hanau, were made the centre of negotiations for this peace, and his majesty was flattered with the honour of being named mediator; but Maria Theresa, heroic in her misfortunes, was not moderate in her successes, and as, besides, the Elector or Emperor Charles wanted English money to carry him through, the negotiations came to nothing. George's chief companion and adviser in all these matters was Carteret, who, though nominally only secretary of state for foreign affairs, was in reality prime minister of England—for Wilmington had immediately sunk into a man of straw. When the king at length moved from Hanau, he went to Mayence, crossed the Rhine there, and took his post at Worms, while Prince Charles of Lorraine, with the Queen of Hungary's army, made a corresponding movement, and fixed himself on the left bank of the Rhine. Nothing less had been talked of than a joint invasion of France; but the united force seemed insufficient, the different commanders could not agree, the autumnal rains were beginning, and it was presently resolved—and again in spite of the advice and remonstrances of Stair—that the season was too far advanced for further hostilities, and that they had better all go into winter quarters. Stair, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been serving as second in command, and many other English officers, threw up their commissions in disgust, and returned to England, complaining most bitterly of the Hanoverian generals, and of the slowness, indecision, and obstinacy of our German allies generally. The king soon followed these discontented officers into England, leaving his troops in Flanders in nearly the same cantonments they had moved from at the opening of the campaign. But before his departure from the continent, George, having Carteret still acting with him, signed at Worms a very important treaty with Austria and Sardinia. In return for an annual subsidy of 200,000*l.* from England, the cession of some Italian districts from Austria, the supreme command of the allied forces beyond the Alps, and other advantages expressed or understood, his Sardinian majesty engaged to assist the allies with an army of 45,000 men, and to give up to Maria Theresa all the pretensions he had advanced to the Duchy of Milan. By another clause of this treaty of Worms George engaged to keep a very strong fleet constantly in the Mediterranean to co-operate with the King of Sardinia in his Italian or other wars. The campaign in that peninsula had been indecisive, but, on the whole, unfavourable to Spain. Count de Gages, who had succeeded Montemar in command of the Spanish army, engaged the Austrians under Count Traun at Campo Santo, and captured a few guns and flags; but de Gages could not maintain himself, and in the autumn he retreated towards the Neapolitan frontiers, to take refuge with Don Carlos.

We have said that the real power of the government rested with Carteret, and that Wilmington was little but a name; but Wilmington died more than two months before the conclusion of the treaty of Worms, and was succeeded by Pelham, who was about equally powerless. Pulteney now aimed at the post, but he was defeated by the influence of Walpole, who, though out of place, was more powerful, or at least could do more with the king, than all the cabinet put together. Pelham was allowed to make places or promotions for his particular friends Henry Fox and Lord Middlesex. The paymastership of the forces, which

* To his honour Marshal Noailles treated these unfortunate men in a most humane manner. But the leaving the wounded behind was severely censured.

† Shortly after Voltaire met Lord Stair at the Hague, and coolly asked him what he thought of the battle of Dettingen. "I think," replied the Scot, "that the French made one great mistake, and the English two: yours was, not standing still; our first, entangling ourselves in a most dangerous position, our second, failing to pursue our victory."

he had held himself, he gave to Winnington; and as he wanted the office of chancellor of the exchequer for himself, he was allowed to sweeten the dismission of Sandys with a peerage and a place in the household. Pelham was considered by Walpole as well qualified to manage the treasury and the House of Commons, and as an old servant, who, if not too grateful, was too mild and amiable, to turn upon his old master. When Lord Gower resigned the privy seal, Pelham was permitted to give it to Lord Cholmondeley, in spite of the efforts of Lord Bath (Pulteney), who wanted it for Lord Carlisle.

The parliament was opened on the 1st of December. In the Upper House the opposition was weakened by the deaths of Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyll; but in the Commons it was strengthened by the still growing powers of Pitt in debate, and by the conversions to the popular side made by the course of events abroad. An attempt, however, against the ministerial address was defeated by a majority of 278 to 149. Pitt, as loud against Carteret as he had formerly been against Walpole, denounced his lordship as an execrable, a sole minister—the Hanover troop minister—a flagitious task-master, with the 16,000 Hanoverians as his placemen, and with no other party. When it became known that these Hanoverian troops were still to be continued in the pay of England, and that great subsidies had been promised to the King of Sardinia, the people raised a shout of indignation, and Pitt in the Commons and Chesterfield in the Lords assailed Carteret more violently and more successfully. That injudicious minister was accused of a readiness to sacrifice his country for the sake of the king's favour, which was only to be kept by abetting his Hanoverian partialities, and promoting his ruinously expensive continental schemes. Out of doors—and sometimes as much was hinted within—Carteret was accused of being a drunkard and a madman. "He is never sober," writes Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are his parts and his spirit." The historian Carte said in a letter to the Pretender—"One good effect of Sir Robert Walpole's removal is, the bringing of this new set of ministers into power, whose measures have already done your majesty so much service. There never was a bolder, more blustering, and hot-headed minister than Carteret; and the consequence of all the steps which he inspires will be seen into and felt the first moment. . . . . It was certainly no very politic declaration which Carteret made publicly as soon as he got into power, namely, *that it was impossible to govern England but by corruption.*"*

A. D. 1744.—Now, assailed as they were by motions in both Houses, by popular petitions, and by debates night after night, every member of the cabinet except Carteret began to think it expedient to drop the question of the foreign troops, and commit the king's honour by leaving unvoted and undemanded the money for the foreign subsidies; but Carteret was firm, and Lord Orford (Walpole) encouraged him in his firmness, and overcame the fears of Pelham and the rest of the ministry. "The whole world," says Horace Walpole, "nay, the prince himself, allows that if Lord Orford had not come to town the Hanover troops had been lost." Walpole, who had never before spoken in the House of Lords, declaring that he had left his tongue behind him in the Commons, delivered a long speech on this occasion, being quickened by repeated messages from the king, and by his majesty's declaration to both Houses (on the 18th of February), that he had received undoubted information that the Pretender's eldest son was arrived at Paris, and in concert with some of his disaffected subjects was preparing to make an invasion, supported by a French fleet. The aged ex-minister, who was suffering under an acute disease, spoke with astonishing animation: he said he could not easily have believed that it could ever have been necessary for him to appear on such an occasion as this; he conjured their lordships to have regard to their sovereign, and to the obligations they and the country owed to his House; he represented our imminent danger at a time when the greatest power in Europe was setting up a pretender to the throne, and when only the winds had hindered an invasion. "I have, indeed," continued his lordship, "particular reason to express my astonishment and my own uneasiness,—I feel my breast fired with the warmest gratitude to a gracious and royal master, whom I have so long served; my heart overflows with zeal for his honour, and ardour for the lasting security of his illustrious house. But, my lords, the danger is common, and an invasion equally involves all our happiness, all our hopes, and all our fortunes. It cannot be thought consistent with the wisdom of your lordships to be employed in determining private property when so weighty an affair as the security of the whole kingdom demands your attention; when it is not known that at this instant the enemy has not set his foot on our coast, is ravaging our country with fire and sword, and threatening us with no less than extirpation and servitude." Frederick Prince of Wales, forgetting the deep enmity of years, quitted his seat, and, taking Walpole by the hand, expressed his gratitude. The speech had an instantaneous effect upon the whole House, and for the present not a word more was said about discharging the Hanoverians, or reducing our army, or weakening our alliances by stopping subsidies. The Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his recent resignation and loud complaints, hastened up to London to move a loyal address; the Earl of Stair, equally forgetting recent quarrels, offered his sword to his sovereign—offered to serve in any station; and, in the Commons, Pitt and the other leaders of the opposition ceased their

* Extract from the Stuart Papers in Lord Mahon's Appendix to Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht. The Jacobite adds, "Had Carteret said that it was impossible for such men as himself, or for a Whig ministry, he had been right."

assaults, and energetically pleaded the necessity of supporting his majesty's government. The high Tories and Jacobites were awed into silence, and withdrew from parliament. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for two months; a bill, brought in by the opposition in the Commons, provided that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the Pretender should extend to correspondence with his children; and the Lords added an additional clause to attaint the sons of the Pretender in case they should attempt to land.* The subsidy of 200,000*l.* was promptly granted to Sardinia; 300,000*l.* were allotted to Austria; and, on the whole, the Commons at this crisis voted near ten millions as necessary supplies. In the month of May, when parliament was prorogued, Lord Orford retired to his seat at Houghton, suffering greatly both in body and mind—for he was far from feeling confident either in the wisdom of ministers or in the steadiness of the English people. His brother even apprehended "that the people might perhaps look on and cry 'Fight dog, fight bear,' if they did no worse." There was, however, no lack of loyal addresses and declarations in favour of fighting to the last against the French and the Pretender. According to the old rule, a proclamation was issued for enforcing the penal laws against Roman Catholics and non-jurors, and for commanding all papists whatsoever to depart from the cities of London and Westminster; and from within ten miles of the same; for confining the papists to their houses, for seizing the arms and horses of such as refused to take the oaths, &c. The Earl of Barrimore, an Irish peer, a member of the House of Commons in England, and the oldest lieutenant-general in our service, was taken into custody at his house in Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square; and Colonel Cecil was also arrested: but both were soon released. The magistrates of Edinburgh offered, of their own accord, 6000*l.* to any man that should apprehend either the Pretender or his eldest son.

That eldest son and heir to the misfortunes of the Stuarts was indeed coming:—King George's message to the Houses was perfectly correct—he was in France, and the French were helping him.

The pressing invitation came again from Scotland, which had too soon forgotten the mischievous effects of the attempt of 1715. The association of the most zealous Scottish Jacobites entered into at Edinburgh in the year 1740 was signed by Lord Lovat, Lord James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Locheil, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. This act of association was carried to the old Pretender at Rome by Drummond of Bochaldy, a near relation to Cameron of Locheil, together with a list of such Highland chiefs as the subscribers thought would join the standard of the Stuarts if it only came accompanied by a body of French troops. James, having read the papers, thought the project practicable and well-timed; for the clamour against Walpole was then at its height, and, knowing little of England or of English humours, the old Pretender fancied that the voice of party was the voice of revolution. He sent the papers brought by Drummond to Cardinal Fleury, at Paris, accompanying them with a request that the French minister would afford that assistance and co-operation which was now, as formerly, a *sine quâ non* with the northern Jacobites. The French court replied as formerly, that they could not venture men and money unless the Scots could prove to them that their insurrection was likely to succeed. The cardinal himself was averse to the undertaking; but when the continental war broke out on the death of the emperor the pacific influence of Fleury terminated, and, from her close alliance with Spain, and the conditions of the family compact, France deemed herself bound to distress Great Britain, and was sufficiently unscrupulous as to the means she employed. These motives became the stronger when British troops began to act as auxiliaries on the continent, and when British money and British credit were evidently assisting to maintain the House of Austria and to frustrate the schemes of the great confederacy for spoliation. In the month of February, 1742, Drummond of Bochaldy came privately over to Edinburgh, to assure the Jacobites that Cardinal Fleury had the Pretender's interest so much at heart, that, provided he could only obtain assurances similar to theirs from the Jacobites of England, he would venture an army of 13,000 men, 3000 of which should be landed in Scotland, while 10,000, under the command of the renowned Marshal Saxe,* should land in England as near to London as possible, and carry with them Prince Charles, the Pretender's eldest son. It appears that Bochaldy went beyond the letter of his instructions in several particulars, and that, though the scheme had been proposed to him, the Pretender had not yet made up his mind to send over his son with these promised French troops. Drummond found that the seven conspirators who had signed the association, being joined by many others, had formed themselves into a society which they called "The Concert of Gentlemen for managing the King's affairs in Scotland." With all these he communicated personally, and he waited at Edinburgh till Cameron of Locheil came to town and conferred with him. He then returned to Paris to assure the French ministers that the prospect of success was en-

* This clause, proposed by the lord chancellor, passed unanimously; but another harsh and barbarous clause for extending the penalties of the act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young Pretenders, was vehemently opposed, and was passed with so much difficulty as proved that it would become practically a dead letter.

* Marshal Saxe, now one of the best officers in the French service, was a natural son of Frederick Augustus II., king of Poland, by the Countess Maria Aurora of Königsmark, sister of the count of that name that was murdered at Hanover as the suspected lover of the wife of George I., and also sister to the other Count Königsmark, who had murdered Mr. Thynne in the streets of London by means of three hired assassins.—See *English Causes Célèbres.*

couraging in the utmost degree. After his audience Drummond, by letter, assured Lord Traquair and the "concert of gentlemen" that the French designed to put their scheme in execution that very year. But nothing was done or attempted, and the Scottish Jacobites began to apprehend that Drummond had deceived them, or that Cardinal Fleury had deceived him, and that France did not seriously intend an invasion of a country with which she was still nominally at peace. In the beginning of the following year (1743) Murray of Broughton, a member of the secret society of Jacobites—one of the concert—went over to Paris to learn from the cardinal himself what he really intended; but before Murray reached the French capital the cardinal was dead. The Jacobite envoy, however, waited upon M. Amelot, secretary for foreign affairs, who told him that the cardinal had delivered to him all the papers relating to the Pretender's business, and that Fleury, in dying, had recommended his successor in office, Cardinal de Tencin, to carry into execution the plans devised for restoring the Stuarts. Cardinal de Tencin certainly wanted no such recommendation from Fleury;—he owed his cardinal's cap to the friendship and patronage of the Pretender, and he was throughout life devoted to the interests of the Stuarts. The secretary for foreign affairs, moreover, told Murray of Broughton that Louis XV. was as much interested for the Stuart family as any Scottish gentleman that had signed the association; and that his majesty had commanded him to assure Murray, that as soon as an opportunity offered he would carry the great scheme into execution. Murray returned rejoicing to Scotland. Shortly after this, Drummond of Bochaldy went to Rome, at the desire of the French court, to persuade James to send his son to France. Other agents were sent over to London and to different parts of England: but the English Jacobites were extremely shy, and not a single Englishman could be persuaded to follow the example of the seven original Scottish conspirators, or to pledge themselves, under their hand and seal, to the Pretender. A few vague promises were, however, given—mostly among the Catholics in the northern counties. In the summer of the same year (1743) Cardinal de Tencin wrote to the old Pretender, acquainting him with the preparations made for an invasion, and urging him to send his son Charles immediately to Paris, that he might go with the expedition. On the 27th of June, James, writing from his delightful villa of Albano, near Rome, assured his friend the cardinal that nothing could be more desirable in general than the journey of the prince his son into France. "But," added the old Pretender, made cautious and diffident by thirty years of failure and disappointment, "if you seriously meditate an enterprise against England, would it not be more prudent to defer my son's journey until you are ready for the execution of the grand project? For such a journey will produce a great noise, will put the English government on its guard, and engage it to do everything in order to provide against an invasion, which will then be regarded as certain and near at hand. I have considered it my duty to make this reflection; but if, in the mean while, you assure me that the King of France wishes my son to go to Paris, I will send him."* The French cabinet then commenced collecting at Dunkirk and Calais a large body of veteran troops under Marshal Saxe, a fleet of transports and other necessaries, and also put in order at Brest and Rochfort eighteen or twenty men-of-war. When all these preparations were made—when 15,000 men were all but ready to embark—de Tencin dispatched another messenger to Rome, to urge the instant coming of Prince Charles. The old Pretender then, on the 23rd of December, 1743, signed a proclamation to be published on his son's landing in England, and a commission appointing Charles his regent and *alter ego*. Other papers were prepared, including patents of nobility to reward the most forward of the Jacobites; some little money was got together; and on the night of the 9th of January, 1744, Charles, giving out that he was going to hunt the boar in the Pontine marshes and the wilds of the Maremma, as he had been used to do at that season, stole out of Rome very privately, disguised like a Spanish courier, and attended by only one servant, a favourite groom, who played for the nonce the part of a Spanish cabinet messenger. He had to avoid by land George's ally, the King of Sardinia, and by sea George's admiral, Matthews, who was cruizing off the Italian coast. Travelling day and night, the young Pretender passed Genoa and reached the little sea-port of Savona: there he embarked in a felucca, or small half-deck vessel, and, no doubt by keeping close in shore, he escaped observation, and got safe to the French port of Antibes. Thence he pursued his journey with all speed to Paris, where he arrived, unknown and unobserved, on the 20th of January. His confidence was somewhat damped by Louis XV. refusing to confer with him personally. His most Christian majesty still deemed the deceptive veil necessary, and he never admitted Charles to an audience during this his first stay at Paris. The young Pretender was, however, met by the exiled Earl Marshal, by Lord Elcho, by Drummond of Bochaldy, and by one or two other Scots, whose secrecy and discretion could be trusted. After lying concealed some short time at Paris, he stole away to the little port of Gravelines, from the downs of which place he beheld for the first time the white cliffs of England. During his stay at Gravelines he took the name of the Chevalier Douglas, and remained close and unknown, having no one with him save the laird of Bochaldy. The exiled Earl Marshal, one of the best men that ever engaged in that desperate cause, repaired in all privacy to Gravelines to accompany the prince. At first it had been arranged that the 3000 Frenchmen for Scotland

* Stuart Papers.

should be sent off before the main body, but now it was resolved that the main body should go at the same time. Having effected the junction of the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, Admiral Roquefeuille ventured up the British Channel, to examine the state and position of our guard-ships previously to taking in charge the transports and troops at Dunkirk. Towards the end of February people on the look-out on the heights of Torbay discovered the French fleet, which consisted of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, and they watched it with an anxious eye. Roquefeuille continued his course till he came abreast of the Isle of Wight, and could look into Spithead. Not seeing a single English man-of-war on that usual station, he dispatched a tender to Dunkirk, advising Marshal Saxe to embark his troops without delay. That active general soon shipped 7000 of his men: Prince Charles had come round from Gravelines, and he and the marshal embarked together and even put out to sea. After dispatching the tender, Roquefeuille continued to steal along the Channel, until he arrived off Dungeness, where he cast anchor. But his anchors had scarcely bit the ground when he was disturbed by the apparition of our Channel fleet, bearing down upon him in superior force. This fleet was commanded by Sir John Norris, an excellent sailor, but somewhat too aged for dashing, daring enterprises. Norris had been lying at Spithead a short time before the coming out of the French fleet, but had steered round to the Downs to effect his junction with other ships that lay at the mouth of the Medway or that came down from Chatham. He now cast anchor within two leagues of Roquefeuille, considering, from the state of the tide and the approach of night, it would be better to delay the combat till the next day. There were, perhaps, other circumstances to impose or excuse this delay, but the consequence of it was, there was no combat at all: Roquefeuille slipped his cables in the night and bore away for the French coast, and when the morning sun arose old Norris could not see so much as a strip of French canvass. But the wind that wafted Roquefeuille out of the reach of the English fleet blew too hard for Marshal Saxe, the Pretender, and the transports, that had come out of Dunkirk. It blew right in their teeth—it rose to a hurricane—it sunk some of the largest ships with all the men on board—it drove others back on the French coast among rocks and sandbanks; and the luckiest of the fleet were those that got back into port dismasted and shattered. The French troops, with their numbers considerably diminished by these sea casualties and with their spirits quite sunk by the horrors of sea-sickness, were glad to be on *terra firma* again, and in no hurry to re-embark. The discouragement extended to the French cabinet, who, moreover, had now urgent need of troops in Flanders to face the Dutch, who seemed to be entering with more heart into the war; and soon after the fatal storm the army was withdrawn from the coast, and Marshal Saxe was sent into the Low Countries. Charles retired to his old hiding-place at Gravelines, where he lived very privately all the spring, still calling himself the Chevalier Douglas. "The situation I am in," wrote Charles to his father, "is very particular, for nobody knows where I am, or what is become of me; so that I am entirely buried as to the public, and cannot but say that it is a very great constraint upon me, for I am obliged very often not to stir out of my room for fear of somebody's noting my face." It appears that, to support his *travestimento*, this royal Stuart was in the habit while at Gravelines of going to market to buy his own dinner. We find him writing to his father—"I very often think that you would laugh very heartily, if you saw me going about with a single servant, buying fish and other things, and squabbling for a penny, more or less! . . . . . Everybody is wondering where the prince is; some will have him in one place, and some in another, but nobody knows where he really is; and sometimes he is told news of himself to his face, which is very diverting." But there were other things attending this masquerade which were by no means so pleasant: there was hard work to do in reading and answering dispatches secretly conveyed to him from various quarters; and the prince, who loved hunting, but hated writing—who was so ill educated that he could write in no language, neither in French, Italian, nor English, without committing gross blunders in orthography—complained much of this hard work, and of having no one to help him, save the laird of Bochaldy, who, in all probability, was no great linguist or penman himself.* He wished to join the French army in Flanders, fighting against Englishmen and the allies of England; but Louis would not permit him to go to his army, and Lord Marshal strongly advised the young Pretender against such a step, so little likely to conciliate the people he wished to govern as king. For this advice Charles was furious, and he wrote to his father at Rome to accuse and abuse the noble exile. In the month of June Charles left the coast and returned to Paris, where Louis ordered him to remain concealed. He accordingly took a house some distance from that capital, where, as he said himself, he should be at full liberty to have the spleen, being compelled to live like a hermit. We find him complaining that he could get no shooting—that he had not handled a gun for two months; "but," adds he, with a nice attention to the weather, "I intend to begin to shoot again soon, *but not when it rains*." It is true, Charles was a young man, but youth can scarcely excuse this trifling in one that was risking thousands of lives for the attainment of a great object. At all events, such *poco-curante* youths are not made to carve their way to thrones.

A few days after the retreat of Roquefeuille and the disasters of Marshal Saxe's transports, 6000 Dutch troops were landed at Gravesend, as a

* Stuart Papers.

contingent which the States-General were bound to furnish by old treaties. Other troops were raised at home, fresh ships were equipped, and the chief landing-places on our coasts were put into a better state of defence. The fierce battle of Dettingen had produced no declaration of war from France; but, after the recent demonstrations on our own coasts, Louis XV. considered it decent to declare war in a regular form, accusing King George of being the cause of all the wars on the continent, by dissuading Maria Theresa from listening to terms. George replied in a counter-declaration of war, in which he accused Louis of violating the Pragmatic Sanction, of covertly and treacherously assisting Spain in her war with England, and of basely harbouring and abetting the son of the Pretender.

While Roquefeuille had been engaging the attention of England in the Channel, a bold attempt had been made in the Mediterranean by a Spanish fleet united to the fleet of Toulon. The Spaniards and French ventured out from Toulon, in the beginning of March, against the English Mediterranean fleet, commanded by Admirals Mathews and Lestock. The British vessels were foul from long service and cruising, while those of their opponents were clean and fresh out of port; the English were more numerous by two or three ships; but their crews were weaker, and some of the enemy—particularly the Spaniards—carried greater weight of metal. At the beginning of the fight Mathews attacked the Spanish division, bearing himself gallantly down upon their flag-ship, which carried 114 guns. But there had long been a deadly feud between the two English commanders;—Mathews complained that Lestock kept aloof purposely and maliciously—Lestock said that Mathews's signals were in fault, being confused and unintelligible. The Spanish flag-ship was shattered, the Royal Philip was disabled, and another large Spanish ship, after being taken and retaken, was finally burnt by Mathews's division. Night separated the combatants, when Mathews found his own ship so much damaged that he moved his flag into another. The brave Captain Cornwall fell in this day's engagement; but our loss in men was represented as very inconsiderable. On the following morning the French and Spaniards appeared to leeward: Mathews gave chase, but Lestock's division hung astern, and nothing was done that day. On the morrow the pursuit was renewed, and Lestock's division outsailed that of Mathews; but then Mathews hoisted a signal for leaving off the chase, and bore away for Port Mahon, to repair, in our arsenals there, the damage he had sustained. In a close, land-bound sea like the Mediterranean the winds are often seen to vary so much that there will be a good breeze at one point, and scarcely a cap of wind half a league behind;—there are also inequalities in the sailing of ships, and capabilities of sailing better under one wind than another, that may account for great irregularity in a pursuit; but on the present occasion it was generally believed that the jealousy and hatred of the two commanders were the sole cause of the escape of the enemy. Mathews, as superior in command, suspended Lestock, and sent him home to England for trial; but he was soon after recalled himself, and subjected equally with Lestock to the ordeal of a court martial, on which men were too passionate to be impartial. The House of Commons had interfered, and the proceedings were long and tedious; but in the end the court-martial honourably acquitted Lestock and declared Mathews for ever incapable of serving his majesty. Several commanders of ships were cashiered at the same time. The Spanish admiral who had escaped into Carthagena was made a marquis, and the Frenchman was promoted for not having been worse beaten than he was.* The remaining naval operations of the year were unimportant, if we except the return of Commodore Anson, who added a curious episode to the maritime history of his country. Anson, as we have shown, had been appointed to go to the South Seas in 1740, to harass the unsuspecting coasts of Chili and Peru, and to co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien. The small squadron placed under his command was delayed till the season was far advanced, and, what was far worse, his ships were scarcely sea-worthy and badly found in provisions and accommodations—because, as usual, the contractors, commissioners, and dock-yard men had been allowed to make their infamous profits at the expense of the safety and health of hundreds of brave men. In doubling Cape Horn in March 1741, his store ship, the Wager, was wrecked, and the rest of his ships were scattered. With only his own ship, the Centurion, he reached in June the solitary island of Juan Fernandez, having lost on his way, chiefly by scurvy, 200 from a crew of between 400 and 500 men. At Juan Fernandez he was joined by the Gloucester, a sloop, and a pink laden with provisions, which had fought their way after their bold leader. With these vessels, and not more than 335 men, he left Juan Fernandez in September to scour the Pacific side of Spanish America. His exploits bore a close resemblance to

* Smollett, a very competent critic in such matters, says, "Admiral Mathews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Mathews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalised his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was *cool, cunning, and vindictive.* He had been treated superciliously by Mathews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion, he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted that he might have come up in time to engage, and in that case the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed; but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Mathews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the *personal* animosity of individuals."—*Hist. Eng.*

those of the Buccaneers: he made prize of all the vessels he could meet, and he burnt towns and villages. He could hardly do more, as the miserable failures of Vernon made his intended co-operation across the Isthmus of Darien a dream. But he boldly conceived a project of his own, which was to intercept the Manilla galleon, a Spanish ship which sailed annually between Manilla, one of the Philippine islands, and Acapulco in Mexico, laden with silver and other valuable commodities. After hovering on the coast of America eight or nine months, he stretched across the vast Pacific Ocean, with ships that would fill with despair a modern mariner, and with crews perishing of scurvy. In the course of his long voyage he was obliged to destroy the Gloucester and the two other vessels from want of men to navigate them, and in the Centurion, his only remaining ship, he could hardly muster half a crew, even when all the survivors were assembled in her. While resting on shore on the uninhabited island of Tinian, one of the Ladrones, the Centurion was driven out to sea; but the men on board contrived, after some time, to work her back to the island. Instead of despairing, Anson had, during her absence, begun to construct a vessel, working himself like a shipwright. From the Ladrones he shaped his course for China, got into the bay of Canton in November 1742, and cast anchor at Macao. There he new-sheathed the rotting Centurion and procured some fresh seamen. Having well calculated his time he sailed from the bay of Canton to the straits of Manilla, where he met and captured the great galleon, mounted with 40 guns and carrying 600 men. The battle, though short, was vigorous; and in the moment of victory a fire broke out near the powder room of the Centurion, which but for the presence of mind of the commodore would have blown the victors into the air. The value of the prize in bullion and other effects was estimated at 313,000*l.* He returned to China, sold the prize ship, and then began his voyage homeward by the Cape of Good Hope. After suffering many hardships and running risks innumerable, he got into the Channel, passed through the heart of a French fleet, without seeing them, in a thick fog, and finally arrived safely at Spithead on the 15th of June of the present year, 1744. All the treasure he brought with him in coin, bullion, and gold and silver dust, amounted in value to one million and a quarter sterling. It was resolved for popular purposes to get up an exhibition; and on the 4th of July thirty waggons from Portsmouth carrying the treasure brought home passed through the Strand and Cheapside to the Tower, guarded by the ship's crew, and preceded by the officers with swords drawn, music playing, and colours flying, the flags taken from the Spaniards, and particularly that of the great galleon, making an attractive part of the exhibition. Anson, who had greatly enriched himself, was presently made rear-admiral of the blue.*

* In the month of July Sir John Balchen sailed from Spithead to look after the French fleet at Brest. In the Bay of Biscay he encountered a dreadful storm, which sunk his own ship the Victory, then esteemed the most beautiful first-rate in the world, and he and eleven hundred others perished in her. The rest of the dispersed fleet was collected by Admiral Stewart, the second in command, who led the greater part of them back to Plymouth in a disabled condition.

The incidents of the land war during 1744 were various. Louis XV., in the month of May, went into Flanders to take the command of his own army, which amounted to 80,000 men. Marshal Saxe, fortunately for the French, was left with the real direction, for of war Louis knew nothing. King George had expected that the allies would muster a force equal to that of the enemy, but all that could really be got together was a discordant army of English, Dutch, Austrians, and Flemings, of about 52,000 men. With this vast superiority Louis was enabled to indulge for a short time in that spectacular part of war which had been so much to the taste of his great-grandfather Louis XIV.—that is, he witnessed the surrender of towns and fortresses, which seemed made to be taken and retaken some half-dozen of times in every war. But Maria Theresa's army, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, burst into Alsace, driving the French behind the ramparts of Strasburg; and then, in the month of July, the French king turned from witnessing the capture of ill defended towns, and hastened towards his invaded province, leaving half his army behind in Flanders under Saxe. But Louis was not made for the fatigues of campaigning, and he had besides overeaten himself: he fell sick unto death at Metz on his march into Alsace; confessed his sins, turned off his reigning mistress, and resigned himself entirely to his priests. In this state he lay between life and death for many weeks. But a more warlike hand than his was now outstretched against the Austrians. Frederick of Prussia suddenly broke his pacific engagements, tore up his treaties, and burst into Bohemia with 60,000 men, while another division of his army marched into Moravia. Frederick made straight for the Bohemian capital; and Prague, though defended by 15,000 men, capitulated on the 16th of September. Before moving he had renewed his correspondence with France, and had concluded at Frankfort a sort of treaty with the dispossessed Emperor Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, who now found himself able to send an army under Marshal Seckendorf into his lost hereditary dominions. Seckendorf entered Bavaria, drove the Austrian army there before him, and re-conducted his master Charles to Munich, his ancient capital. Terrified at these successes of Frederick and Seckendorf, the court of Vienna hastily recalled Prince Charles from the French province of Alsace, whither the sick Louis had been going. The able Lorrainer recrossed the Rhine with admirable skill in the face of a strong French army, and proceeded by forced marches to Bohemia, where Frederick was carrying everything before him. The Hungarians, to whom Maria Theresa again fled, renewed their heroic exertions, and crowded into Bohemia to serve

under Prince Charles. Frederick called upon the French marshals on the Rhine to assist him; and he called in vain—the French were unwilling to engage themselves again in the heart of Austria;—but his opponent was almost daily reinforced by large bodies of Croatians, Pandours, and other light troops, who cut off all stragglers, seized upon convoys and magazines, and harassed the Prussians perpetually by ambuscades, and night attacks. Frederick soon found himself obliged to retrace his steps through Bohemia, and to abandon to their fate his garrisons at Tabor and other places. His retreat through a mountainous country was exceedingly disastrous;—many of the Prussians were killed, many more taken, and their king himself had a narrow escape. They considered themselves fortunate, when, at the beginning of December, they found themselves clear of Bohemia, and once more in Silesia. In beginning his retreat Frederick fancied that General Einsiedel could maintain himself in Prague; but Einsiedel was obliged to abandon his heavy artillery and to march out of that capital at the end of November; and before he got across the Bohemian frontier his force of 11,000 men was reduced to 6000. Frederick afterwards acknowledged that in this the most disastrous of all his campaigns he had committed more faults and blunders than ever general had done before: but the illness of the King of France, and the despondency and backwardness of the French, were events over which he had no controul, and which greatly affected the issue of the war. He left his army in winter quarters in Silesia, and hastened to Berlin to raise more men for the shambles. Owing to exertions which had tended to weaken them in other quarters, the French were enabled to gain some brilliant but transient successes on the side of Italy. The Prince de Conti suddenly crossed the Alps by the Col de Tende, took by assault various important places, penetrated into Piedmont, joined some Spaniards under the Infant Don Philip, and routed the King of Sardinia in a bloody battle fought near the town of Coni. But the French could not keep their ground, and, perishing from want of supplies and the avenging muskets and knives of the peasantry whose fields they had desolated, they soon retreated through the defiles of the Alps into Savoy. But in Lower Italy the allies of England were singularly unsuccessful, and a Neapolitan army, for once in modern history, stood firm on the field of battle and gallantly won a victory. The remnant of the Spanish army had retreated by Rimini to the frontiers of Naples. The Austrian general, Prince Lobkowitz, followed them and threatened to attack them even on the Neapolitan territory, complaining that his majesty Don Carlos had, by giving them shelter and succour, and by other proceedings, broken the neutrality to which he had pledged himself when Commodore Martin threatened his capital and his very palace with bombardment. Don Carlos, on the other side, proclaimed that the conquest of his dominions was all along a part of the scheme of the Austrians; that the Spanish fugitives, who had claimed the shelter of his frontiers, were too few and powerless to excite any rational fears; and that now Lobkowitz's real design was to drive him out of his states. He then put his wife and children for safety within the strong fortress of Gaeta, and marched to his frontiers to join the Spaniards there and face Lobkowitz and the Austrians. He was followed by an army of 25,000 Neapolitans, and the Spaniards and their partisans made nearly 20,000 men more. Lobkowitz on the other hand had about 35,000 men in all—but they were men that had served in many wars, and that had been accustomed to speak with derision of a Neapolitan army. After numerous manœuvres, in which the Austrians tried to penetrate into the Neapolitan kingdom by the difficult passes of the Abruzzi, Don Carlos advanced a little into the neighbouring states of the Pope, and took quarters in Velletri, a considerable city situated on the summit of a steep hill, covered from root to top with vineyards and olive groves. Here Lobkowitz thought to surround him and catch him as in a trap; but on the night between the 10th and 11th of August, the Austrians, after penetrating into Velletri and setting fire to one of the suburbs, were repulsed with tremendous loss by the Neapolitans and Spaniards; and Lobkowitz, instead of taking the kingdom of Naples, was finally compelled to retreat behind the Po. With an army reduced by famine and malaria fever Lobkowitz began his retreat in the night of the 1st of November: the Neapolitans and Spaniards followed him as far as the Tiber; but there they slackened their pursuit, and Don Carlos, after paying his respects to the Pope, returned to his capital. *

In the month of October the turbulent old Duchess Dowager of Marlborough found peace at last in the grave, having equally survived her friends and her enemies. Out of her enormous wealth she bequeathed large legacies to the leaders of the opposition. Thus Chesterfield got 20,000*l.* and the reversion of an estate at Wimbledon, and Pitt 10,000*l.* The day of her death was also that of the death of the Countess Granville, mother to Lord Carteret, who thereupon became Earl Granville. This minister was still in the highest favour with the king, but he had become proportionably odious to the Duke of Newcastle and his other colleagues, who seemed determined to drive him

* The Marshal de Belleisle had always been considered, next to Cardinal de Tencin, as the chief promoter of the war of France against us. In the course of the autumn this Belleisle and his brother were sent by Louis XV. on a mission to Frederick of Prussia, who was fallen into the embarrassments and adversities we have narrated: taking the shortest road, the two Frenchmen ventured to go through Hanover, but, while they were changing horses at a village in that electorate, they were seized and detained by the local authorities. Soon after they were sent over as prisoners to England, and, refusing to give their parole in the form required of them, they were both committed to close confinement in Windsor Castle. This treatment of two diplomatists made a great noise; the Empress Charles complained that their arrest was a breach of the privileges of the empire; George seemed disposed to keep them fast, not as prisoners of war but as state prisoners and spies; but after several months' detention they were, upon the decision of the three field marshals, Stair, Cobham and Wade, declared to be prisoners of war, and sent back to France under a cartel.

from office. There was nothing new nor edifying in these cabinet squabbles and court intrigues. Carteret, or Granville, drinking as hard as usual, wanted still more power; and in the month of November the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham told his majesty, for themselves and for the greater part of the cabinet, that he must choose between their resignations and the dismissal of Granville.* George, in this extremity, entreated the Earl of Orford to come up to town and give his advice. Walpole obeyed the summons, but his advice was strongly against driving matters to extremities by retaining Granville. The Prince of Wales, who was now living on better terms with his father, was also consulted by George; but the prince could do nothing with his friends of the opposition, who were all bent upon the expulsion of Granville. The king bitterly blamed the Duke of Newcastle, saying of him—"He is grown as jealous of Lord Granville as he used to be of Walpole, and wants to be prime minister, which, a puppy! how can he be?" Nevertheless he found himself compelled, on the 23rd of November, to dismiss Granville. Lord Winchelsea, with his new board of admiralty, and a few other inferior placemen, retired with the expelled minister: the Earl of Harrington was re-appointed to the place which Granville had vacated. Strong efforts were made to overcome the personal aversion of the king to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt, in order to gratify that section of the Whigs, and also to induce his majesty to give some employment to Sir John Hynde Cotton, in order to keep the Tories quiet: for the Pelhams, in seeking for parliamentary aid, had not overlooked the latter party; and one of the most flattering promises they had made to the king was, that, Carteret being once removed, they should still the noisy voice of opposition in parliament. In short, they wanted to make what they rather inelegantly termed a *broad-bottomed* ministry; that is to say, a cabinet which should have for its basis men of all parties, from which, however, the particular adherents both of Pulteney and Carteret were to be carefully excluded. George, who could never forget the affair of his father's legacies, and the attempt of Chesterfield to bring to light the suppressed will, and who had otherwise been incensed by the parliamentary conduct of that lord, would on no account have him about his person as one of the secretaries of state, the post which his lordship aspired to; but he reluctantly consented to give him the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Pitt might have been gratified with a place if he would have accepted a minor one, but he proudly said that he would be secretary-at-war or nothing; and so he remained in opposition, but only for a few days, for the Duke of Newcastle and Pelham, who felt his assistance indispensable, assured him that the king's antipathy should soon be overcome, and that he should then have what he wanted. Pitt, therefore, resigned his place in the household of the Prince of Wales, who was now losing his party and his influence by inclining to the displaced minister Carteret and the Hanoverian faction. After bitter complaints of not being allowed to have a will of his own,—of being forced by his ministers to employ one that was an enemy to his House—George consented to make Sir John Hynde Cotton treasurer of the chamber in the royal household. The changeling Tory Lord Gower was restored to his former office of lord privy seal, from which Lord Cholmondeley was dismissed; the Duke of Dorset got the presidency of the council, vacated by Harrington; the Duke of Bedford became first lord of the admiralty in the room of Winchelsea, having the Earl of Sandwich as second commissioner; Mr. Grenville was made another of the junior lords of the admiralty; Lyttleton obtained a seat at the treasury board; and even the tricksy Bubb Dodington got on the broad-bottom, for he was appointed treasurer of the navy. He is understood, indeed, to have been at the head of a secret opposition committee of six, which had throughout the session directed all the operations in the Commons against the late ministry. Lord Hardwicke remained chancellor, Mr. Pelham first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the Duke of Newcastle one of the secretaries of state, Lord Harrington being made the other in the room of Lord Granville, though without succeeding to the premiership which had been held by his predecessor. The Duke of Devonshire, Walpole's rough diamond and steady friend, remained satisfied with the post of steward of the household. The makers of this broad-bottom administration told the king that he might now look round the House of Commons and not find one man of business or of any weight capable of heading or conducting an opposition.

A.D. 1745.—"This general coalition," says Lord John Russell, "smoothed the great sea of parliamentary debate; and the session is remarkable for producing scarcely a single division. Yet the conduct of the new ministry did not essentially differ from that of Lord Carteret." The opponents of that minister—the Chesterfields, the Pitts, the Lyttletons—had constantly reproached him for leaning to Hanover and employing or paying Hanoverian troops; and they had exhausted their eloquence upon this particular topic: yet these men now, in office, or (as in Pitt's case) making sure of being in, found it necessary to qualify their criticism; and they only escaped by a practical equivoque from pursuing precisely the same line that they had condemned and denounced in Carteret. Pitt read a sort of recantation in the House

* According to one account, Carteret, provoked at finding himself frequently outvoted in the cabinet by four to one, had declared that if his colleagues chose to take the government upon themselves they might, but that, if they would not, he would; that then both parties began to look for other aid, in which Carteret failed and the Pelhams were successful; that then Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, drew up a strong memorial representing the bad management of foreign affairs; and that this memorial, after being approved by the Pelhams, and the Dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Argyll, and Montague, was presented to the king, who showed by his countenance his displeasure at it, but who, having no other remedy, finally signified to the chancellor that Carteret should resign.—*Lord John Russell, Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe.*

in the month of January, upon a motion for continuing the army in Flanders; and, though the Hanoverian troops were nominally dismissed, an increased subsidy was voted to the Queen of Hungary,* to enable her to take those very troops into her pay. This she did; and the Hanoverians continued to serve in the allied armies as much in the pay of England as they had been before. But there was more than this: when the popular outcry grew faint, the farce of paying them indirectly was suspended, the money was counted out again from the English treasury, and the number of Hanoverians was increased from 15,000, which it had been in Carteret's time, to 22,000! In the same easy way a new subsidy for the Elector of Saxony was carried by the patriots and the broad-bottom men as soon as Carteret was removed; 24,000*l.* were voted for the Elector of Cologne, and 8000*l.* for the Elector of Mayence. Not a whisper was now raised against our increasing and complicating our foreign engagements, which a few months before had been considered so dangerous by the opposition;—the Quadruple Alliance, concluded in January between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony, binding the last-mentioned power to furnish 30,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, and binding England to pay two-thirds of the whole subsidy to the Saxon Elector, while Holland paid but one-third, met with no comment and excited no complaint in the House of Commons. To move the Dutch to some greater degree of activity in the war, Chesterfield, before going over to his lord-lieutenancy, repaired to the Hague, and negotiated and diplomatised (as he always did) with ability and success. At last, the States engaged to have 60,000 men under arms for the ensuing campaign, and consented that the supreme command of the united armies in Flanders should be entrusted to George's son, the Duke of Cumberland. The old Elector of Bavaria, who had hardly known one fortunate day since he had been elected emperor, died at Munich, in the month of January, of a complication of disorders and sufferings, physical and moral, that should seem sufficient to kill fifty men.† His son and successor to his hereditary states of Bavaria was wise enough not to be tempted by the imperial crown: he instantly opened negotiations with Maria Theresa; engaged to vote for her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, in the next Imperial Diet; renounced all claims whatsoever to any part of the Austrian succession; and promised to recall his troops from the French army, and never send them to assist the King of Prussia. The Queen of Hungary, on her part, agreed to acknowledge that the election of the late emperor was good and valid, and also to restore whatever territory she had occupied or conquered in Bavaria; and upon these terms a treaty was concluded at Fuessen.

Before the annual waste of human life began that great minister died, who had checked it for so many years. Walpole, Earl of Orford, was sick and suffering when summoned to London by George to give his advice in his ministerial difficulties. He soon returned to Houghton, employing four days on the journey, and suffering excruciating torments all the way. When at Houghton he called in the celebrated Dr. Jurin; but the new physician could do nothing for the old man, whose disorder was the worst kind of stone. His only relief was opium, and he took so much of that drug that for six weeks he was almost in a constant state of stupefaction. But neither opium nor pain could make him forget what he had learned at court, or wholly confuse his intellect. A few days before he died the Duke of Cumberland sent his governor, Mr. Poyntz, to consult him on a very delicate subject: George, for political purposes, had set his heart upon marrying his second son to a daughter of the King of Denmark; but, as the young lady was deformed, the Duke of Cumberland was much averse to the match, and wished to know from his father's old minister which would be the best means of avoiding it. Walpole, who well knew that the king's obstinacy was to be moved only by his avarice or by his dread of fresh parliamentary contentions, reflected a moment, and then told Poyntz that he must advise the duke to give his consent to the marriage upon condition of receiving a separate, ample, and immediate revenue and establishment; "and believe me," added the dying minister, "the match will then be no longer pressed upon him." The Duke of Cumberland followed this advice, and the event justified the prediction. Walpole expired on the 18th of March, 1745, in the sixty ninth year of his age; thus escaping the mournful spectacle of the civil war which was about to rage in the northern parts of our island.*

In the month of April Marshal Saxe found himself at the head of 76,000 French troops in Flanders; and, after a few movements to puzzle and embarrass the allies, he marched suddenly upon Tournay, and invested that place in the beginning of May. England had furnished all the troops she had promised, and had about 28,000 brave men under arms in that old battle-field of Europe; but the Dutch, instead of sending 50,000 and keeping 10,000 in garrison, had hardly sent 25,000; and the Austrians mustered no more than eight or nine squadrons of horse. As if the inferiority of number to the French was not sufficient to insure a bad campaign, the Duke of Cumberland, who had indisputably *some* (not many) of the qualities of a great general, and who was young and active at least, found himself under the control of an old Austrian pedant in war, Marshal Konigsegg,—and hampered and thwarted by the Dutch general, Prince Waldeck. At the earnest instance of Waldeck and the States-General, Cumberland moved with this inferior force to relieve Tournay, which ought to have been strong enough to defend itself, for it was esteemed one of the best fortresses in the

* Her subsidy was raised from 300,000*l.* to 500,000*l.*

† Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

* Coxe, Memoirs.

Low Countries, and there were 9000 Dutch within it well supplied with everything. Having come to this resolution of relieving Tournay, the allied armies ought to have been quick and sudden in their motions; but they lost time,—they went at parade pace,—and, when they got near Tournay, they found that Saxe was well prepared to meet them. That skilful and active general, leaving 15,000 of his foot to block up the fortress, moved with the rest of his army of 60,000 horse and foot, to an excellent position between Tournay and Fontenoy, which he presently occupied and strengthened with numerous works. And while he lay there Louis XV. and the Dauphin arrived post from Paris, and joined him, to the great joy and encouragement of the French army. If the young Pretender had been allowed, he would have followed the French king, and his first encounter with Cumberland would have been at Fontenoy instead of Culloden. When the allies came up they found the French encamped on the gentle heights that rise from the right bank of the river Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoine on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood on their left. As at Dettingen, the French had a free passage across the river by means of a bridge; and this bridge was defended by a *tête du pont* and by a strong body of reserve. Fontenoy and Antoine were well fortified and garrisoned; redoubts were thrown up between the two villages, and there were abbatis on the left in front of the wood. Apparently nothing daunted—it may be suspected that they were not skilful enough to detect at a glance the whole strength of the position—the allied generals resolved still to relieve Tournay and engage; and, driving in the French picquets and outposts, they advanced in gallant style. But night fell, operations were suspended, and the troops lay under their arms till the following morning, the 11th of May (N.S.). At about four o'clock in the morning a brisk cannonade began on both sides,* and before six both armies were closely engaged. The Duke of Cumberland with the English and Hanoverians advanced against the left of the French, and detached General Ingoldsby to clear the wood there and carry a redoubt a little beyond it. When Ingoldsby came up to the wood he found it occupied by some detachments of sharpshooters, whom he mistook for a whole division; and, after hesitating and losing time, he rode back to Cumberland for fresh instructions. This was a blunder; but on the other side Prince Waldeck and the Dutch, who had moved against the French's right to attack Fontenoy and Antoine, gave unequivocal proofs of cowardice; for, after failing in their assault, and suffering from the French batteries, they gave ground,† and remained little more than spectators of the rest of the fight. Nay, to increase the shame, Appius, the colonel of a regiment of Hesse-Homburghers in the pay of the States, galloped away with most of his men to the town of Ath, and thence wrote a letter to the Dutch government to inform them that the allied army had been cut to pieces. Still, however, Cumberland, with his brave British and Hanoverian troops, persevered in his attack on the left. Leaving the cavalry in their rear, and dragging some pieces of artillery with the force of their own nervous arms, the foot crossed a ravine, and advanced full in front of the wood, the batteries, and the abbatis, and of the best part of the French army, which had had time and opportunity to gather strength from its right. When the combat became close it was terrific; our men were killed in heaps by the enemy's artillery; but still they went closer, sweeping away the French foot and the firm Swiss guards. The Duke de Grammont, who had lost the day at Dettingen, found that his last day was come, for he was killed early in the struggle, and many officers better than he bit the dust. When the British and Hanoverians carried the French position on the left,* and looked with the eyes of conquerors to the right, they could see nothing of their allies the Dutch; and presently

* "Our cannon began to play a little after four in the morning, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march."—*Colonel John Munro to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.*

† A regiment of brave Highlanders was sent at the beginning of the movement to support the Dutch; and Colonel Munro, from whose letter we have quoted in the preceding note, was with them. In the same letter Munro says—"We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We the Highlanders got within musket-shot of the batteries at Fontenoy, where we received three full fires from batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and soon marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and 5000 foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched fifty yards we had orders to return to the attack; which we did; and, in about ten minutes after, had orders to march directly, with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left." According to another Scotch officer engaged, the Dutch confidently undertook to make themselves masters of Fontenoy early in the morning; "but, not having rightly reconnoitred it, found, to their surprise, a fosse round it, and that the French, by cutting the roofs of the houses and letting them fall in, had raised so many cannon upon the rubbish as made the place impregnable."—*Letter from Lieutenant John Forbes to Captain Hugh Forbes, in Culloden Papers.*

* "I wont describe the cause of our failure," says Lieutenant Forbes, "although I know it; but sure never troops behaved with more intrepidity than the English; nor never have troops suffered so much. In short, *there* was but *one* way of marching into the ground where we were *to form our line*, which was through the village of Vezon. The opening would not allow above fourteen or twenty abreast; and from thence to the French batteries a rising ground like a glacis, and they at half-cannon shot distance. General Campbell, with twelve squadrons, was ordered through the defile first, as a corps to cover the mouth of the opening, whilst the infantry marched in; which, as they marched from the right, formed as soon as they went in; so one regiment covered another, till they formed all the way to the left. You may believe this took up a great deal of time; in which the French batteries played incessantly on the twelve squadrons and on the troops as they formed; but, as it is impossible to describe a thing unless you had a plan before you, I shall only say we formed with all the regularity in the world, and we marched up towards the enemy, who were all along upon the height with their different batteries; the whole length of which run a hollow way, that they had made a very good entrenchment. Off we beat them out of this hollow way, and gained the height, whence we had the first view of their bodies, at about 200 paces distance; an immense number of them, and numberless cannon still playing upon us. Here we dressed our lines, and began to march towards them; when pop they went into another entrenchment, extremely well provided and flanked with batteries of cannon. Nevertheless, on we went, drove them from that, which was the first small shot we had an opportunity to make use of from the beginning, which was now near six hours."—*Culloden Papers.*

they were charged where they stood by masses of the French cavalry. But charge after charge was wasted upon them, and, instead of retreating, they pressed forward in the view of taking Fontenoy in the rear, and cutting the French off from their bridge across the Scheldt. "If," says Voltaire, "the Dutch had moved at this moment and joined the British, there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat for the French army; nor, in all probability, for the king and for his son." Louis, in fact, had been advised to seek safety in flight; but either because he thought flight more dangerous than staying where he was, or from some nobler motive, he refused to quit the field, though repeatedly urged to it by Marshal Saxe, who, it is said, was actually preparing to retreat himself. Old Konigsegg congratulated the English prince as a conqueror; but his compliments were premature. Saxe, who could not at first credit the fact, saw that Waldeck and the Dutch were determined to keep aloof; and then, calling away all the troops that had held Fontenoy and Antoine, laying bare the right of his position (which ought to have been occupied by our allies), bringing up the household troops and the entire body of his reserve, he tried to crush the British and Hanoverians by a last desperate effort. It was melancholy then to see the brave Irish brigade in the pay of France turn the first and most furious of all against their English brethren. From the necessity of the ground they now occupied between the wood and Fontenoy, which ground was hollow and narrow, British and Hanoverian foot were huddled together in compact masses. Saxe, by the advice of the Duke de Richelieu, brought four pieces of heavy artillery to play upon them in this condition; and while the cannon roared with murderous effect in their front, they were attacked in flank by fresh troops, both horse and foot. Meanwhile their own cavalry did little or nothing. This inactivity is accounted for by the roughness of the ground; but surely English horses could ride where the French could; and we are disposed to believe that, as usual, our cavalry was far inferior to our foot.* But the foot itself was at last compelled to fall back, which they did slowly and with their faces to their foes. It is related of the Duke of Cumberland that he was the last in the retreat,—that he called upon his men to remember Blenheim and Ramillies, and that he threatened to shoot one of his officers whom he saw running. Thus retreating, the English and Hanoverian infantry came to their horse, who then presented a front to the French and checked their pursuit. They were joined by their precious allies the Dutch, and then they all hastened together back to the strong walls of Ath. If the men had had their will, and no enemy in their rear, it might have been difficult to prevent a very different kind of combat, for their fury against the Dutch was boundless.* In this battle of Fontenoy the British lost, in killed and wounded, more than 4000 men, and the Hanoverians nearly 2000. They left behind them a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarcely any prisoners except the wounded, who here, as in the victory of Dettingen, were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. The French, on their part, owned to a loss of 7000 men; but it is believed that on both sides the numbers were under-rated. Among the English officers of distinction who fell were, Lieutenant-General Campbell and Major-General Ponsonby. "The action," says a Highland officer engaged, "will, I believe, be found to be the bloodiest as to officers that has happened to the British in the memory of man. . . . . The Hanoverians behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them we had supped in Tournay." Tournay, the cause of this vast slaughter, was delivered up through an astonishing piece of treachery. Hertsall, a principal engineer in the Dutch service, and who was chiefly relied upon for the defence of the place, sold himself to the French, escaped to their camp the third day of the siege, and assisted them with his advice and information in carrying on their approaches. This Hertsall, moreover, took off with him two persons who had had the care of the sluices and reservoirs, which, before they deserted, they so spoiled that the water ran out. It was also supposed that the seemingly accidental blowing up of a powder magazine, with good part of a Dutch regiment, was owing to trains the traitor Hertsall had laid before he went off.† The town of Tournay surrendered in a fortnight; and the citadel a week after! The French next invested the citadel of Ghent, which capitulated after an equally disgraceful defence; as did, in a brief time, Bruges, Dendermond, and Oudenard. Then, while the allies were covering Brussels and Antwerp, the French besieged and carried the town of Ostend. Here again a Dutch officer was suspected of treachery, and wonder and consternation was excited among the allies at seeing that the old spirit, as well as the old politics, of the States-General had quite left them, and that their high mightinesses, to all appearance, observed the rapid paces making by the French towards the entire conquest of the Low Countries without exerting their full strength to oppose them.

Encouraged by the successes of his ally, Frederick of Prussia scorned the representations of Lord

* It appears that one regiment of horse—the Oxford Blues—behaved better here than they had done at Dettingen. "The Blues," writes a Scottish officer, "behaved well, and rubbed off the stain of Dettingen."—*Letter from Colonel John Munro to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.*

* "It was monstrous," says Philip Yorke, in a letter to Horace Walpole the elder, "for the Dutch not to have even half the quota which they had agreed to bring into the field. . . . . When the battle was fought, the whole confederate army, according to the best accounts I have seen, consisted of 46 battalions, and 73 squadrons, making in all 33,000 effective men: the French, of 102 battalions, and 149 squadrons, making 60,000; a terrible disproportion, considering, at the same time, how advantageously they were posted, and lined with so many batteries. We have had few particular accounts of the action: some of those first dispatched were stopped on the other side of the water, and the officers write with caution and reserve. It is whispered about that Prince Waldeck pushed us into this desperate attempt; the best thing that can be said for it, now it is over, here is, that our Johns were fighting for their money, and that there was no other chance for raising the siege."

† Letter of Philip Yorke, cited in preceding note.

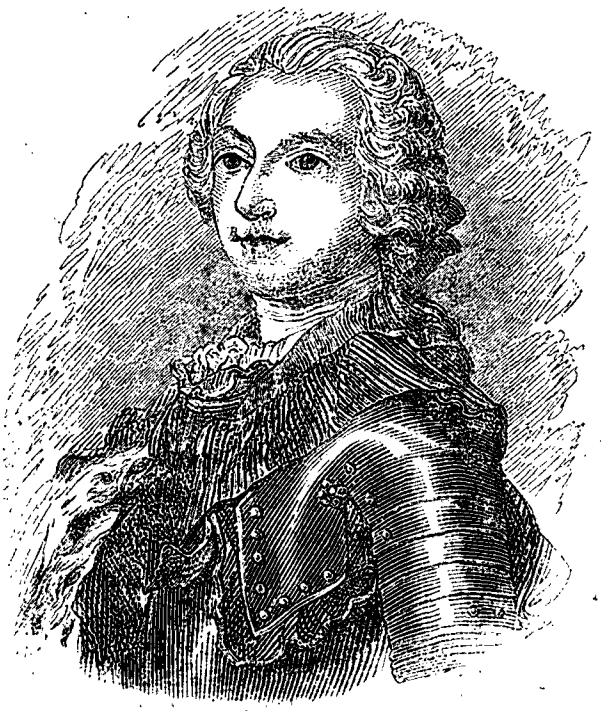
Harrington, who had gone to Hanover with King George, and who was attempting to mediate a peace between Prussia and Austria. After defeating Prince Charles of Lorraine in Silesia, Frederick threw himself between the Austrians and their auxiliaries the Saxons, and defeated both on the 3rd of June, in the decisive battle of Hohen Friedberg, where, for the first time, he really displayed the abilities of a great general. The loss of the Austrians was estimated at 9000 in killed and wounded, and as many in prisoners. Prince Charles of Lorraine then retreated into Bohemia, and by the end of June he had collected a fresh army in an entrenched camp at Konigsgratz. Frederick soon entered into Bohemia, with the view—if he could do no more—of wasting and consuming all the means of subsistence along that frontier, so as to render it impossible for the Austrians to winter there. He advanced to Chlum, and there fixed himself for a time. In the mean while Maria Theresa, chiefly through the influence of George, whose faculty of subsidising with English money made him all powerful in the electoral college and among the petty potentates of Germany, had the satisfaction of seeing her husband Francis elected emperor by the Diet of Frankfort on the 13th of September. The King of Prussia and the Elector Palatine entered a vain protest against the election. United with the vast possessions of the Austrian family, the imperial dignity was something; but separately it was little more than a sounding word or an empty pageantry. It was scarcely worth quarrelling for. Maria Theresa continued to govern her own states by and for herself, leaving her husband to play the emperor in his own manner. Yet it appears that the coronation of her husband made her insensible to the recent defeats of her armies, and that she rejected at this moment some propositions of peace which were insinuated by Frederick to her minister. From Frankfort, where she witnessed the ceremony, and was the first to cry "Long live the Emperor Francis I.!" she repaired to Heidelberg, and reviewed an army of 60,000 men, riding along the ranks, and displaying her beauty and her liberality to the soldiers. But Frederick was a foe born to humble the Austrian pride. In the month of September want of provisions compelled him to retreat; Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been reinforced by the junction of 6000 Bavarians, followed him with nearly 60,000 men in all, and enveloped him near Konigshof. The Prussian army did not at this moment exceed 28,000 men; but they were veterans, whereas the enemy consisted in good part of new levies and irregular hordes of horse. Frederick again displayed the qualities of a great general; the light troops of Austria took to pillaging when they ought to have been fighting, and the affair ended in the brilliant, and, by the Prussians, unexpected, victory of Soor. Frederick, who had lost all his own baggage, and who could procure neither pen nor ink, wrote to his minister with a pencil—"I have beaten the Austrians; I have taken some prisoners; let the *Te Deum* be performed." And, accordingly, God was praised at Berlin for a frightful massacre; for the Austrians lost upwards of 6000 in killed and wounded, and the Prussians themselves more than 5000. The conqueror continued his retreat into Silesia, where he put his troops into winter-quarters, and then returned himself to Berlin to see what advantages he could gain by negotiating. He had already induced George to sign a convention at Hanover, guaranteeing to Prussia the possession of Silesia, and he hoped for other advantages from the fears and increasing difficulties of the English sovereign. The convention of Hanover he kept a profound secret; for any compact with England was likely to deprive him of his French alliance. In Italy the campaign was exceedingly unfavourable to the allies of England. A French and Spanish army, commanded by Marshal Maillebois and Don Philip, crossed the Alps, and, advancing into the Peninsula, was met by Count de Gages, with the Spanish and Neapolitan army that had been victorious at Velletri under Don Carlos. The proud republic of Genoa, resenting some recent and ancient injuries, declared against Austria and Sardinia, and sent 10,000 men to join Maillebois and Don Philip. Admiral Rowley, who now commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, bombarded and burned several towns on the Genoese coast; but this diversion was not sufficiently important, and the combined army of French, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Genoese, forced the passage of the Tanaro, and gave battle to the Austrians and Sardinians, under the command of Count Schulemberg and his Sardinian majesty, near Bassignano. They were completely victorious. Charles Emanuel was obliged to retreat to his capital, and Casal, Asti, Lodi, and other towns submitted to the conquerors. The Austrians for the present were compelled to leave nearly the whole of Lombardy open to Don Philip, who made a triumphant entry into Milan, and fondly fancied that he had secured for good an Italian kingdom as well as his brother Don Carlos. Except upon the Main, where the army under the Prince of Conti, weakened by draughts made upon it to strengthen the army in Flanders, was compelled to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss before Count Traun, the French in Europe were nearly everywhere successful. But in America they sustained a considerable loss in the capital and island of Cape Breton, which were taken by 4000 volunteers from Boston, assisted by a few marines, and supported by Admiral Warren with a squadron of ten ships.

But the flames of a more fatal war were now lighted on our own territory. The battle of Fontenoy and our other reverses in Flanders were made the most of by the French, who were always skilful in such exaggerations. The young Pretender was led to believe that his moment was come, and that, if he could only unfurl his banner on the hills of Scotland, it would soon be carried through a dis-

tracted and defenceless land—our armies being so engaged in Flanders—to the capital and the palace of St. James's. Charles, who had been shooting at Fitz-James, a seat which had belonged to the late Duke of Berwick, went to Paris to get assistance, and to raise some money, being determined to go even without a French army. He found the French ministers quite ready to countenance his schemes, but very badly provided with cash, and rather averse to any open or decided proceeding, which it appears would have given offence to their ally, the King of Prussia, whose schemes and intentions and negotiations were exceedingly complicated. Besides, to secure the advantages they had gained, it was necessary that the French should keep up their army in Flanders; and their past experience proved that the sanguine hopes of the Jacobites were not to be relied upon so as to encourage any great adventure with or for them. The French cabinet wished for a diversion in Scotland, but were not disposed to make any great sacrifices for it. The young Pretender might go, and little they cared what was his fate. The Highlanders had again expressly told him that his coming would be useless and desperate unless he brought with him at least 6000 disciplined troops, 10,000 stand of arms, and some money. The rashness was Charles's and not theirs—but dearly did they pay the penalty of it. He wrote to inform them that he was determined to come, though he could have neither the troops nor the arms required. As for money, all that he could do was to borrow 180,000 livres, and to write to Rome for his jewels that he might pawn them. "For our object," said he, "I would even pawn my shirt." It appears that he concealed his real project from his father, and that all his friends in Scotland, with the single exception of the Duke of Perth, condemned it, and did their best to dissuade him from it. But the rash young man was completely dazzled with the French relations of Fontenoy—an army cut in pieces, a nation in despair,—and the fast succeeding reverses of all that were in alliance with or that were likely to assist King George in his hour of need completed his enchantment. The example of his father, which ought to have deterred him, urged him on; and when, at last, in the month of June, he revealed his design to his family at Rome, he said, after complaining bitterly of what he called the scandalous usage of the French court—"Your majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year fifteen; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging. . . . . Let what will happen, the stroke is struck; and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die." He had sent agents to Spain to demand succours, and had written to the king and queen, who, however, had no money or troops to spare in the adventure, and who were not inclined to listen to their expelled and ill-treated minister, Cardinal Alberoni, who had been exerting himself at Rome in favour of the Stuart. Leaving Paris, where he had long dropped his incognito, Charles went towards the coast of Normandy, and fixed his residence for a time at the Chateau de Navarre, near Evreux, the seat of the young Duke de Bouillon, one of his warmest friends. His first business was to procure shipping, and this, it appears, was attended with some difficulty, being done at last in an underhand manner, without the knowledge of the French court.* He, however, obtained the Doutelle, a fast sailing brig carrying 18 guns, which had recently been employed as a privateer against the English.† And he clandestinely got the convoy of the Elizabeth, an old man-of-war carrying 67 guns. The Doutelle went round to the mouth of the Loire, and Charles and the gentlemen who had made up their minds to accompany him went by different routes to the town of Nantes. On the 2nd of July Charles, disguised as a student of the Scotch College at Paris, embarked in the Doutelle, but he was detained till the 13th by the non arrival of the Elizabeth, on board of which were embarked the greater part of the warlike materials he had been enabled to procure, and which consisted of some fifteen hundred fusils, eighteen broadswords, twenty small field pieces, some powder, ball, and flints. The money, which he kept under his own care in the Doutelle, was not much above 3000*l.* sterling. At last the Elizabeth came to the rendezvous, and then the two ships sailed together from Belleisle, Charles suffering much from seasickness. It appears that his quality was unknown to the crew, and that the better to conceal himself he let his beard grow. On the fourth day of their voyage a ship bearing the English flag hove in sight. It was the Lion of 58 guns, commanded by the brave Captain Brett, who, as soon as the wind permitted, engaged the two ships. The Doutelle presently hauled off and pursued her course, leaving the Elizabeth to sustain the combat single-handed, which she did gallantly for five or six hours, when she and the Lion parted about equally disabled. In the shattered condition in which his ship was left the French captain deemed it expedient to return to his own coast; the Doutelle, meanwhile, pursued her original course for the coast of Scotland, safe and unhurt, but cut off from the arms and ammunition that had been put on board the Elizabeth. Two days after the parting of the two ships the Doutelle was pursued off the south end of the Long Island by an English ship of

* "It will appear strange to you," writes Charles to his father's secretary Mr. Edgar, "how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are French subjects (they were of Irish extraction, the sons of refugees who had followed James II.: Rutledge had been settled at Dunkirk and Walsh at Nantz, and they had united to their trade as West Indian merchants the profitable calling of privateering against England). The first has got a grant of a man-of war from the French court to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is luckily obliged to go as far north as I do, so he will escort me without appearing to do it."—*Stuart Papers in Lord Mahon's Appendix.*—In a letter to his father, dated Chateau Navarre, June 7 (N.S.), he says, "If your majesty was in this country I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them at the same time they think to do it to me. If I was not able to do this, things here would go at a fine rate."—*Id.*

† She had been fitted out for that purpose by Walsh, who now went with the young Pretender in her to Scotland.



CHARLES EDWARD STUART (THE YOUNG PRETENDER)
From a French Print.

superior force; but she was saved by her superior sailing; and, changing her course and ranging along the east side of Barra, she came to anchor off the islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the rocky shore, an eagle—no uncommon sight in those quarters—hovered over their ship. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, one of the daring adventurers, "is the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness to old Scotland!" Charles went on shore and was conducted to the house of the tacksman or tenant of Erisca, who rented all the small islands which composed that group. His quality was still concealed, and his attendants gave out that the prince was a young Irish priest. From the tacksman they learned that the lord of those islands was MacDonald of Clanronald, a young chief, who was deeply pledged to the Jacobite cause; that this young chief had just gone himself to the main land, and was at Moidart; but that his uncle and chief adviser MacDonald of Boisdale was close at hand, with his brother, upon the island of South Uist. Charles stayed all night at the tacksman's, having sent a summons to MacDonald of Boisdale. In the morning he returned on board the Doutelle, where the chief of Boisdale soon waited upon him. This old Jacobite, on seeing one small ship and no more, thought that the young Pretender was mad, and he refused to engage his nephew in so desperate an enterprise. Charles then wished him to repair as his ambassador to Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod of MacLeod, two other chiefs with whom he had been in correspondence; but Boisdale flatly told him that such a mission to the Isle of Skye was useless, as he had very lately seen Sir Alexander and MacLeod, who had both declared that if the prince should come they would not join him, unless he brought with him a body of regular troops. The young Pretender then ordered his sailors to weigh the anchor, and the Doutelle with Boisdale's boat hanging astern, glided away from the island, and advanced several miles towards the main. As soon as he was allowed—which he was when Charles found all his arguments and persuasions ineffectual—the old Jacobite got over the ship's side into his boat, and rowed back for his island. The Doutelle kept her course for the main land, and came to anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig. Young MacDonald of Clanronald presently obeyed Charles's summons, and went on board attended by several of his clan, and by the head of one of its branches styled MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart. But, though young, MacDonald of Clanronald had some sense and discretion; and he represented, as his uncle had done before him, that it would be madness to take up arms without support from abroad. Charles entreated and implored, appealing to their warlike pride and other passions. During this conversa-

tion the parties walked backward and forward upon the deck, talking aloud: a young Highlander, armed at all points in the fashion of his country, was leaning against the tafferel, listening with all his ears and with excited glistening eyes. It was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, who had come on board without any knowledge of the prince being there. Charles observed the young Highlander's excitement — watched him as his colour went and came, as he shifted his place, compressed his lips, and grasped the hilt of his broadsword—and then, turning suddenly to him, he exclaimed, "You, at least, will assist me?"—"I will, I will," cried Ronald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you." The enthusiasm was infectious—it caught both the MacDonalds, who swore that they would take up arms instantly, and endeavour to engage every man that wore the tartan to do the same. "At the first appearance of the royal youth, though I then knew him not," says another of the MacDonalds who had gone on board, "I found my heart swell to my very throat."* During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, Charles kept close on board with those who had accompanied him from France and with Clanronald:—on the 22nd Clanronald was sent to Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod to induce them to join, and Glennaladel was sent to gather Clanronald's clan and enrol some of the best of the men as a body-guard for the prince, and to be employed in landing the arms and ammunition. Clanronald's mission to the Isle of Skye was in vain; Sir Alexander MacDonald and his friend persisting that Charles ought not to have come without some regular troops, more arms, and money; and that, since he had not fulfilled his engagement, they were not bound in honour to concur in the enterprise. But at the same time encouraging messages were brought from the Glengarries and from other chieftains, some of whom came to the coast and carried back arms and ammunition for their people. On the 25th of July (o. s.) Charles, being thus assured of some support, set his foot for the first time on the main land of Scotland, with a train of only *seven* persons—the Marquess of Tullibardine, styled by the Highlanders the Duke of Atholl, which he would have been by right of descent but for the bar of the attainder provoked by his conduct in 1715 — Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been Charles's tutor—Sir John MacDonald, an officer in the Spanish service—Kelly, the non-juring clergyman who had been engaged in Bishop Atterbury's plot—Francis Strickland, an English gentleman—Eneas MacDonald, a banker in Paris, but brother to Kinloch Moidart—and Buchanan, who had been the messenger employed by Cardinal Tencin between Paris and Rome. These were afterwards called "The seven men of Moidart." They were now conducted to Borodale, a farm house in the neighbourhood, which belonged to young Clanronald, whence Charles dispatched letters and messengers to nearly every mountain and glen in the Highlands. The gallant Cameron of Locheil received the summons and resolved to obey it; not, however, with the intention of joining the prince, but with a design of urging him to forego his rash enterprise and return to France, while he could do so in safety. On his way down to the coast, Locheil called upon his brother Cameron of Fassefern, who entreated him not to go forward, but to send his sentiments in writing. "I know you," said Fassefern, "better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."* But Locheil, saying that he must, in respect, wait upon the prince, continued his ill-omened journey to the fatal farm house of Borodale. As soon as he arrived there, Charles took him aside, and artfully or eloquently laboured to remove his strong objections, which the chief stated to him manfully. Locheil for some time resisted, and, seeing that the young Pretender was determined not to re-embark, he advised him at least to lie concealed where he was. "No," cried Charles, now making his last and strongest appeal, "I am resolved to put all to the hazard. In a few days, with the few friends I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Locheil, who my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince!" This was too much for the "gentle Locheil," as he was always styled by the Highlanders; his resolution

* Lockhart Papers; Journals and Memoirs of Prince Charles's Expedition into Scotland, 1745–6, by a Highland Officer in his army.—It appears from this account that, while Charles was conversing with the chiefs, the rest of the Highlanders who had gone on board were accommodated under a tent or a covering erected on a different part of the deck. "After being three hours with the prince," says this Journalist, "Clanronald returned to us, and in about half an hour after there entered the tent a pale youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain blue coat with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvass string having one end tied to one of his coat buttons; he had black silk stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes: at his first appearance I found my heart swell, &c. . . . . We were immediately told by one O'Brien, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders. When this youth entered, O'Brien forbade any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a long bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again and caused me to sit down by him upon a chest. I at this time, taking him to be only a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some *suspicion* he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit (viz. the Highland garb); I answered I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next inquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him; he said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that in such times of danger or during a war we had a different method of using the plaid; that with one spring I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being the least encumbered with my bedclothes. Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time, to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand he drank to all around, and soon after left us."

* Hist. of Rebellion in 1745, by John Home, author of the Tragedy of Douglas.—The author says that Fassefern himself in the year 1781 told him this anecdote.

The Young Pretender in Highland Costume.
From a Portrait in the possession of Mr. G. A. Williams, Cheltenham.

gave way, and he exclaimed with a warmth equal to that of Charles—"No! I will share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power!" And thus was the die cast; for, if Locheil had persisted in his original intention, there would have been no civil war, and the blood of Culloden would have been spared. Charles then gave a feast "in as hospitable a manner as the place could afford;"—men, women, and children crowded to see him, and the Highland chiefs and chieftains drank in deep cups—"*Deochs laint an Reogh*," which was good Erse for "God save the king." Locheil returned to his clan, and sent messengers through Lochaber, and to every spot where there was a Cameron living, with word that they must march to Glenfinnin and join their chief in arms. Some detachments from the Glengarries were sent down to Charles at Borodale, who then set out for Kinloch Moidart, a town distant about seven miles: he went himself by sea with his artillery and baggage, but the Highlanders marched close by the shore.* In spite of every precaution, "a surmise of the prince's landing was now whispered abroad; and the government having notice thereof, sent a detachment of *four* companies to reinforce their garrison at Fort William." It was upon this detachment that the Highland broad-sword was first drawn. The regulars, which consisted of *two* companies, and not of four, as stated by the Jacobites, had to pass through part of the country of Glengarry and Keppoch, in the midst of lakes, mountains, and torrents. They were commanded by Captain John Scott, who set out at a very early hour in the morning of the 16th of August, that he might reach Fort William before night, there being no quarters on the road. Scott advanced cautiously, but without any disturbance, till he got near High Bridge, built over a mountain torrent which can hardly be passed by any other means; but then he heard a shrill bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge, skipping about with swords and firelocks in their hands. He instantly halted his men and sent forward a sergeant with his own trusty body-servant to reconnoitre; but they had not gone many steps when two nimble Highlanders darted out from a cranny in the rocks, seized them and carried them over the bridge. As he knew not what was their force—as they appeared more numerous than they were,

* Charles, with his baggage, &c., was conveyed in three boats, furnished by the Highlanders. The Doutelle soon returned to France, Walsh carrying with him a letter to the old Pretender, in which Charles begged a title for the *armateur* and privateer owner. It appears the vain honour was conferred. There is still in France a Count Walsh—a descendant or representative of the original Walsh. This *Monsieur le Comte* has married an English lady.

and as the pass was so narrow and difficult, Scott turned face and retreated. The Highlanders let the soldiers go quietly for some two or three miles, till they saw themselves engaged in a narrow road between Loch Lochie and a mountain, when they opened a murderous fire from behind trees and rocks—a fire which not only wounded Scott's men, but attracted other armed mountaineers to the spot. The regulars hastened their march, hoping to get to Invergary, a place of some strength; but they had not gone far when they saw another body of Highlanders coming down the hill in their front, and heard bagpipes and fierce cries on every side. They were, in fact, surrounded, and Captain Scott was badly wounded, and two of his men were killed. They formed into a hollow square, but resistance was hopeless, and when MacDonald of Keppoch ran to the spot with a fresh party, offering quarter, and assuring them that if they attempted further resistance they would be cut to pieces, the soldiers laid down their arms. Matters were in this state when Cameron of Locheil arrived on the spot with some of his clansmen, took charge of the prisoners and conducted them to his house at Achnacarie. The Highlanders, who had not lost a single man, were exceedingly elated with this their first essay.*

The general rendezvous of the Camerons and other Jacobite clans was appointed to be at Glenfinnin, a narrow vale in which the river Finnin runs between lofty and craggy mountains, inaccessible to horse. The vale is closed at either end by a loch, or lake, about twelve miles long. Leaving Kinloch Moidart, Charles repaired to this glen,† and entered a shepherd's hovel to await the arrival of the clans. For nearly two hours not a soul was seen; but then Locheil and his men appeared hanging on the top of one of the mountains. The Camerons rapidly descended, and then advanced towards the prince in two lines, each line being three men deep, and the two companies of prisoners without their arms marching between the two lines. They were not all armed, but from 700 to 800 brave Highlanders stood in this martial array before Charles, who instantly gave orders to erect, for the first time, the royal standard. Old Tullibardine unfurled the colours, which were made of white, blue, and red silk, and which were twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours; his lordship, supported by a Highlander on each side, held the flag-staff till a manifesto from James and his commission of regency to his son were read, both being dated at Rome, December, 1743. When this was over Charles made a short speech to the chiefs;—few of the common men could understand a word he said, but they all shouted till the mountains rang again, and "such loud huzzas and skimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of a long time."* Captain Swettenham, an English officer who had been taken prisoner as he was travelling towards Fort William the day before the unfortunate affair of the two companies, was an unwilling spectator of this wild and romantic scene. At first the common men had treated the captain rather roughly; but "no gentleman could be better used than he was when he got among the gentlemen; neither was there anything that was taken from him but what was returned, except his horse's saddle and sword; and the prince had ordered a pair of horses to be given him in lieu of his own; *but that was neglected.*"† The Highlanders told Captain Swettenham that they would soon be in England, where they were sure to meet with friends enough. Charles, it is said, in releasing the captain upon his parole, told him to go to his general, describe to him what he had seen, and tell him that he was coming to give him battle. On the same day, and shortly after the elevation of the standard, on the 19th of August, MacDonald of Keppoch joined with 300 men, and in the evening some of the MacLeods came to Glenfinnin, disclaimed their chieftain as a traitor and coward, and enrolled themselves in the rebel army. All that night they lay in Glenfinnin, which was not above fifteen miles from Fort William. On the morrow, the 20th of August, they began their march southward; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer, acting as quartermaster-general—an office scarcely needed in a Highland army. When Charles halted at Locheil's house he was joined by MacDonald of Glenco, who brought him 150 men; by Stuart of Appin, who brought about 200; and by the younger Glengarry, who brought 200 more. His force now consisted of 1500 or 1600 men; and he confidently assured himself that, as he advanced, it would gather and grow like a snow-ball in motion.

On the very day that the rebel standard was erected at Glenfinnin, Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief for Scotland, put himself at the head of his troops, which had for some time been drawing together near Stirling. A hint had been sent to Edinburgh on the 2nd of July that the Pretender's eldest son was expected to land in the Highlands that summer; and Cope, whose force was weak, had written repeatedly to London to the Marquess of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland,

* According to the Lord President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes, who did more towards suppressing this rebellion than any man, the Highlanders had not much to boast of in a military point of view. In a letter to Sir Alexander Mac Donald, whom he was labouring to keep steady in his determination not to join the rebels, Duncan Forbes says—"Two companies of the Royal made prisoners sounds pretty well, and will surely be passed for a notable achievement; but when it is considered that these companies were not half complete, that they were lads picked up last season in the low country, without anything of the royal but the name, and that their officers were raw, the achievement is not by any means so important."—*Letters in Appendix to Home's Hist. Rebellion.*

† "As the prince was setting out for Glenfinnen to meet his friends according to appointment, I was detached to Ardnamurchan to recruit, and soon returned with fifty clever fellows who pleased the prince, and, upon review, his highness was pleased to honour me with the command of them, and told me I was the first officer he had made in Scotland; which compliment encouraged my vanity not a little, and, with our friends, vowed to the Almighty we would live and die with our noble prince, though all Britain should forsake him but our little regiment alone."—*Journal of the Highland Officer, in Lockhart Papers.*

* Letter in Culloden Papers.—A marble column with a Latin inscription marks the spot where the standard was raised.

† Id.

representing the necessity of providing against invasion and insurrection. But Tweeddale and the lords of the regency were somewhat incredulous, and very much disinclined to take any steps during the absence of his majesty, who had gone to Hanover, and who did not return to England till the 31st of August (o.s.). On the 30th of July, however, Lord Tweeddale wrote to Sir John Cope to put him on the alert, and to inform him that the lords justices, or lords of the regency, had received several informations, importing that the French court was meditating an invasion, and that the Pretender's son had sailed from Nantes, and by some accounts was said to be actually landed in Scotland; "which last part," added the marquess, "I can hardly believe." On the 6th of August the regency published a proclamation in the London Gazette, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person or persons that should seize and secure the Pretender's eldest son. On the 8th of August, before this proclamation reached Edinburgh, a letter was received at the Scottish capital from the Lord Justice Clerk, Andrew Fletcher Lord Milton, who was with the Duke of Argyll at his grace's seat of Rosencath, in Dumbartonshire, importing that his lordship had received certain information from one that had lived in Glenco, and had connexions both in Lochaber and Glengarry, that the Pretender's eldest son was really landed, and that the disaffected Highlanders were expecting every day to hear of another landing in England. "Money," added his lordship, "is sent to this person, who lives in Glenco, to enable *him* to travel northward, and get more sure intelligence of the designs, movements, and progress of these people." His letter and other papers were forwarded by express to London, and the Marquess of Tweeddale then hastened to send down to Sir John Cope orders for money to answer the exigencies of the case, and to put other sums at the disposal of Lord Milton, for procuring intelligence, or for other services necessary at this juncture. Tweeddale also approved of Cope's intention of marching directly with such troops as could be spared, hoping that that general would be able to check any sudden insurrection, especially as no accounts had been received of any foreign troops being landed or of any preparations making by the French at Dunkirk. "There are, indeed," said his lordship, "accounts that mention some Spanish men-of-war being at Ferrol, which it is not impossible may be intended to give us disturbance in some port here." Tweeddale, moreover, authorised the Justice Clerk to issue proper warrants for seizing persons suspected of being engaged in treasonable practices, without waiting for orders from London, which might perhaps come too late.* Sir John Cope then hastened his preparations, proposing to march his troops into the heart of the Highlands and fight the rebels wherever he might find them. Tweeddale and the lords of the regency, without knowing what force Charles had collected, and apparently without reflecting on the danger of engaging the only army they had in Scotland in the glens and defiles of the Highlands, and leaving the capital and the whole of the Lowlands open to attack, sent down an express with positive orders to Cope to march forthwith. That general sent out officers and intelligent sergeants in various directions to examine the ground; and the attempt was made to reinforce Fort William with two companies, of which we have seen the unfortunate issue. He continued to remain completely in the dark as to the force of the insurgents, and as to the positive whereabout of the young Pretender; and the Jacobites spared no pains to prolong this darkness, and to bewilder one that never saw very clearly—a man of routine, a martinet, that could play only one regular game in war, and who was disconcerted, like a bad chess-player, by every move except the most straightforward or transparent ones. He was constantly puzzled by anonymous letters containing the most absurd and contradictory articles of intelligence; one hour he was assured that Charles had brought 10,000 Frenchmen with him—the next that he had none but Highlanders; for a long time he had been assured that Charles had not come at all,—that it was a false alarm, created by a French smuggler,—and when this story was worn out, he was told that, though Charles had really been in the Highlands, he was going back as fast as he could, finding that few of the Highlanders would join him. Others of his Jacobite correspondents indulged in the facetious vein, as if to laugh him out of his caution: thus one wrote to him that a French army of 3000 men had landed at the Goose Dubb, a puddle in a meadow close by the walls of Edinburgh! Having collected all the men he could, Sir John Cope found himself at the head of about 1500 foot and two regiments of dragoons—Gardiner's and Hamilton's; both infantry and cavalry being chiefly composed, if not of raw recruits, of men that had never seen any active service. Considering that the horse would be unserviceable and difficult to subsist in the rough country, he left both the regiments of dragoons behind him; and with the foot, four field-pieces, four cohorns, a great number of provision-carts and baggage-carts, and 700 stand of arms to distribute among the well-affected Highlanders, he marched away from Stirling for Crieff, intending to proceed to Fort Augustus, a central post between Fort William and Fort George, the three forts having been built as a chain to curb the Highlanders, and to cross the whole country from east to west. At Crieff he expected to be joined by hundreds, but not a soul came to his standard. He therefore sent back to Stirling 400 of the spare muskets he had brought with him, well knowing that arms were much wanted—that the whole of the Lowlands was most lamentably deficient of this means of defence—that there was a far greater want of guns and swords than of heart and courage. From Crieff Cope advanced to Dalnacardoch, where he arrived

* Home, Appendix.

on the 25th of August, and where he met Captain Swettenham, who had witnessed the raising of the standard of the Stuart in Glenfinnin. The captain told the general that when he left the rebels on his parole their number did not exceed 1400 men: but he added that he had since met upon the road several parties going to join them, and had heard at Dalwhinnie a day or two before that they were 3000 *strong*. Yet Cope, assuming that they must be very indifferently armed, thought that even 3000* Highlanders might be beaten by 1500 regulars; and he continued his march to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th. Captain Swettenham had assured him that the Jacobite clans, perfectly well aware of his approach, intended to bar his passage at Corryarrak, an immense mountain that lay between him and Fort Augustus, and directly in his line of March; and now this assurance was confirmed by the active and vigilant Duncan Forbes, who was fortunately in the Highlands at his seat called Culloden House, near Inverness and Fort George. Cope determined to change his route, but not before consulting a council of war, to which he summoned every field officer and every commander of a separate corps in his little army. He laid before this meeting the positive orders he had received from the Marquess of Tweeddale to advance into the Highlands—orders which never ought to have been given under the circumstances—and produced the different accounts he had received of the number and condition of the rebels. His officers were of opinion—it is said unanimously so—that the march to Fort Augustus by Corryarrak was impracticable. That famed mountain, which, seen from the south, seems to rise almost like a perpendicular wall, would have been bar and impediment enough if, instead of 3000, there had only been 300 armed Highlanders. It was traversed by a military road made by General Wade after the insurrection of 1715—a complete Alpine road carried up to the summit on the south side by seventeen ramps or traverses, and thence down to the valleys on the north by other traverses, and across several deep glens and chasms with mountain torrents roaring and foaming through them, over which narrow bridges were the only passage.† Duncan Forbes, who knew the ground well, had warned Cope to beware of Corryarrak. The best thing the general could have done would have been to retreat at once to Stirling and cover Edinburgh; but Tweeddale's orders stuck in his throat, and, as he continued to dwell upon them, the council of war, by a sudden and most unlucky inspiration, thought he would be fulfilling his instructions if he marched anywhere to the north, and recommended him to give up the route he had chosen for Fort Augustus, and strike aside for Inverness and Fort George, as the only part of the chain he could reach. He made them give this their opinion in writing; and then, on the following day, he quitted Dalwhinnie, and marched towards Garvamore, on the road to Corryarrak.

But, while he had been halting and hesitating, the light-footed Highlanders had been moving with their usual rapidity, and before he got eight miles from Dalwhinnie, when his line was thin and far extended, he saw some tartans darting along the hill sides: and then he called a halt, faced about, and, leaving the road to Garvamore, took, more rapidly than he had intended, the road which diverges there and leads by Ruthven to Inverness. No one had joined him, but not a few had left him; and now a deserter from his ranks—a Cameron—ran away to his friends upon the hill side, and communicated all the intelligence he was master of. Early that morning Charles had ascended the summit of Corryarrak, expecting to see Cope advancing on the zigzag road; but he could see nothing but a few Highlanders, who proved to be deserters, and who assured him that Cope was going a different road. Instantly detachments were hurried in advance along the declivities of the mountains, and these men presently saw the English army moving off by the Ruthven road. The Highlanders exulted, and wished to run down and pursue, and give battle; but the chiefs thought it would be far better to let Cope go his way and strike off themselves into the Lowlands by the route which he had left completely open to them, and so advance to Stirling and the capital.* And while Sir John proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August, the Highland army, moving far more rapidly, went through the mountains of Badenoch into the vale of Atholl, being joined just before or during their march by 100 men of the clan of the Grants of Glenmoriston, and by other little troops, all hot for Prince Charles and for the plunder of the South. On the 30th of August Charles reached Blair Castle, from which the Whig Duke of Atholl fled at his approach, while his brother Tullibardine, (the Jacobite Duke of Atholl) prepared to take possession of his paternal mansion. Tullibardine, who was above sixty years of age when he entered on this desperate enterprise, feasted the prince and his ancestral vassals in the Castle, and seems to have fancied that he had got his own again for good after a quarter of a century of exile and attainder.† They stayed two days at Blair, and were joined by several Highland gentlemen bring-

* "We were not," says the Highland journalist, "when our little army was encamped and provisions provided, above 1200 men, under the command of Clanronald, Lochiel, and Keppoch. The MacDonalds of Glengarry, being 600 good men, and the men of Appen being 200 more, joined afterwards."—*Lockhart Papers.*

† The Highlanders were wont to call this terrible zigzag road the Devil's Staircase.

* The consternation produced by this intelligence in London was immense. Many people considered that Scotland was lost. "The young Pretender," says Horace Walpole, "at the head of 3000 men, has got a march on General Cope, who is not 1800 strong, and, when the last accounts came away, was fifty miles nearer Edinburgh than Cope, and by this time is there. The clans will not rise for the government. . . . . I look upon Scotland as gone!"—*Letter to Horace Mann, dated September 6.*

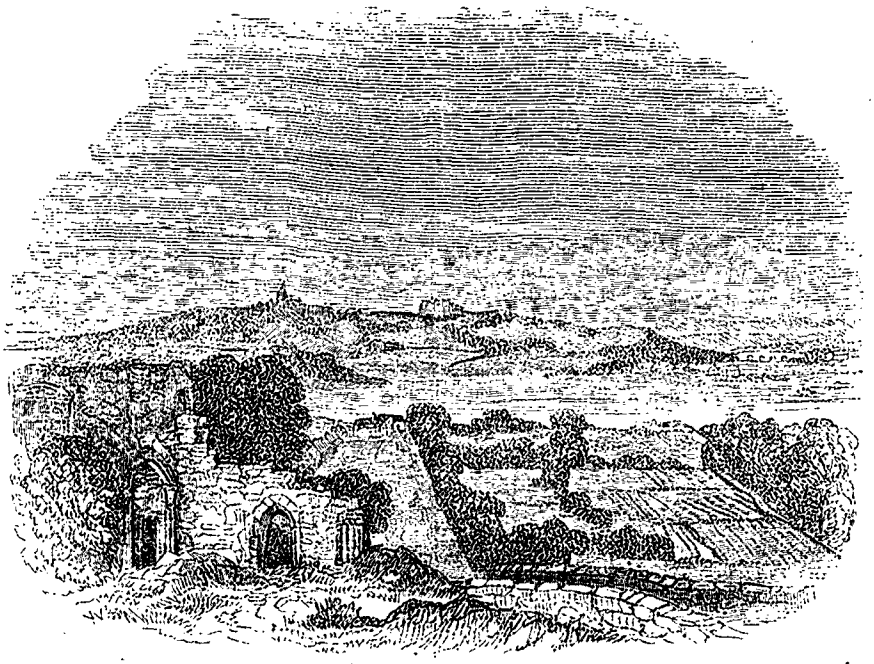
† It appears that the Whig duke, during his elder brother's exile, had greatly improved the place, and had got a good gardener at Blair-Atholl. "The young Chevalier," says Horace Walpole, "stayed some time at the Duke of Atholl's, whither Old Tullibardine sent to bespeak dinner; and has since sent his brother word that he likes the alterations made there. The Pretender *found pine-apples there*, the first he ever tasted."—*Letter to Horace Mann.*

ing all the men they could; but still Fraser Lord Lovat, whose influence was immense, kept aloof, though Charles had sent him his patent to be *Duke* of Fraser, and his commission to be lord-lieutenant of all the northern counties. Cameron of Locheil had waited upon this wily head of the Frasers; but Duncan Forbes, true and stanch to the established government, was at the same time labouring to keep the old man quiet. "Lord Lovat," writes Forbes, on the 19th of August, "was with me here (at Culloden House) last Thursday, and has, by the bad weather, been detained at Inverness till this day. He has declared to me his full purpose to be prudent, and I verily believe him."* On the very next day, Forbes, writing to Sir John Cope for a supply of arms, expresses his apprehension that, should the Pretender move that way, Lord Lovat and others of "the well disposed" might be under considerable difficulties, as their clans had got no arms. He adds, however, that Lovat and Lord Fortrose had been with him again, and had promised to collect all their people to act in defence of the government. Lovat wrote in a somewhat different strain to Locheil—"My service to the prince," said the old fox; "I will aid you what I can, but my prayers are all I can give at present." This hoary sinner, who had crowded nearly every page of a long life with crime and guile—who had been of all parties and had betrayed all, but whose first public act was carrying off the Frasers to fight under the banner of Dundee for James II., as his last act was dying on a scaffold for the Stuart cause—evidently wished to gain time and to see what was likely to be the success of the young Pretender before he joined him. With such a man, to be prudent meant merely to join the stronger. No doubt he also wanted to get some of the arms for which Duncan Forbes was writing, before he should give any the least suspicion to the friends of government.† His son-in-law MacPherson of Clunie, the head of a clan, was less circumspect; for, being taken prisoner—apparently a willing one—he forgot his oaths and obligations to government, which had appointed him captain of an independent company, and, after some conversation with Charles, joined him at once, and engaged to raise his clan for that service. After his two days' rest at Blair-Atholl, the young Pretender resumed his march to the south, and on the 4th of September he entered Perth, not merely without opposition, but amidst loud acclamations. The money he had brought from France was already spent, and he had only one Louis-d'or in his pocket; but, showing the coin to Mr. Kelly, he gaily assured that nonjuring parson that he should soon get more cash. And, as active collectors, he forthwith detached armed parties of Highlanders through Angus and Fife, who proclaimed King James VIII., seized all the public money they could find, and levied the duties and taxes due to the established government. The city of Perth furnished him with 500*l.*; but he prudently abstained from plundering the merchants and dealers that were attending the fair at Perth on his arrival. It must, however, have been absolutely impossible wholly to prevent the wild Highlanders from indulging in their inveterate habit of "lifting." Still further to lengthen his diminutive purse, some hot Jacobites in Edinburgh and other places clandestinely sent him voluntary donations or loans, which were to be repaid when King James got his own again. But few of the Lowlanders appeared to recruit his little army. He fixed his residence in the town of Perth in an old house belonging to Lord Stormont; and there he entertained the ladies of the place with a ball. At Perth James Drummond, in the Jacobite Red Book Duke of Perth, came and joined him after a narrow escape from arrest by the government. This Perth was young, brave, courteous, and inexperienced—a pleasing, shallow-headed person.* Lord George Murray, a much older and a much abler man, who had been engaged with his brother Tullibardine in the affair of the Fifteen, came in at the same time to offer his sword and his military experience. Lord George had served several years abroad in the armies of the King of Sardinia; but having received a pardon from the government he had returned home, and had been living for some

* Letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald in Home's Appendix.

† Lovat had also been applied to on the first news of the landing of the Pretender by the Lord Advocate Robert Craigie, who spoke very flatteringly of his lordship's zeal for the established government, and of his power and influence in the Highlands. The old chieftain, in his reply, assured the lord advocate that no hardship or ill usage that he had met with could alter or diminish his zeal and attachment for his majesty's person and government. "But," says he, "my clan and I have been so neglected these many years past that I have not twelve stand of arms in my country, though I thank God I could bring 1200 good men to the field for the king's service, if I had arms and other accoutrements for them. Therefore, my good lord, I earnestly intreat, that, as you wish that I would do good service to the government on this critical occasion, you may order immediately a thousand stand of arms to be delivered to me and my clan at Inverness; and then your lordship shall see that I will exert myself for the king's service. Although I am entirely infirm myself these three or four months past, yet I have very pretty gentlemen of my family that will lead my clan wherever I bid them for the king's service. And if we do not get these arms immediately we will certainly be undone. For those madmen that are in arms with the pretended Prince of Wales threaten every day to burn and destroy my country, if we do not rise in arms and join them; so that my people cry out horridly that they have no arms to defend themselves, nor no protection nor support from the government. So I earnestly intreat your lordship may consider seriously on this; for it will be an essential and serious loss to the government if my clan and kindred be destroyed, who possess the centre of the Highlands of Scotland and the countries, most proper, by their situation, to save the king and government. . . . . I hear that mad and unaccountable gentleman (Charles) has set up a standard at a place called, Glenfinnin, Monday last."—*Culloden Papers.* As the storm thickened Lovat wrote other letters to the lord advocate and to Duncan Forbes, signing himself to the latter "Your most affectionate cousin and most faithful slave." He announced how chief after chief was joining the young Pretender, dwelt upon his *own extreme danger, and still pressed for arms. On the 27th of* August he writes to Forbes—"I own, I must regret my dear cousin Locheil, who, contrary to his promise to me, engaged in this mad enterprise; but if Sir John Cope is beat (which I think next to impossible), this desperate prince will be the occasion of much bloodshed, which I pray God may avert; for to have bloodshed in our bowels is a horrible thing to any man that loves Scotland, or has a good stake in it, as your lordship and I have. Therefore I pray God that we may not have a civil war in Scotland: this has been my constant wish since ever I had the use of my reason; and it shall be the same while there is breath in me; so that they must be damnably ignorant of the principle of my heart and soul, who can imagine that I would endeavour to promote a civil war in my country." But Lovat, to use the words of Walter Scott, was at all times profuse of oaths and protestations, and more so than ever when he had determined in his own mind to infringe them.

* The caustic Horace Walpole calls Perth "a silly race-horsing boy."



The Forth, from Cambuskenneth Abbey, Stirling in the distance.
From an Old Print.

years on his estates, to all appearance the happy father of a family. But, it is said, he had been anxious for the honours and profits of military employment, and had been driven back to a rabid state of Jacobitism by the refusal of the government to employ one who had repeatedly fought against the king, at home and abroad. He has been generally esteemed the best officer and planner of a campaign that ever followed Charles. He had genius enough to soar above the pedantry of his art, and, seeing that there was no time to complete that military transformation, he recommended that no attempt should be made to perplex and confound the Highlanders with new tactics, new weapons, and new modes of marching and fighting; but that they should be left to their old methods, with merely a little improvement in the way of training. This Lord George Murray had courage and mettle equal to his skill; but he is accused of having been of a very bad temper, and of not very good manners. It appears that he was hardly in the rebel camp ere he quarrelled with Perth, of whom he was jealous, and with Sir Thomas Sheridan, the ignorant tutor of the ignorant Charles, whom he despised, among other things, for his want of all knowledge of the laws and constitution of the country. A printing press was set at work at Perth, and proclamations were struck off and widely distributed. One of these, as a retaliation, offered *thirty pounds* to any person or persons that should seize and secure George Elector of Hanover, &c. This was considered merely as a joke, or as a cutting way of expressing contempt; but shortly after, this offer of reward was raised to 30,000*l*. "Should any fatal accident," said the proclamation, "happen from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example." Charles dispatched a letter to the Earl of Barrymore in London, a noted Jacobite, who had been arrested and released the year before by government, and who, as the possessor of great wealth, was supposed to have influence over the disaffected in England. In the letters and other writings of the Jacobites there now and then peeps out a hint of promises received from the capital and from one or two other English towns; but we find not a single proof of anything like an important engagement made by any party of men in England. On the 11th of September, with his army strengthened by above 200 men brought in by the Duke of Perth, by 100 who had joined under Robertson of Strowan, and by a handful of Lowland recruits, Charles left Perth; and, marching at the head of a detachment, he reached Dunblane that evening, having been joined on the road by MacGregor of Glenguile, with 250 MacGregors—"all with red hair"—and by MacDonald with sixty MacDonalds. He was now in a hurry to reach Edinburgh, for he had received news that General Cope, after getting to Inverness, was marching to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking at that port and returning with all the

speed that winds and waves would permit for the defence of the capital. If Sir John had been there with only a fourth part of his men, Charles could never have had to record the occupation of Edinburgh in his eventful story. He felt now that if Cope could land in the neighbourhood of the city before he reached its walls the cause would be hopeless; and on the 12th he pushed forward from Dunblane for the Frith of Forth. Knowing that several ships of the royal navy were stationed at the head of the Frith, and that the bridge of Stirling was commanded by the artillery of the castle, he directed his steps to Frew, a spot about eight miles above Stirling, where the Forth is fordable at low water. When he got to the ford of Frew, Gardiner's dragoons were on the opposite bank; but, instead of attempting to defend the ford, or to annoy the Highlanders on their passage, these unwarlike horsemen turned their horses' tails and trotted off towards Leith,* whither Hamilton's, the other body of horse which Cope had left behind him, had repaired some days before. Having crossed the river on the evening of the 13th, Charles lay that night at Leckie House. Continuing his march on the following morning he passed within a mile of Stirling Castle,† from the ramparts of which one or two cannon-shots were fired at him. Traversing the field of Bannockburn he proceeded to Falkirk, quartered his men in that town, and took up his own lodging for the night at Callender, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock. A thousand Highlanders, under Lord George Murray, ran on by night to Linlithgow, hoping to catch and surprise Gardiner's dragoons while resting there; but the dragoons were too quick for them—their fears had sharpened their spurs, and before the clansmen reached that "royal dwelling" they were considerably advanced on the road to Leith and Edinburgh. On the evening of that day—Sunday the 15th—the young Pretender and the whole of his army were quartered in Linlithgow, which is only sixteen miles from Edinburgh. A timid messenger carried this ominous news to the capital, which remained in a very defenceless state, for Cope had not got back from his Highland promenade, though transports had been dispatched on the 10th to convey him and his troops. The citizens, who had been so long accustomed to a life of quiet, were thrown into consternation. At first, underrating the force of the Highlanders, they had despised the danger; and government had been extremely remiss in providing the means of defence. The reader by this time must have formed a pretty correct notion of what Cope's two regiments of dragoons were worth: these were now collected outside of the town at Corstorphine, between Leith and Linlithgow, about three miles from the city walls; and within the town the only force consisted of the town guard—"the Edinburgh regiment," a very indifferent body of men, who had been levied and embodied a week or two before—and the corps of Edinburgh Volunteers, who knew nothing of war, and whose number never amounted to 500 men. Of the latter, "many, doubtless, were gallant young men—students from the university, and so forth—but by far the greater part were citizens, at an age unfit to take up arms, without previous habit and experience. They had religious zeal and political enthusiasm to animate them; but these, though they make a prodigious addition to the effect of discipline, cannot supply its place. Cromwell's enthusiasts beat all the nobility and gentry of England; but the same class of men, not having the advantage of similar training, fled at Bothwell Bridge, without even waiting to see their enemy. Many of the Edinburgh corps were moreover *Oneyers* and *Moneyers*, as Falstaff says, men whose word upon 'Change would go much farther than their blows in battle. Most had shops to be plundered, houses to be burned, children to be brained with Lochaber axes, and wives, daughters, and favourite handmaidens to be treated according to the rules of war."* The chief command rested with the lord provost or principal magistrate, Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards suspected of Jacobitism, but who probably was merely unmartial, and confounded like the rest. The city was indeed surrounded by a wall which had parapets; but the wall in many places was not ten feet high, and not stronger than a garden enclosure; and, as for the parapets, they were for the most part too narrow to admit the mounting of proper cannon, if there had been proper guns to use, which, it appears, there were not. Professor Maclaurin, the famous mathematician, had indeed been at work in devising some fortifications, but he had not been allowed either time or materials to finish his work. The Castle, on its steep rock, was safe; but General Guest, a brave old soldier, who commanded there, had a very small garrison, and could hardly spare a man beyond the walls of the fortress. Still, however, according to Home, who was himself one of the most active and zealous of the corps, the volunteers, who had received each man a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box from the depôt in the Castle, and who had been drilling, morning, noon, and night, for three days *and no more*, kept a good countenance, and seemed determined to fight the rebels. But the historian allows that Mr. Drummond, their captain, could only answer for 250 of the number. Drummond asked these picked men if they were willing to risk their lives for the defence of the capital of Scotland and the honour of their country; and whether they would go out, make a stand with the two regiments of

* "We passed the river Forth at the ford, expecting to have been opposed there by Colonel Gardiner's dragoons, who, we heard, had threatened to cut us to pieces if we attempted to cross the water. The dragoons, however, upon our approach, galloped away in a great hurry."—*Highland Officer's Journal, in Appendix to Lockhart Papers.*

† "The town of Stirling, abandoned by the dragoons, was ready to receive us, though we did not enter; provisions being demanded were soon provided for us by order of the magistrates. As we passed Stirling, several cannon were fired at us from the castle. ..... The prince in crossing Forth may be said to have passed the Rubicon; he had now no rough ground for a retreat in case of any disaster, and being entered into the low country must fairly meet his fate,"—(*Id.*)

* Sir Walter Scott, in Quart. Rev.

dragoons, and fight the Highlanders on their way to the city;—a plan, he said, which had been proposed and recommended by General Guest, who imagined that the two regiments of horse would make a great impression if they had only a body of foot with them to draw off the enemy's fire. The two hundred and fifty, having an equal or superior confidence in the prowess of the dragoons, threw up their hats in the air, and began a huzza to signify that they were ready to march out and die on the field. But it was immediately felt that none but "young men not connected with families, and at liberty to dispose of their own lives," should go to this new Marathon. They had surveyed the walls and had been fully convinced that *they* could not be defended; yet "most part of the volunteers in every company (Captain Drummond's company only excepted) had really no mind to march out of town, and some of them murmured at the proposal." * As their houses were high and strongly built of stone, and as the streets were narrow, they might have defended Edinburgh when the Highlanders had climbed the walls or forced the gates, if they had only had a sufficient supply of fire-arms and a little more confidence; but it appears that this idea was never suggested. Their own arms were few, and they had got it into their heads that the young Pretender was coming with a regular train of artillery, with which he might have battered down their houses. Captain Drummond, however, informed General Guest that his company, and a good many other volunteers, would assuredly go out and fight; and the Lord Provost agreed that ninety men of the town-guard, and as many of the men of the Edinburgh regiment as were fit for service, should accompany the volunteers and dragoons, and support them in the battle. In the course of the preceding Saturday night orders had been given that all the volunteers should repair to the Lawn-market, under arms, whenever the fire-bell of the town was rung. This alarum was sounded on Sunday during kirk time, and, "instead of rousing the hearts of the volunteers like the sound of a trumpet, it rather reminded them of a passing knell." † This choice of a signal was, indeed, rather unfortunate, and was not forgotten afterwards in the censures passed upon the Provost. But, spite of that dreadful bell, the gentlemen volunteers, who had pledged their valour, assembled in the appointed market-place, and, if we are to believe that priestly and poetical warrior and historian, John Home, who was himself one of them, they were ready to go out, and would have gone, if it had not been for the mothers and fathers, wives, sweethearts, and other near connexions, who, rushing out of church, mixed in their ranks, and caught them by the arms, imploring them, with tears and with prayers, to have more regard for their precious Christian lives than to risk them with a set of beggarly, heathenish Highlanders. At this moment Hamilton's dragoons, who were moving between the links of Leith and Corstorphine, the selected Marathon, appeared outside the town-walls, waiting for their infantry, and making martial music by clashing their swords together. The volunteers gave a huzza—it is believed to have been a faint one—and the bold Drummond gave the word of command, to march. But the tears of the women and the arguments of the old men, who still kept mixed with their lines, had produced their effect: some lagged behind—some stood stock still—others sidled off into closes or courts, or bolted into houses with tempting, open doors. In descending "the Bow," they made a more decided conquest over their sense of shame, and disappeared under door-ways or down blind alleys, scores at a time. The officers complained that their men would not follow, while the men complained that their officers would not lead; and when Captain Drummond halted near the town-gate called the West Port, and looked behind him, he could scarcely see a volunteer, except the forty men of his own company.* Home assures us that Dr. Wishart, principal of the University of Edinburgh, and several other clergymen, had addressed the volunteers while in the Grass Market; and had conjured them, by all they held most sacred, to stay within the walls, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city; and that the Lord Provost was very much against their marching, and sent them word that he was glad to see that they intended to stay. Drummond marched back with his company to the College yard; and the Provost ordered his precious town-guard of ninety men and some of the Edinburgh regiment to join the dragoons without the volunteers. He might as well have sent the levies which marched through Coventry with Sir John Falstaff. Twenty of the youngest and most enthusiastic of the volunteers stole away from the College yard to a tavern, "where they unbosomed themselves, and resolved that, if the town was not to be defended, which they thought was very likely to happen, in that case they would separate from the other volunteers, and march to the eastward with their arms, in order to join Cope." Home, who narrates this decision, was one of the men that took it; and when the corps to which they belonged gave up musket, bayonet, cartridge-box and all, to be lodged for safety in the Castle, Home and his friends sallied out from Edinburgh, and took the road to Dunbar. On Sunday evening, while the Provost and the other notables of Edinburgh were debating and speech-making in the Goldsmiths' Hall, Colonel Gardiner, having left an advanced post at Corstorphine, retreated with the rest of his dragoons to a field between Leith and Edinburgh, and sent back the worse than useless supply of infantry into the town. In the course of the night Brigadier Fowkes arrived from London, and took the chief command. The Highlanders lay that night

* Home. † Scott.

* The author of Douglas hints, in a note to his History, that even Drummond's courage was all make-believe; that "he did not intend to fight the rebel army; but that his real intention was to make himself popular at the eve of an election, by showing extraordinary zeal."

upon a rising ground between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, at the distance of about twelve miles from the capital. But early on Monday morning they began to move, the Pretender contriving to send beforehand a message to the people of Edinburgh to acquaint them, that, if they would admit him peaceably, all would be well; but otherwise they must make up their minds for military execution. As the rebels approached Corstorphine they saw the advanced party of dragoons; but they had scarcely more than a glimpse of them; for, without touching sabre, pistol, or carbine, the dragoons wheeled about, and rode off to the main body, which was now posted by Fowkes and Colonel Gardiner at the east end of Colt Bridge, about two miles from Edinburgh, on the way to Corstorphine. But the main body did not long stand there: "before the rebels came within sight orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. As it is known that nothing is more beautiful than the evolutions and movements of cavalry, the spectators stood in expectation of what fine, war-like manœuvre they might terminate in, when new orders were immediately issued to retreat, which they immediately obeyed, and began to march at the usual pace of cavalry. Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and, both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well, that before they reached Edinburgh they had quickened it to a pretty smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Park, in the sight of all the north part of the town, to the infinite joy of the disaffected, and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther."* Six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the Edinburgh volunteers, and some other volunteers who had come in from Musselburgh and Dalkeith, still mounted guard at the different gates of the capital; but the young Pretender's message, which was promptly delivered, and then the sight of the flying dragoons, presently settled the question of resistance or non-resistance in the hearts of most of the notables that had assembled to debate in the Goldsmiths' Hall. Yet the meeting thought it would take a middle course, and a deputation was sent out to Charles, desiring that hostilities might not commence till they had had more time for deliberation. The deputies had scarcely taken their departure, when the Provost and magistrates received intelligence that the transports with General Cope's army on board were off Dunbar; and that, as the wind was unfavourable for coming up to Leith, the general intended to land at Dunbar, and then march with all speed to the capital. This piece of intelligence materially changed the face of affairs; and it was resolved to recal the deputation, and to apply to General Guest for arms, and for the recal of the fugitive dragoons. Guest had some doubts about risking his muskets, bayonets, and cartridge-boxes again in the hands of men who had given them up; and he told the magistrates that it was absolutely necessary for his majesty's service that the dragoons should be ordered to join General Cope, who had no cavalry with him. It is fair to doubt whether any messenger could have run fast enough to catch these performers of "the canter of Colt Brigg;" or whether, if the message had reached them, the dragoons would have had heart to obey it. Scared from Prestonpans they had galloped on to North Berwick, and seemed determined to stop nowhere till they should get under cover of Cope's infantry. There was another cause of embarrassment; the gentlemen composing the deputation could not be overtaken before they reached Charles, and they were now in his hands as hostages, and ready to be hanged—so thought their tender friends—if the town should ring the alarum-bell again, or attempt resistance. At about ten o'clock at night, the town being quiet the while, the deputies returned from Gray's Mill, a place within two miles of the city, where Charles was now quartered. The answer they brought was very peremptory. A written paper, signed by John Murray of Broughton, Charles's secretary, imported that his royal highness the Prince Regent thought his manifesto, and the king his father's declarations already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his majesty's subjects to accept with joy; that he demanded to be received into the city as the son and representative of the king his father; and that he expected a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he should think himself obliged to take measures conform. What was to be done? Cope was still some thirty weary miles off, and the Pretender was at hand with an army, whose force had been multiplied by their fears, and by ingenious arts employed by the Jacobites. Thus, a gentleman had galloped through the streets on a white horse, shouting out that there were 16,000 Highlanders! The poor Provost resolved to send a second deputation; and about two o'clock in the morning it set out in a haekney coach for Gray's Mill. But Charles refused to see them, and the deputies returned in their coach with heavy hearts, and were set down near their houses in the High-street. It was near five o'clock in the morning when the coachman turned his horses' heads to lead them to their stables in the Canongate, which suburb was then separated from the town by the walls and the strong gate called the Nether Bow. And, as the Nether Bow Port was now opened to let this coach go out, Cameron of Locheil and 800 Highlanders rushed in. The rest of the work was

* A true account of the behaviour and conduct of Archibald Stewart, esquire, late Provost of Edinburgh, in a letter to a friend. London, 1748. This pamphlet is attributed to the historian David Hume. Walter Scott says, that there is strong evidence, both external and internal, for attributing it to that pen.

like a trick in a pantomime—easy and instantaneous; the town-guard, and all the guards and sentinels upon duty were made prisoners without a blow, and the Highlanders occupied their posts and took possession of the city as quietly as one guard relieves another.* Charles, who in the course of the preceding evening had been joined by David Lord Elcho, eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, and a man of distinguished bravery, put himself in motion with the main body of his little army, at about ten o'clock, and, marching by Duddingstone to avoid the fire of the Castle, he entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and halted his men under Arthur's Seat, in the hollow between the hills. It was there that Home carefully examined them, being anxious to carry some useful intelligence to Sir John Cope, to whom he was flying. They did not exceed 2000 men! They seemed to be strong, active, and hardy; but many of the men were low in stature, and, if clothed like low-country men, would, in Home's opinion, have appeared inferior to the men in the king's troops; "but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular." Having, in all probability, only known the mountaineers in Highland drovers—and even *they*, plaided, bonnetted, belted, and brogued, drove their black cattle with an air of great dignity and consequence—Home was much struck with their bold and imposing aspect. As to their arms, he says that they had no cannon nor artillery of any sort, except one small iron gun, which he saw, without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse: about 1400 or 1500 of the men were armed with firelocks and broadswords, those firelocks being of all sorts and sizes, including many fowling-pieces; some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some, swords without firelocks; many of the swords were not Highland broadswords, which they best knew how to use, but French swords; one or two companies were armed with scythes fixed in the shafts of pitchforks, so as to resemble somewhat the weapon called the Lochaber axe, which the soldiers of the town-guard of Edinburgh were wont to carry. Home also took a glance of Prince Charles as he crossed the King's Park on his way to Holyrood House; and he has left us an admirable picture of his personal appearance, which was by far the best part of the young Pretender. "The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth,* tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park to show himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback. The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance; they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure, as in his fortune." The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person; but they observed, that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy; that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Hence they formed their conclusions that the enterprise was above the pitch of his mind; and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved." When he came in front of the palace a cannon-ball fired from the Castle struck James V.'s Tower, and fell into the court-yard with a quantity of rubbish; but it harmed no one, and he entered the porch, preceded by a gentleman who had suddenly stepped from the crowd, and who now, with a drawn sword in his hand, walked up-stairs before him.†

Locheil and his Highlanders, in securing all the arms they could find on first entering the town, had also secured the heralds and poursuivants which then, as still, were carefully and pompously maintained as emblems of Scottish royalty and independence. At the hour of noon these functionaries, with their trumpets and gaudy dresses, were marched up to the old Cross, where the clans were drawn up under arms, and were there forced to proclaim King James, and to read the commission of regency to Charles, the declaration dated at Rome, and a manifesto in the name of the regent. While this was doing some of the mob huzzaed, and a number of Jacobite ladies stationed in the windows waved their white handkerchiefs; but very few gentlemen were to be seen in the streets or in the windows; and even amongst the poorer people many showed their dislike of the pageantry by a sullen silence. By the unceasing exertions of the gentle Locheil, the wild High-

* Home.—The Jacobite account of the entrance into Edinburgh is to this effect:—"His royal highness ordered a detachment of 900 men, under cloud of night, to storm the town; and, accordingly, Locheil, Keppoch, and Ardshiel, with some of the best armed of their several commands, together with Mr. O'Sullivan, silently marched up to the city gate at the Netherbow, and about break of day boldly forced their way, there being no resistance made by the small guard at the port, so there was no blood shed. Our people, with drawn sword and target, with a hideous yell and their particular manner of making an attack (they not knowing what resistance they might meet with in the town), marched quickly up street, no one leaving their rank or order, and forced their way into the city guardhouse and took possession. The main body drew up in the Parliament Close, and guards were immediately placed at every gate of the city; and the inhabitants cannot in justice but acknowledge that the behaviour of our Highlanders was civil and innocent, beyond what even their best friends could have expected."—*Lockhart Papers.*

* He was in his twenty-fifth year.

† This was James Hepburn, of Keith, a man esteemed by all parties. In his youth he had been out in the Fifteen. Since then he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with the spirit of liberty; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings. He also condemned and abhorred the Act of Union, as something injurious and humiliating to his country, and which had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody. "Wrapped up in these notions, he had kept himself for thirty years in constant readiness to take arms, and was the first person who joined Charles at Edinburgh; idolised by the Jacobites, and beloved by some of the best Whigs, who regretted that this accomplished gentleman, the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland."—*Home.*

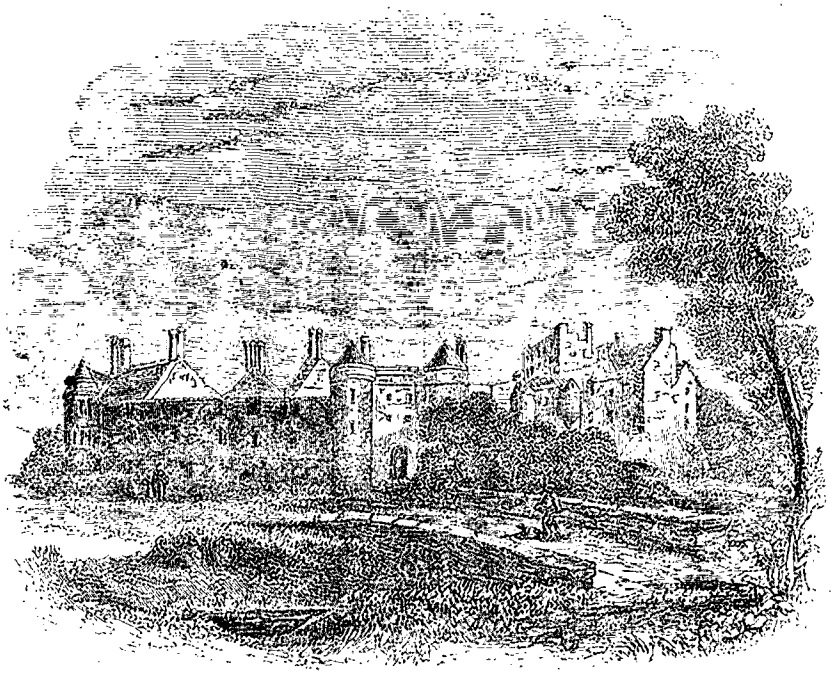
landers were kept from plunder and from whiskey. It is even said that they refused whiskey when offered to them by the people of Edinburgh; but this almost incredible fact rests upon Jacobite authority. In the evening the long deserted and dingy apartments of Holyrood were enlivened with lights, crowds of company, and a ball; and the younger of the Jacobite ladies were charmed into still warmer enthusiasm by seeing that Charles was an excellent dancer. It seemed, indeed, as if the infusion of the Polish blood of the Sobieski had raised and improved the old Stuart stock; but the improvement, as we have intimated, did not extend to mental qualifications, and Charles's education had been neglected in many essentials, and had been exceedingly bad in others. He could dance well, ride well, and shoot well; and a love of field sports, which he had indulged in the marshes, woods, and mountains about Rome, had strengthened his constitution, and made him fit to bear the fatigues of war; but even his personal bravery in action remains, in spite of all that has been said and written about it, a very questionable point. So defective was his education, that his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Irish papist, was suspected by some of having been in the pay of the English government, and of having purposely neglected his duty as an instructor.* Perhaps a surer way of accounting for Charles's want of the knowledge most necessary to one in his station and circumstances, is to remember that Sheridan himself, who had passed nearly all his life abroad, had none of that knowledge to impart: he might have taught the young Pretender to write and spell better than he did—he might have drilled him into Latin, and made him familiar with routine histories,—but he could not teach him the laws and constitution, the rights and usages of Britain, because he knew nothing of them himself.

While they were proclaiming the young Pretender at Edinburgh, Cope was landing his troops, artillery, and stores at Dunbar; an operation that was not completed till the morning of the 18th. His men were discouraged at once by the panic-stricken regiment of dragoons, which had continued flying on till they came to Dunbar, many of them without swords, pistols, or any other weapon.† He found some of the judges and men of the law from Edinburgh, who expressed their resolution of continuing with his army; and the Earl of Home presently came and joined him at Dunbar. But, while the clanship of the Highlands had been left little disturbed, the feudal grandeur and might of the border lords had been vastly diminished, and, instead of coming with hundreds of armed vassals, as his ancestors had been wont to do, the Earl of Home brought with him only two servants. It was resolved to move instantly upon Edinburgh; and Sir John Cope, with his usual fatality, chose the worst road by which he could go. "He well knew that the high road from Edinburgh to the South lies along the coast, and it seems never to have occurred to him that it was possible the Highlanders might choose, even by preference, to cross the country and occupy the heights at the bottom of which the public road takes its course, and thus have him and his army so far at their mercy, that they might avoid or bring on a battle at their sole pleasure. On the contrary, Sir John trusted that their Highland courtesy would induce them, if they moved from Edinburgh, to come by the very road on which he was advancing towards that city, and thus meet him on equal terms."* It is true, however, that the shortest road was enticing, as a speedy arrival at the capital was deemed of the highest importance; but then Cope should have sent exploring parties up the hills and across the country to have an eye on the march of his enemies; and this he neglected to do—he caused to be reconnoitred nothing but the high post road, and two or three diverging paths. And even to this end he employed persons unfit for the duty—some of the young volunteers, who had fled with the poet Home from Edinburgh. It was on the 19th of September that he left Dunbar with his little army, which made a great show with its cavalry, artillery, and long train of baggage wagons. He went no farther than to a field a little to the west of Haddington, which town is only twelve miles from Dunbar. About 9 o'clock at night, it being feared that during the dark hours the Highlanders might advance and surprise them, eight of the young volunteers, mounted on horseback, went by parties of two to examine the main road, and some other paths that diverged to Duddingston. These young men returned at midnight to the camp and reported that all was quiet; and then other eight of them mounted and rode in the same manner till peep of day—but two of this last division of explorers never came back to Cope's camp. On the following morning Sir John continued his march; but when he came near Haddington he suddenly quitted the high post road, because, as he afterwards said, there were defiles and enclosures near it where cavalry could not act, and took the lower road by St. Germains and Seaton. As they marched along his officers assured the people that crowded about them that there would be no battle; that, the cavalry and infantry being joined, and the big

* Lord Mahon, who has been a diligent searcher into the unpublished Stuart Papers and other little known documents, says—"I am bound to say that I have found no corroboration of so foul a charge. Sheridan appears to me to have lived and died a man of honour; but history can only acquit him of base perfidy by accusing him of gross neglect. He had certainly left his pupil uninstructed in the most common elements of knowledge."—*Hist. from Peace of Utrecht.* But it should be remembered that the dulness, or waywardness, or idleness of pupils—particularly of *royal* pupils—may account for deficiencies in education quite as much as the gross neglect of the teacher.

† According to Home, they had dismounted to pass the night near Prestonpans; but a dragoon seeking forage for his horse, between ten and eleven o'clock, fell into an old coal-pit, and made such a noise that the rest of the dragoons thought the Highlanders were upon them; and, mounting their horses, they fled again. Colonel Gardiner had gone to his own house, which was close by the field near Preston chosen for the bivouac. When he rose in the morning he found all the men gone: he followed with a heavy heart; for the road to Dunbar was strewed with swords, pistols, and firelocks, which he caused to be gathered together and carried in covered carts to Dunbar.

* Walter Scott. Art. in Quart. Rev.



Seaton House.

guns being plentiful, the Highlanders would fly before them, and never wait the attack of so complete an army. The van of the army was entering the dead flats which lie between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon, who was acting as adjutant-general, and who had gone forward to reconnoitre, came back at a round pace, and informed Cope that the rebels were in full march towards him—not by the road and the open country to the west, where alone Sir John had been looking for them, but by the ridge of hills to the south. Cope, however, thought that the plain he was in was good ground, and he pushed forward along the high road to Preston and Seaton, till he came to Prestonpans, where he formed his army in order of battle. The young Pretender, having previously been joined by the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stewart Threipland, Sir David Murray, and a few other Lowland gentlemen, and having exacted tents, targets, and shoes from the citizens of Edinburgh, and carried off all their arms—including, it is said, about a thousand muskets—had resolved to come forth and meet Cope.* He was further encouraged by the timely arrival of Lord Nairn, who brought up from the north 500 men—Mac Lauchlans and other Macs from Atholl. On the night of Thursday, the 19th, Charles repaired to the village of Duddingston, where the troops lay upon their arms; and at an early hour on the following morning he put himself at their head, drawing his sword and exclaiming—"Gentlemen, I have thrown away the scabbard!" The Highlanders moved on in a long narrow column, crossed the bridge at Musselburgh, and then struck away over the hills to the right, leaving the post road entirely. They paused on the heights of Carberry, where many a year before Mary Stuart had been led captive by her insurgent subjects. They did not halt again till they came in full sight of the king's army.* The regulars set up a tremendous shout, to which the Highlanders replied. Cope, who had shifted his front, and re-formed his army, now lay with his right lean-

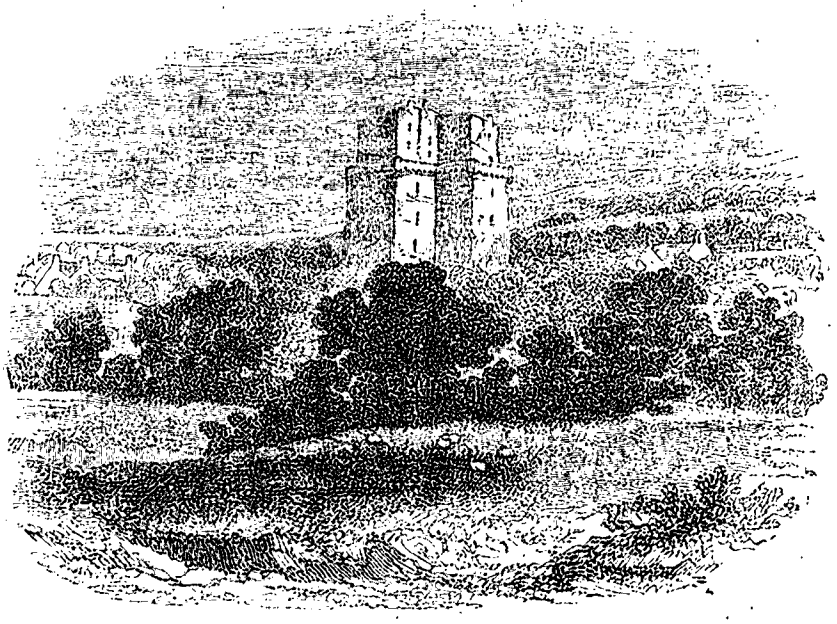
* On the 18th there was a proclamation issued by the rebels requiring all persons in Mid Lothian to deliver up all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of military execution. In the course of the same day the Castle fired very briskly upon the town of Edinburgh, and threatened to lay it in ashes. "By the firing the cannon, a ball struck upon the top of a chimney and threw down some stones, which wounded Lochiel and his major that was upon guard that day. It was proposed to put a stronger guard on the outside of the castle, to straiten it more, in order to reduce it by famine (as it was thought not to be very well provided); but that was objected to, as the Highlanders were not accustomed to that way of doing, and if any of them were killed it would be *discouraging to the rest and make them desert.*"—*Jacobite Account of Operations, &c.* To obtain shoes, targets, tents, &c., all the inhabitants of Edinburgh were called, and taxed according to their valued rents. These proceedings were not likely to conciliate the Lowlanders, who, moreover, hated the Highlanders with an old and growing hatred.

* The Highland officer says—"His royal highness marched us from the field of Duddingston early in the morning, and at about three in the afternoon we were in sight of the enemy, who had taken up their ground on the plain near the town of Prestonpans, betwixt Colonel Gardiner's house and Port Seaton; . . . having a broad and deep ditch in their front, a small morass on their left, and the Frith of Forth on their rear."—*Appendix to Lockhart Papers.* In another Jacobite account in the same Appendix it is said, "The prince marched out with his whole army to meet them, and that afternoon gained Carberry Hill, from which they could see Sir John Cope's army. . . . . The prince continued his march along the hill till he came to Tranent, where it was proposed to attack directly, which was objected to as impracticable as they were situated."—*account of the Young Pretender's Operations.*

ing on Colonel Gardiner's park-wall and the village of Preston, having on his left Seaton House and the sea, and a little in his rear the village of Prestonpans. At the distance of less than a mile the Highlanders formed on the declivities near the little town of Tranent. But between them and the king's army there was a swamp or morass cut by hedges, dry stone dykes, and willow trees; and close in front of the king's army there was a ditch with a thick and strong hedge. It was about three in the afternoon when Kerr of Gradon, mounted upon a little white pony, rode down the hill side to see if he could discover a passage for the Highlanders across the morass. He performed this duty with great coolness, notwithstanding the shots that were fired at him, but upon his return he assured Charles that the morass was impassable —that Cope's front was not to be attacked in that direction. Both armies lay inactive the rest of the day, except that Cope fired a few cannon shots, and dislodged a party of Highlanders who had occupied the churchyard of Tranent. The night which followed, and which proved dark and cold, was still more tranquil, the two armies lying upon the ground with their sentinels and picquets very close to each other.* But during that night several of the few Highlanders that had been induced to follow Cope from Aberdeen, deserted to their countrymen; and Robert Anderson, a Jacobite gentleman of the neighbourhood, who knew the country step by step, told Hepburn of Keith that he would undertake to show the prince's army a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. After consulting with Lord George Murray, Hepburn conducted this Anderson to Charles, who was found sleeping on the ground with a sheaf of peas for his pillow. Awaking, the young Pretender summoned Lochiel and the other chiefs to council, and it was soon resolved to trust to the guidance and loyalty of the Lowland gentleman, whose father had been out in the Fifteen. At the earliest peep of day, and under the favouring veil of a frosty mist, and the fog that hung over the swampy ground, the Highlanders began to move, with the Clanronalds in front, marching in column, three men in a rank. They came down by a hollow that winded through the farm of Ringanhead—not a whisper was heard amongst them. They were close to the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some of the dragoons in picquet heard their footfalls, and shouted through the mist "Who goes there?" Apparently without waiting for an answer, which would not have been given, these doughty horsemen reined up, turned their horses' heads, and rode off to give the alarm—the only thing they could do. The clans, still as silent as death, pushed on rapidly, in spite of the boggy nature of the ground, in which they sometimes sunk to their kilts; they crossed the ditch upon a little narrow wooden bridge; and then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered them to halt, face to the left, and form as usual. The first line consisted of six regiments, with the Clanronalds, the men of Glengarry and Keppoch on the right, the Mac Gregors and the Duke of Perth's men in the centre, and the men of Appin and Locheil on the left. Behind this first line stood a body of reserve or second line, consisting of the Atholl men, the Robertsons of Strowan, the Mac Donalds of Glenco, and the Mac Lauchlans, who were all commanded by Lord Nairn, but who were never engaged. Charles took his post in front of this body of reserve and behind the first line. Sir John Cope, who had not been sleeping with his troops on the field, but had gone to more comfortable quarters in Cockenzie, a little village on the seashore close by, being warned by the dragoons, was now on the field, and obliged to change his front and alter his dispositions in face of the enemy. Even with the best disciplined troops such sudden manœuvres, under such circumstances, are likely to produce some confusion. The outposts of the front had not time to find out the regiments to which they respectively belonged, and they formed awkwardly on the right so as to cramp the cavalry, and not leave them sufficient room to act. The mass of the infantry, consisting of four regiments, "Lees's," "Guise's," "Lascelles's," and "Murray's," two of which were very incomplete, stood in the centre: Hamilton's dragoons occupied the left, and Gardiner's dragoons and the artillery were posted on the right next the morass; there was no body of reserve, but they still had in their rear Preston, some strong stone walls, and Prestonpans; their baggage was to their left in the village of Cockenzie, which has a small harbour. The ground which intervened between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or a tree; and it was now lighted up by the morning sun, which had dispelled the fog and mist, and revealed the enemies to each other. "Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage."* Their first attack, under Locheil, was upon the guns. "The cannon," says a Jacobite that was present, "consisting of seven pieces and four cohorns, fired upon them as they marched, but did no execution, and was immediately seized; and the Highlanders (who never after that did regard cannon, which had been formerly very terrible to them) continued their march with loud huzzas."† The fact was, that Cope, having no regular artillerymen with him, had pressed a number of unskilful, unpractised seamen to serve these guns; and the sailors being badly defended, or rather not defended at all, by

* The Highland officer says—"We lay in sight of them till the evening, when our people grew very impatient to be engaged; but, with difficulty being restrained by authority, both armies lay upon their arms all night."

* Home. † Account of the Young Pretender's Operations.



Preston Tower:
Near which the Battle was fought.

the dragoons, turned and fled after one or two random fires, and left the cannon to the Highlanders. Colonel Gardiner, who deserved to have better men under him, advanced at the head of his regiment, and did all that he could to make them charge the Highlanders and recover the guns: but the dragoons had no heart in them, and after receiving one irregular fire they wheeled about and galloped off, making a canter at Prestonpans as they had done at Colt Brigg. Abandoned by their horse, and seeing their artillery in the hands of the enemy, the infantry gave one weak, desultory fire; the Highlanders threw down their muskets and rushed on them with their sharp claymores; the line broke—Hamilton's dragoons were galloping away as fast as Gardiner's—Murray's regiment of foot, which occupied the left, fled also; in a few minutes from the firing of the first gun the whole army, both horse and foot, were in flight, and the disgraceful affair of Prestonpans was over almost as soon as begun.* Not one of the regular soldiers attempted to load his piece a second time, not one English bayonet was used. Charles had no cavalry; the whole amount of horse with him did not exceed the number of fifty, consisting chiefly of gentlemen and their grooms; but, with a part of this Lord Elcho and Sir Peter Threipland spurred after the panic-struck dragoons, while the light-footed Highlanders followed the foot to cut them down or make them prisoners. Few had courage enough to provoke the broad sword; the men threw down their arms and surrendered in heaps, and the actual loss on the side of the royalists in killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men and five officers; but eighty officers were taken prisoners, and the cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest were all left to fall into the hands of the Highlanders, whose loss amounted to four officers and thirty private men killed, and six officers and seventy private men wounded. One hundred and five of Cope's foot escaped and got to Edinburgh Castle, and about seventy found their way to Berwick. Sir John, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the dragoons, who fled too fast to be taken, and marched them, by Soultra Hill and Lauder, down to the banks of the Tweed at Coldstream, where they are said to have arrived that very night.†

* To make the more of their victory the Highlanders and Jacobites exaggerated the number of Cope's army and diminished that of their own. Besides the two worthless regiments of dragoons Cope certainly had not with him more than 1500 or 1600 men. The Highlanders, it is true, had no cavalry, no artillery; but they had at the very least 2500 brave and active men on the field. See answers to queries sent to Mr. Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army, in Home's Appendix, and Home's own note. Patullo says, that the number of the rebels when they took possession of Edinburgh was about 2500, and that it was much the same at the battle of Prestonpans. Home says, that when they came to Edinburgh they scarcely amounted to 2000, but they had been joined since then by 250 Atholl men under Lord Nairn, by 150 MacLaughlans, and by various other bands.

† Sir John—"*Johnnie Cope*," as he will be for ever called in Scotland—was merely ridiculed at first, and hotly prosecuted afterwards. It is reported that when he went flying on with his dragoons to Berwick, his brother officer, Lord Mark Kerr, received him with the sarcastic remark, that he believed him to be the very first general on record that had first carried the tidings of his own defeat. The Jacobites made epigrams and songs about him, one of which, commemorating his sudden wakening and his rapid flight, is known to every one that is a Scot, or that has lived in Scotland. The satirical Horace Walpole thought that he was to be more pitied than blamed. In a letter dated London, the 27th of December, he says, "I pity poor him, who, with no shining abilities, and no experience, and no force, was sent to fight for a crown. He never saw a battle but that of Dettingen, where he got his red riband: Churchill, whose lot

Colonel Gardiner, probably the best man and the best officer there, remained dead on the corn-field at Prestonpans. The veteran, disdaining to fly with his dragoons, though he was badly wounded, put himself at the head of a small party of the foot, a knot of true-bred Englishmen, who, though left without officers, stood their ground on a corner of the field. "These brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and, riding to their front, he took the command and cheered them; but he was presently cut down by a fierce Highlander, armed with a scythe, and he sunk under other wounds close to his own park wall, and within sight of his happy home. They carried him senseless to the manse, or parsonage, of Tranent, where he soon expired, and was buried by the side of his children in that village church. He was a truly virtuous and religious man, and his bravery was indisputable; but some people thought that he must have preached and prayed to his dragoons more than he drilled them; and certainly, the regiment, which had been for a considerable time under his command, had not acquired any military virtue. The young Pretender, who had been with the body of reserve, which had nothing to do in the fight,* is said to have shown some magnanimity or prudence after it was over: he remained on the field till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and for the disposal of his numerous prisoners. He lay that night at Pinkie, and returned the next morning to Edinburgh, with the 1,500*l.*—a seasonable supply—which had been found in Cope's military chest. He entered Holyrood House to the joyful tune "The king shall have his own again," flags flying, pibrochs playing, and the Highlanders making a *feu de joie* by firing their pieces in the air. One of their balls grazed the forehead of Miss Nairne, a Jacobite lady, who, with others of her principles and sex, stood waving her white handkerchief from a balcony. "Thank God," said the fair enthusiast, "that this accident happened to me, whose principles are known. Had it fallen on a Whig, they would have said it was done on purpose."† At a review a few days after there appeared only about 1400 Highlanders; some had been killed and wounded, it is true, but the large majority of those missing had gone home with the plunder and spoil they had made at Prestonpans. With the brave old General Guest still in the Castle, with the majority of the inhabitants of Edinburgh wishing every "sharp-edged claymore man" behind Strathbogie, and the Pretender back in France or Italy, or in a still hotter atmosphere, any competent commander with 1200 or 1400 proper men might have settled the rebellion if he had come to Edinburgh on the 21st or 22nd, but there was no one at hand to take up the card which Cope had thrown away; there was scarcely the fraction of an English regiment anywhere north of Tweed; and thus the Highlanders were allowed at their leisure to go and come, to deposit their plunder in the mountains, and to return on the look out for more; and an irresistible temptation was offered to France and Spain to send money and troops. Duncan Forbes, and some other friends of the government, still remained in the north about Inverness and Fort George, in the hopes of raising the Whiggish clans and sending them to take the Pretender in the rear. The Duke of Argyll's vassals—all the clans that bore the name of Campbell, or had friendship and affinity with them,—were resolute and ready to march for King George; but the Duke of Argyll was left without proper orders or instructions, and the men without arms. In vain had Duncan Forbes and Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the loyal and able Justice-Clerk, repeated their applications for muskets and bayonets—the government at London seemed to be deaf, careless, or stupified, or confident that Cope's ill supplied army must have proved more than enough. The only excuse to be offered is, that they probably knew not whom to trust. On the 16th of September, when the capital was falling into the hands of Charles, the Justice-Clerk wrote an admirable letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale:—"I shall now signify to your lordship in plain words what authorities I desired to have been sent down, to empower the well affected to appear in a legal way for the defence of his majesty's person and government..... Scotland may be divided into two parts; the one disarmed, and the other unarmed. By the former, I mean the Highlands; and by the latter, the Lowlands. The former (the Highlands) produces as good militia, perhaps, as any in Europe; the latter are neighbourlike, but little accustomed to the use of arms till they are employed in a military manner. The Highlands, again, may be divided into three classes; first, what I shall call the Whig clans, which have always bore that character since the names of Whig or Jacobite were known among us; of this sort, your lordship, and every one acquainted with this country knows, that the chief are the Campbells, Grants, Munros, MacKays, Sutherlands. The second class are, the clans still properly Jacobite, and who at this moment are giving proof of it; the Camerons, the MacDonalds of Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengarry—none of their chiefs reckoned great princes in the Highlands. The third class are, the clans which were engaged in the last rebellion, but their chiefs now profess and practise obedience to the government. Of these, the most powerful are the Duke of Gordon, Seaforth, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and MacLeod of MacLeod. The behaviour of the two last has been most exemplary and meritorious on this occasion. By an act of the first of the late king (George I.), intituled, 'For the more

captain he was, and my Lord Harrington, had pushed him up to this misfortune."—*Letter to H. Mann.*

* "One does not hear the boy's personal bravery cried up."—*Horace Walpole to Mann.*

† Note to Waverley. Miss Nairne not only recovered, but lived long enough to be personally acquainted with Walter Scott, who has shed the charm of romance over the character of the young Pretender and the doings of his adherents.

effectually securing the peace of the Highlands,' the whole Highlands, without distinction, were disarmed, and for ever forbid to use or bear arms, under penalties. This act has been found, by experience, to work the quite contrary effect from what was intended by it; and, in reality, it proves a measure for more effectually disturbing the peace of the Highlands, and of the rest of the kingdom. For, at the time appointed by the disarming act, all the dutiful and well-affected clans truly submitted to the act of parliament and gave up their arms, so that they are now completely disarmed; but the disaffected clans either concealed their arms at first, or have provided themselves since with other arms. The fatal effects of this difference, at the time of a rebellious insurrection, must be very obvious; and are by us, in this country, felt at this hour: I pray God they may be felt no farther south. By that disarming act, as it stands, there is still room left for arming occasionally even the Highlands, or prohibited counties; and the method reserved or excepted from the prohibition is, when by his majesty's order, and out of his arsenal, the people are called out and armed by the lords lieutenant of counties; then they may lawfully wear and use such arms, during such number of days or space of time as shall be expressed in his majesty's order."—The able, honest, and earnest writer, after observing, "this is, in the plain words of a statute, an answer to your lordship's question, what authorities I desired might be sent down to empower the well affected to appear in a legal way," proceeds to state, that this was what he meant in his first letter to his lordship, and also what he meant in his second letter; and, as courteously as he can, he hints his astonishment at Tweeddale's not understanding him. Nay, he tells his lordship that he had plainly stated to him, the beginning of last year, when we were threatened with the former invasion, that the friends of government in Scotland remained without arms, and without power to make use of any; adding, "Had legal strength been given to the friends of government in the Highlands, no such insurrection would have happened as this, without a landing of foreign troops; or, if it had, it must have been crushed at the beginning, without endangering or harassing the regular troops, or taking them from parts where they may be wanted." * He thought it would be imprudent to arm the clans of the third class above described, whose chiefs were themselves but recent converts, and whose people might not yet be cured of their prejudices against the present establishment; but he could see nothing that could possibly be objected to the arming of the other clans who were thoroughly to be depended upon. "I take it," says he, "to be a clear case, that there can be no hazard, but a high utility, in arming the Whig clans above named; and also, in case of further need, the low-country militia in the southern and western counties. The former indeed was the most useful and immediately necessary; and, if it had been done, it is as clear as any moral demonstration to every man in Scotland that this at first pitiful and now ugly insurrection would have been dissipated and crushed at once; for they were counted at Blair-Atholl on the 1st of September, and were not then 2000 men; and what would have been more easy than for Sir John Cope to have remained at Stirling till he had got a greater number of Highlanders than the rebel army from the Campbells alone, who lay nearest to him? And then he had Highlanders against Highlanders, and his regular troops into the bargain, and might safely have marched where he pleased. Instead of which what do we now see? The regular troops harassed and exposed by a tedious, useless march to Inverness, and back again by Aberdeen, and conveyed from thence by sea. In the mean time, what I prophesied came to pass: the rebels got betwixt him and the low-country. Alas! my lord, I have grief and not glory, that my fears have been more than fulfilled; for more than I feared is come to pass." He hoped his lordship would excuse him if his style appeared too ardent; and the honest Whig concluded his long letter, by saying, "I pray God to prevent further bad consequences. The beginning of mischief is often small; but I will never despond of the cause of the king and the country." * It does not appear that all the blame of the delay and negligence should be imputed to the Marquess of Tweeddale: the secretary of state for Scotland was only one in a jealous and distracted cabinet; and Tweeddale, who soon resigned, complained ever afterwards that he had been ill used, and that his advice had been slighted. In replying to Fletcher, he assured him that his majesty had transmitted such powers about arming the Whig clans as had been suggested by his servants at London; and that his majesty thought proper on this occasion to bestow a particular mark of his confidence on the Lord President of the Session, Duncan Forbes, whose presence in the North, and efforts among the clans, had been esteemed as of great service at this juncture. Yet Tweeddale's letter, which was written between the English army's landing at Dunbar and their march to Prestonpans, concluded with the hope that Sir John Cope would be able to finish the rebellion.†

Without underrating the disinterested and romantic Jacobitism of the gentle Locheil, and two or three other chiefs, on the one side, or the incurable turbulence and predatory habits of some score of chiefs and chieftains on the other side, it may be believed that the great mass of the Highlanders who followed Charles were urged on by the poverty and hardships of their situation, and by the hopes of

* Fletcher says, after this last paragraph, "It did not occur to me that it was at all needful to speak plainer to your lordship than I did in the words of my letters above recited. I took it for granted your lordship perfectly understood my meaning, alluding to so late a statute relating to this country; but possibly there were *other weighty considerations*, which I could not penetrate, that prevented such means being taken as I then suggested."

* Home's Appendix. † Id.

improving their condition; and that, if proper means had been adopted by the established government to furnish them with employment and bread, the name of the Stuarts would have been no more a magical name in the Highlands than it was in the fat plains of England. Since the Revolution, which drove that dynasty from the throne, both nations had been making prodigious strides in wealth and in general civilization and comfort; but these blessings were not extended to the bare and hungry mountains of the North, which remained in their primitive poverty and discomfort—materially increased by the increase of population. The numbers of many of the clans had, long before the year forty-five, exceeded the means of subsistence afforded by the ground they occupied. In some of the straths and glens they were huddled together, and hundreds were compelled to live upon a bit of ground which, in England, with all the superiority of soil and of agricultural industry to boot, would not have been made to support scores. In the wintry season it was no uncommon thing for them to support life by bleeding their black cattle, mixing the blood with a little barley or oatmeal, and frying the whole into a sort of cake. Trade they had none, except in occasionally exporting to the Lowlands their small black cattle: shipping they had none, because they had nothing by which to create and employ it; and because, like all the Celtic tribes, they had a strong prejudice and aversion to a seafaring life. The Highlanders were as inapt as sailors, as they were apt as soldiers. Their clannish institutions, their devotion to their chiefs, who were more to their respective clans than either king or law, and other obstacles, both natural and artificial, made it difficult for any government to change or suddenly improve their condition; but a wiser and more spirited government would assuredly have tried the effect of a gradual and gentle change—would have laboured to find out better means of subsistence and of education for a brave and excitable people—and would, most assuredly, never have rejected the proposals which had been made over and over again, for employing the Highlanders, and disengaging them, by the influence of better feeding, from the desperate cause of the Stuarts. Seven years before this their last and terrible outbreak, Duncan Forbes, who was thoroughly acquainted both with Highlands and Lowlands, waited upon Lord Milton, at his house at Brunstane, one morning before breakfast. Milton, surprised to see him at so early an hour, asked what was the matter. The Lord President replied, that the matter he had to communicate was of some importance. "You know very well," said he, "that I am like you, a Whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now, I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme, which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect." After remarking that a war with Spain was at hand, and a war with France in all probability not distant, and that the struggle would demand far more troops than the standing army his majesty then had, Duncan Forbes proposed that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scotch officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, leaving the posts of lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns to be filled by the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who, if left at home in their present poverty and discontent, were the very persons whom France and Spain would call upon to take arms for the Pretender. The Highlanders who had been raised and sent to serve in the army abroad had always been not only among the bravest, but among the steadiest and most contented of our troops; their Jacobitism never followed them beyond their own bare mountains. "If," continued Duncan Forbes, "government will pre-engage the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." Forbes gave his scheme in writing, and with more detail, to Lord Milton, who fully approved of it, and submitted it to Lord Ilay, who had then the chief management of the king's affairs in Scotland. This brother of Argyll, who since then (by the death of his brother in 1743) had become Duke of Argyll himself, was delighted with the plan, carried it up to London, and presented it to Walpole. Sir Robert declared at once that it was the most sensible plan he had ever seen; and that he was surprised nobody had ever thought of it before. [If Walpole had looked a little back, he might have seen that a plan very like it had been suggested to William the Third.*] Summoning a cabinet council, the minister laid Duncan Forbes's paper before them, and recommended the measure as one which ought to be carried into execution immediately, in case of a war; but every member of that council, except Sir Robert, instantly declared against it, saying that, if government should adopt the plan, the English opposition in parliament would instantly exclaim that he (Walpole), ever intent on subverting the British constitution, was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army, and enslave the people of England.† It, indeed, unfortunately happened that precedents and records of the past must have inevitably suggested to the opposition strong arguments, or declamations, against the project. In modern times the Highlanders had scarcely been heard of south of the Forth, except as devoted partisans of the house of Stuart, and as men that were ready to enforce with the sword the most insolent and fanatic pretensions of despotism.

* See ante, p. 44.

† The venerable author of Douglas, and of the History of the Rebellion, says that all these particulars were communicated to him by Lord Milton himself.

For whom had Montrose fought? For whom had Dundee fallen? Who had been the stern executors of the monstrous orders of Duke Lauderdale and James the Second? Who had butchered the Whigs in the West, and routed and captured the Covenanters and Cameronians, sending the prisoners to be tortured, booted, thumb-screwed, and then hanged or exiled by Lauderdale? Little —marvellously, and almost unaccountably, little —as they knew of the state of the extreme north of the island and of the clans, every Englishman knew that it was the Highlanders who had done all this; and every Lowland Scot—every Whig and presbyterian south of the Tweed—would have answered the queries with indignation and horror. There remained, however, in defence of Duncan Forbes's plan the consideration that these Highlanders were not to be kept at home, but sent at once abroad to serve on the continent—they were not to be employed in executing the will of arbitrary princes like the two Charleses and the second James, but in warring against the Spaniards, whose punishment and humiliation were then such popular themes. But there was a potent motive, overlooked by Home, but which, as we conceive, was the main cause of the rejection of Forbes's plan. The king wanted to employ Hanoverians and Hessians, and to subsidise all his little neighbours in Germany; and the majority of the ministry knew that they could keep their places only by gratifying his majesty in this particular. Thus Hanoverians were preferred to Highlanders; and instead of five full regiments of the latter, only one was raised—the famed Forty-second, or the Black Watch, as it was then generally called;—and this, it appears, was chiefly raised among the Campbells and the clans already attached to the House of Hanover. That Hanoverian mouths might be filled the rest of the Highlanders were left to their hunger and their discontent—and no disaffection is so strong as the disaffection of the stomach. And thus was England deprived of the services of the best infantry she could possibly have procured—the cheapest to support, the most capable of enduring fatigue, the most cheerful under occasional privation, the bravest of the brave in battle. The few Highlanders actually engaged on the continent had already by their conduct challenged and obtained this high eulogium. In the recent battle of Fontenoy the Forty-second had made themselves terrible to the best veterans of France.

In general, when project-makers find their plans rejected they are apt to become disaffected; but, happily for his country, this was not the case with the Lord President Forbes, who in the moment of extreme danger, when the battle of Prestonpans was fought, remained in the Highlands; and by unceasing exertions, by employing his own money and his own credit, by exercising all the talent of a true statesman and the virtue of a true patriot, he was now succeeding in assembling such a force about Inverness and Fort George, as served to distract the counsels and interrupt the supplies of Charles, and to pave the way for his final downfal.*

The English had certainly no right to accuse the unarmed Lowlanders of Scotland of a want of spirit, for their own spirit was at moments—we mean, of course, in the beginning of the rebellion —at an exceedingly low ebb. They cried out for succour to the Dutch, as if English hearts and hands were not sufficient; and the government pressingly demanded the 6,000 auxiliaries which the States General were bound to furnish. The rich and peaceful citizens of London were for a time as much afraid of the Pretender, though more than 300 miles off, as had been the burghers of Edinburgh when he was only three miles off. Even Fox, a member of the administration, said in a confidential letter to a friend—"England is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6,000 Dutch and the ten battalions of English we have sent for from Flanders, or 5,000 French or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate." This was written on the 5th of September; and on the 19th of the same month Henry Fox wrote to the same friend—"The French are not come, God be thanked! But, had 5,000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle." On the 6th of September Horace Walpole wrote—"Notice came yesterday, that there are 10,000 men, thirty transports, and ten men-of-war at Dunkirk. Against this force we have—I don't know what—scarce fears!" On the 13th he says —"Spirit seems to rise in London, though not in the proportion it ought; and then the person (*the king*) most concerned does everything to check its progress; when the ministers propose anything with regard to the rebellion, he cries, Pho! don't talk to me of such stuff. Lord Granville has persuaded him that it is of no consequence. Mr. Pelham talks every day of resigning: he certainly will as soon as this is got over!—if it is got over!" In the same letter, however, Horace Walpole himself is inclined to think lightly of the young Pretender, as there is little appearance hitherto of countenance given to his undertaking by France or Spain. "It seems," adds he, "an effort of despair, and weariness of the manner in which he

* The Lord President himself describes some of the difficulties he had to encounter. In a letter dated the 13th of November, when the Highlanders had begun their march into England, he says—"At first the prospect was very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the rebels' successes at Edinburgh and Prestonpans soon changed the scene. All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all *doubtful* people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and, what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation: and, if you will except MacLeod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage. Had arms and money come when they were first called for, before these unexpected successes blew up folly to madness, I could have answered it with my head, that no man from the North should have joined the original flock of rebels that passed the Forth."—*Duncan Forbes to Sir Andrew Mitchell. Culloden Papers.*

has been kept in France. On the grenadiers' caps is written, *A grave or a throne*..... The merchants are zealous, and are opening a great subscription for raising troops.... In the midst of all this, no parliament is called! The ministers say they have nothing ready to offer; but have they nothing to notify?.....I don't despair, and yet I expect nothing but bad!"* The bad news had brought George rapidly over from Hanover to London, where he had arrived on the 31st of August; but he seemed to think, first that Sir John Cope would be enough—then that the 6,000 Dutch and ten English battalions would be more than enough; and no pains were spared by Lord Granville (Carteret) and his party, who were still constantly consulted, to persuade his majesty that there was no danger whatever, and to hint, less directly, that if they had been in office the insurrection would not have happened. On the 20th of September, when three battalions of Dutch had been landed at Gravesend, and had received orders to march to the north of England, Horace Walpole wrote—"Lord Granville and his faction persist in persuading the king that it is an affair of no consequence—and, as for the Duke of Newcastle, he is glad when the rebels make any progress, in order to confute Lord Granville's assertions."† In this manner was the civil war neglected, and the property and lives of thousands left to depend upon the desponding or sanguine humour of majesty, and upon the intrigues of ministers and ex-ministers, base enough to manœuvre for place and favour at a critical moment like this. "The best of our situation," adds Walpole in the same letter, "is our strength at sea: the Channel is well guarded, and twelve men-of-war more are arrived (fifteen men-of-war were collected in the Downs before this arrival). Admiral Vernon, that simple, noisy creature, has hit upon a scheme that is of great service; he has laid Folkstone cutters all round the coast, which are constantly relieved, and bring constant notice of everything that stirs." The English sailors indeed, whether employed in men-of-war, government cutters, privateers, or fishing-boats, did admirable service, displaying on all occasions the greatest vigilance and activity, and a contempt of danger and a bravery as extreme in its degree as was the cowardice of the dragoons at Prestonpans. On one occasion a small privateer of Bristol took a large Spanish ship, laden with arms and money for Scotland; another ship under the same flag and on the same mission was driven on the Irish coast and there lost; Captain Beavor, of the Fox man-of-war, on receiving a flattering message and some splendid promises from the Chevalier if he would only change his flag, replied that he never treated with any but principals, but that if Charles would go on board he would talk with him; another small ship took the Soleil from Dunkirk, going to Montrose with twenty French officers and some sixty men; a small squadron of privateers, who joined voluntarily under the command of a brave and experienced seaman, captured a vast number of French vessels and drove a great many more upon their own coasts;* and hence the French, and the Spaniards as well, became convinced that to send succours to the young Pretender was a matter of extreme hazard, or of almost certain loss. His younger brother, styled Henry Duke of York, had arrived in France from Rome to press for assistance and to share in the danger; and Louis XV. even designed to put at the boy's disposal the Irish regiments in his service, with one or two other regiments. Preparations to carry him over were in progress at Dunkirk. By means of Kelly, that active nonjuring parson, who managed, though with extreme difficulty, to get back from Scotland to France, Charles implored that this great succour might be dispatched while it was yet time; but Louis would not risk so much in the face of the strong English fleet and the swarms of active privateers that seemed to be everywhere at once; and all the succour that was sent—chiefly in arms and money—was carried in some little vessel that now and then had the good fortune to escape our cruisers. But this little helped to keep the flame of civil war alive, to embarrass George, and to weaken his forces on the continent, which, in reality, was nearly all that the French court ever very earnestly desired.

The citizens of London, for some time, ordered that the city gates should be shut every night at 10 o'clock, and not be opened before 6 in the morning; and they kept the trained bands on duty night and day. Their unmanly fears were increased by the stale and worn-out report that there was a conspiracy worse than the gunpowder-plot on foot, and that the Papists intended to rise, to cut all their throats, and then bury them in the ashes of the consumed city.† In consequence of what was called certain information to this effect, there was one day a terrible stir—the king's guards were all ordered out—the Tower was shut up some hours earlier than usual, and a considerable number of poor fellows were seized in the streets for looking discontented and desperate, and like Papists. The common council of London was as much split into parties as the privy council of his majesty, and equally capable of overlooking the real dangers of the country in their indulgence of jealousy and animosity against each other. The leader of the opposition party in the common council was Alderman George Heathcote, who was in close connection with Lord Bolingbroke,‡ the Earl of March-

* Letters to Horace Mann. † Id.

* Some of the exploits of these privateers, though all unknown to fame, were as brilliant as anything that has been performed by the royal British navy. In the following spring Horace Walpole mentions that an account was just arrived of two of our privateers having met eight-and-twenty French transports going with supplies to the Brest fleet, and sunk ten, taken four, and driven the rest on shore.

† In the course of the autumn there broke out all round London something like a murrain among the cows; so that people durst not eat milk, butter, beef, or anything of that sort. At first it was imagined that the Papists had done all this by poisoning the pools; but the physicians, fortunately for the poor Catholics, pronounced the cow malady to be infectious and brought from abroad.

‡ Bolingbroke, who had certainly nothing to hope from the Pre-

mont, and others of that faction, who put words or arguments into his mouth, and wrote the papers which he was to produce in the city. According to the old custom some of the aldermen and common councilmen moved the lord mayor to send up an address to his majesty on his safe return from the continent with the loyal assurances of the city to stand by him, &c. But Alderman Heathcote proposed either that the address should contain a prayer for a redress of grievances—for some proof that the government established was in the interest of the people, would pursue that interest, and so give the people a reason why they should prefer one government to another—or that there should be no address sent at all.* Heathcote, however, found himself in a minority, or, as he says, "two honest gentlemen," whom he took to be "as good courtiers as any in the kingdom," prevailed against him, and "industriously and artfully surprised the city into an address, as they did the court of aldermen also." "But I think," adds this alderman, "notwithstanding their addresses, and another now on foot called the merchants' address, to sign which men are dragged by the prayers and entreaties of the court faction, your lordship may depend on the account I gave of the general coldness and indifference of the people." † This was the voice of a party-man—of a discontented member of the court of aldermen speaking to discontented statesmen; but unhappily it was to a considerable degree the voice of truth; for as the alarm subsided it was succeeded in the city of London and elsewhere by a great show of unconcern and indifference—a far worse symptom than the fear which had preceded it. The merchants of London, however, opened a subscription at Garraway's coffee-house in order to raise a fund of 250,000*l.* to be spent in troops, and several of them subscribed as much as 200*l.* a-piece. They also entered into associations and subscriptions for sustaining the Bank of England, upon which a run at one moment began to be made, and for supporting the public credit in general; but self-interest would, without any extraordinary patriotism, have suggested this latter course.

The household troops, horse and foot, a regiment of horse grenadiers, and some of the battalions as they came from Flanders were encamped in Hyde Park. In the provinces several great lords professed to raise regiments at their own expense—meaning, however, to be more than paid for their outlay. Few or none of these lords were either so disinterested or so prompt as Doctor Herring, the excellent Archbishop of York. "He," says Horace Walpole, "has set an example that would rouse the most indifferent: two days after the news arrived at York of Cope's defeat, and when they every moment expected the victorious rebels at their gates, the bishop made a speech to the assembled county, that had as much true spirit, honesty, and bravery in it, as ever was penned by an historian for an ancient hero."* Under this prince of the church bodies of horse and foot were raised in Yorkshire with admirable rapidity, and not one gentleman there thought of making a profitable job out of his courage and patriotism.† The archbishop, who, in such a case, may be excused—nay, applauded—for following the warlike conduct of more ancient prelates, was constant at muster and review, and declared that he would be ready to fight with the gentlemen and burghers of the north. "He was," says Horace Walpole in another place, "a very amiable man, to whom no fault was objected; though perhaps the gentleness of his principles, his great merit, was thought one. During this rebellion he took up arms to defend from oppression that religion which he abhorred making an instrument of oppression."‡ His example had the best of effects: the nobility and gentry of Lancashire entered into an association to raise 3000 men; similar measures were adopted, under the bishop and Sir Robert Grosvenor, in Chester, where even the Catholic gentlemen associated and subscribed, declaring that this mad attempt of the Stuarts tended only to ruin them and their religion in Britain. A similar association was set on foot in Surrey under Lord Onslow, and in other directions the same good spirit prevailed.

Parliament assembled on the 18th of October; when George announced in form the breaking out of the unnatural rebellion, and the dangers of popery and arbitrary power to which the nation was exposed. The House of Commons did not assemble in full force, for many of the Scotch members could not have come if they had been willing, as the young Pretender had published a declaration, threatening to confiscate the estates of all Scots that should dare attend this parliament; and though it was doubtful whether his edict of confiscation could be lasting, it was quite certain that he had the power of letting his Highlanders loose in the Lowlands, and of wasting or plundering every estate there. In the same declaration Charles denounced as traitors all the English members that might meet at Westminster. The session was

tender or his son, but who was yet anxious to overthrow the ministry and the Whigs, affected the most perfect indifference at this crisis, which could not possibly be indifferent to any man that loved his country. In a letter from Battersea to the Earl of Marchmont, he says, "I wait with much resignation to know to what lion's paw we are to fall." And the rest of the letter is occupied with some queries about a couple of small greyhounds, which Maupertuis, the president of the academy of Berlin, wanted for his master King Frederick.

* Alderman George Heathcote to Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in Marchmont Papers.

† Id.—The account which Heathcote had given to the Earl of Marchmont was, that the people of London were dissatisfied because the grievances they suffered were numerous—because the nation was groaning under the fatal conduct of a ruinous land-war, carried on against the general bent of the people—because the fleet was neglected, dishonoured, and ruined—because there was a total distraction and dissolution of government, &c. "I have observed," says he, "a remarkable change in the dispositions of people within these last two years; for numbers of those, who during the apprehensions of the last invasion (in February and March 1744) appeared most zealous for the government, are now grown absolutely cold and indifferent, so that, except in the persons in the pay of the government, and a few dissenters, there is not the least appearance of concern to be met with."

* Letter to Horace Mann.

† "That county," says Horace Walpole, "raises 4000 men, besides a body of fox-hunters, whom General Oglethorpe has converted into hussars."

‡ Memoirs. Doctor Herring was promoted to Canterbury in 1747. He died in March 1757, universally respected.

scarcely opened when it was seen that the Jacobites who attended, and who in all probability had been encouraged to attend, in spite of the declaration, had wonderfully plucked up their spirits. They opposed the address, and offered many obstructions to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. "By this," says Walpole, "we may expect what spirit they will show hereafter; though, with all this, I am far from thinking that they are so confident and sanguine as their friends at Rome." But what was a far worse sign than this Jacobite opposition, which was too weak to venture upon any division, was the mean selfishness of the Whig magnates and others who had offered to raise regiments for the defence of their country. The Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland, Montague, the Lords Herbert, Halifax, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and four more, insisted that their regiments should be put on the regular establishment, and be paid by the king—and, "not much to the honour of the undertakers, or of the firmness of the ministry," this was carried. These noble and most disinterested colonels had named none but their own relations and dependents as officers; and these officers were to have rank with the brave old part of the army which had served all the war—with veterans who had grown grey in the service. People at once left off praising the heroism and patriotism of these great lords to abuse their littleness of soul; nor are we prepared to say that on this head the popular clamour was a single note too high. The king was much averse to the new men taking rank as if they were *in his own old* army. He could not, however, refuse the Lords what they demanded; but he hoped or wished that the House of Commons would feel the meanness of the demand, and address him not to grant it. But, though there were plenty of members to oppose the raising of the regiments altogether, there appears not to have been one that took his majesty's view of the case, or that ventured to urge the arguments he wished. "The Jacobites and patriots," says Horace Walpole, who was sitting in this parliament, "and such as are not included in the coalition, violently opposed the regiments themselves; so did Fox in a very warm speech, levelled particularly at the Duke of Montague, who, besides his old regiment, had one of horse and one of foot on this new plan. Pitt defended them as warmly; the Duke of Bedford, Lord Gower, and Lord Halifax, being at the head of this job. At last, at 10 at night, thirteen regiments of foot were voted without a division, and two of horse carried by 192 to 82. Then came the motion for the address (*i. e.* that his majesty should not grant rank, &c., to the new officers), and in an hour and a half it was rejected by 126 to 124. Of this latter number were several of the old corps; I among the rest. . . . . The king is now against this address (*he had been bullied*), and all sides are using their utmost efforts. The fourteen lords threaten to throw up unless their whole terms are complied with; and the Duke of Bedford is not moderately insolent against such of the king's servants as voted against him. . . . . I should be sorry, for the appearance, to have the regiments given up; but I am sure our affair is over if our two old armies are beaten, and we should come to want these new ones; four only of which are even pretended to be actually raised."* In effect, though the levies "of these patriot heroes the regiment-factors" swelled the army-list with lordlings and other utterly unexperienced officers, and had cost the government more money than regiments raised in the ordinary way, they were of exceedingly little use in the field—the men mutinying on some occasions when called upon to march out of their own counties, and the officers not knowing how to command the men anywhere. In Ireland, where apprehensions were entertained of a rising, and where the young Pretender's brother was for a long time expected with Louis XV.'s Irish brigade, the Protestants of all denominations made vigorous exertions, and a nobleman was found that could make a splendid offer without demand or hope of usurer's interest. This was *James* Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare, and subsequently first Duke of Leinster. He proposed to ministers to raise, clothe, and arm a regiment at his own and sole expense; but, though his loyalty was undoubted and the motives which attached him to the established government as obvious as they were powerful, ministers told him in reply that the king had no occasion for his regiment.

*Mean*while troops—Dutch, Danes, and English

* Letter to Horace Mann, dated 4th November.—On the 15th he mentions that the affair of rank was again disputed on the report till 10 at night, when it was carried in favour of the lordly regiment-factors by a majority of 23. "The king," he adds, "had been persuaded to appear for it, though Lord Granville made it a party point against Mr. Pelham. Winnington did not speak. I was not there, for I could not vote for it, and yielded not to give any hindrance to a public measure (or at least what was called so) just now. The prince acted openly, and influenced his people against it; but it only served to let Mr. Pelham see, what, like everything else, he did not know, how strong he is. The king will scarce speak to him, and he cannot yet get Pitt into place." According to the same authority, which is generally to be taken *cum grano* when speaking of that adversary of his father, Pitt had alternately bullied and flattered Mr. Pelham, who at last had promised to get him into place as secretary-at-war—the ambitious cornet of horse not being satisfied with anything less than that. "Pitt," says Walpole a few days after, "is ravenous for the place of secretary-at-war: they would give it him; but, as a preliminary, he insists on a declaration of our having nothing to do with the continent." When he obtained power this eloquent and able man may have made a better use of it, and may have been actuated by higher principles, than his competitors; but it appears very clear that he was quite capable of meannesses and condescensions, and of most of the tricks and intrigues of party, in order to obtain that power. He could vote in direct opposition to votes he had given and to principles he had proclaimed not six months before; and, what was more dangerous, he could advocate perilous or absurd measures, even at a moment of crisis, in order to vex, perplex, and displace his opponents. Thus he could insist that the only method of putting an end to the rebellion was to augment our naval force, as if ships built a year hence were to suppress an army of Highlanders actually marching into England. Some whimsical and ludicrous circumstances attended this ludicrous debate. Horace Walpole the elder, the uncle of the wit and great letter-writer, and the plain-speaking warm-complexioned brother of the late great premier, sarcastically congratulated the country on the wisdom of the modern young statesman; and said that he had himself a son of two-and-twenty, who, no doubt, would come out wiser than anybody. "Pitt," says the younger Horace, "was provoked, and retorted on his former negotiations and his *grey-headed* experience. At these words, my uncle, as if he had been at Bartholomew fair, snatched off his wig, and showed his grey-hairs, which made the august senate laugh, and put Pitt out, who, after laughing himself, diverted his venom upon Mr. Pelham."—*Letter to Mann.*—Pitt was left in a minority of only 36.

—came over, and the Duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders to take the chief command. The flower of that brave army which had stood the murderous fire of Fontenoy began to rendezvous in the centre of England, about Lichfield and Coventry; and old Marshal Wade advanced into the more northern counties of England. "It is certain," says Walpole, "that the army adore the duke, and are gone in the greatest spirits; and on the parade, as they began their march, the guards vowed that they would neither give nor take quarter. For bravery, his royal highness is certainly no Stuart, but literally loves to be in the act of fighting."* Charles had thus lost his opportunity of marching into England when it was bare of troops,† and to march now, as he was actually doing, was an act of madness, or at the best an expedition which could only end like a Highland raid or foray. After the battle of Prestonpans he lay at Edinburgh while his father was proclaimed in almost every town in Scotland. The civil authorities had all fled, leaving all the attributes of government to him and his adherents. The banking companies had made themselves and their money safe within the strong walls of the Castle, where they continued in spite of his tempting proclamations. The Presbyterian clergy, who still exercised an immense and a paramount influence over all the Lowlands, absented themselves from their pulpits in the capital, and one of the few that remained—the famed MacVicar—is said to have continued praying for King George his lawful sovereign, adding to his prayer, "And as for the young man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy take him to thyself and give him a crown of glory." Although the Highlanders were not good missionaries to convert the Whig Lowlanders and change their Presbyterianism and their Whiggery, they were uncommonly effective as collectors of the taxes which Charles imposed to support himself and his army. Out of Glasgow they got 5000*l.*, and minor sums were raised in many other places under the sharp claymore and the highland buckler. In returning to their homes with the booty they had made at Prestonpans, they had promised as soon as they had gotten their harvests in to return to head-quarters five times more numerous than before; and it behoved Charles to wait for them. It appears that at one time he flattered himself that Edinburgh Castle would be put into his hands by the treachery of some within that garrison. The Highlanders at first kept guard in some old buildings near the Castle wall, but allowed necessaries of every kind to pass into the garrison. But, disappointed in his first hope, and being informed that the castle was badly provided, Charles resolved upon a blockade, and on the 29th of September orders were given to the Highlanders to allow no person to pass or repass into the Castle. General Guest, the governor of the Castle, forthwith sent a letter to the provost, who, as yet, continued at his post, acquainting him that, unless a free communication was allowed between the Castle and town, he must begin to use his cannon on the latter, to dislodge the rebels who were blockading him. The poor provost obtained from Guest a respite for the town till the next day, when six deputies were sent to Holyrood-house with the general's letter. Guest had done no more than any other officer would have done in the like case; but Charles pretended great surprise at his barbarity for threatening to punish the inhabitants of Edinburgh for not doing what it was out of their power to do. In his answer, which expressed this mock humanity meant to produce a popular effect in his favour, he said that, if compassion to the inhabitants should make him withdraw his guards from their posts round the Castle, General Guest might next with equal reason require him to evacuate Edinburgh and abandon all the advantages of his victory; and finally, that if Guest bombarded the town, or attempted any wanton mischief upon it, he would take his revenge and make full reprisal upon the estates of the officers serving in the Castle, and upon all who were known to be open abettors of the German government. Guest now agreed to suspend his cannonade until the return of an express from London.* But the wild Highlanders understood little about truces and suspensions; and some of them, probably tempted by a good mark, or anxious to get the good things they were carrying, fired at some people that were conveying provisions up the Castle Hill. Guest, interpreting this irregularity as a breach of the agreement, opened a fire from his battlements, using both cannon and small arms, against the houses that covered the Highlanders on the blockade. Charles then strictly prohibited all correspondence with the Castle upon pain of death, and strengthened the blockade by posting additional troops on several points. Hereupon Guest informed the magistrates that he must forthwith demolish those houses that stood nearest the Castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage

* Letter to Mann.

† "The most of people," says one of his adherents, "seem to be surprised that the prince did not pursue his victory of Prestonpans and march into England while they were in such a consternation and panic; but, if those people had known the true state of his affairs at that time, their surprise might, perhaps, have ceased."—*Account of the Young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart Papers.* This Jacobite adds that he was sadly in want of arms—that a great many of his men had fought at Preston with nothing but pieces of old scythes fixed to the ends of long poles—that the Highlanders took the locks off the muskets they got at Preston from the English troops, and sold them—that arms, ammunition, and six brace of cannon were expected on the northern coast, as also some money from France, for which it was necessary to wait. Charles, it will be remembered, was also obliged to wait for the return of the Highlanders who had gone to their homes. It may be said, however, that his desperate chance in England, with only half his men; and with his scythes and poles, might have been some shades better at the first consternation, when there were no regular troops between him and London, than it could be with all the force he could collect after the return of Cumberland.

* On the 4th of October Horace Walpole says—"Just as I write this, a person is come in who tells me that the rebels have cut off the communication between Edinburgh and the Castle; the commanders renewed their threats, and the good magistrates have sent up hither to beg orders may be sent to forbid this execution. It is modest! it is Scotch!—and I dare say will be granted. Ask a government to spare your town, which you yourself have given up to rebels; and the consequence of saving which will be the loss of your castle!—but they knew to what government they applied."

as possible to the peaceful inhabitants. From two o'clock on the 4th of October till sunset a terrible fire was kept up by the Castle; and as soon as it grew dark the garrison made a vigorous sally, set fire to some houses, and made a trench between the Castle and the upper end of the High-street, where they planted some field-pieces and fired down the street with cartridge-shot. Next day the cannonade was continued, and several of the Highlanders and a few of the unfortunate inhabitants were killed or wounded.* The loud cries and murmurs of the people were calculated to make many impressions besides that of compassion; and in the evening the young Pretender published a proclamation recalling his former orders, withdrawing his troops from the blockade, and allowing a free communication between the town and the Castle. "This cannonade, or, as it was called, bombardment, of Edinburgh," says Home, "was grievously complained of. The generality of people concluded that the garrison of the Castle was in want of provisions, and that the general found himself under the necessity of keeping the communication open in the manner he did. It was not so; the Castle was well provided, and General Guest meant to engage the Highlanders in a siege, and prevent them from marching into England. With this view, in the beginning of the week after the battle of Preston, he wrote four or five letters to the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, acquainting his grace that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the Castle of Edinburgh, that he would be obliged to surrender if he was not relieved immediately; and he gave his advice that the troops to relieve him should be sent by sea to Berwick or Newcastle, as the quickest conveyance. These letters were sent out from the Castle, that they might fall into the hands of the rebels; but, lest any of them should make its way through the Highlanders and reach London, General Guest wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle that contained an account of the real state of the garrison, and of the deception which he intended to practise on the rebels. This letter was sent to Captain Beaver, of the Fox man-of-war, lying in the road of Leith, by one Corsar, a writing-master in Edinburgh, who desired Captain Beaver to send his long-boat to Berwick with the general's letter, and put it into the post-house there, that it might be safely conveyed to London." This would have been good military conduct, if necessary; but it still seems to us to have been unnecessary, as there were other causes sufficient to detain Charles and his Highlanders at Edinburgh, and to give time to the English for preparation. During the contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people either in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the Pretender; and no men of quality whatever except Lord Kilmarnock and Arthur Elphinstone, who became soon afterwards, by the death of his brother, Lord Balmerino. But the nobility and gentry of the mountains and of that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands began to come in rather freely. The first of them that reached Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, who brought with him a good regiment of 600 men. The very next day—the 4th of October—Gordon of Glenbucket arrived with another regiment of 400 men; and on the 9th Lord Pitsligo presented himself with six companies of infantry and a great many gentlemen from Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a respectable-looking body of cavalry. But Pitsligo, by the force of character and example, was of more value to the cause than another man would have been, though he had quadrupled his actual levies. His lordship was not rich—few Scotch lords then were, unless they jobbed at court—but he was exceedingly beloved and esteemed by all his neighbours, who considered him as wise as he was amiable, and who gave him so much credit for wariness and caution, that they concluded the cause must be both good in itself and likely to be prosperous in its issue when he could make up his mind to join it.* But still those powerful island chiefs, Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod of MacLeod, kept sternly aloof; while the still more powerful Lord Lovat equivocated, quibbled, and hesitated. Charles sent to the isle of Skye a trusty messenger, himself a MacLeod, with a paper of instructions, containing rules for what he should say to the chiefs of Skye, and also to other persons, according to circumstances. This messenger represented to Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod of MacLeod that it was still time to join the good cause, that his royal highness Prince Charles entertained no resentment at their backwardness, but was still willing to receive them as the most favoured of his

* It appears that during the cannonade the young Pretender left Holyrood-house for a much safer place—that is, for Duddingstone, where the mass of his army was encamped, and where Guest's cannon-balls could not reach him. "Lord Tweeddale," says Marchmont, "showed me a paper of intelligence from one James Wallace, who has been sent by Cope to Edinburgh, and who says that the Castle had then fired about ten guns, only two whereof had any effect, but killed nobody, and some had been without ball; that, as soon as the Castle fired, the young man left the abbey and went to the camp." —*Diary.*

* In speaking of one he had *known—a rara avis in terris*—who spoke evil of no man, Dr. King says, "The person I mean is the present Lord Pitsligo of Scotland. I not only never heard this gentleman speak an ill word of any man living, but I always observed him ready to defend any other person who was ill spoken of in his company. If the person accused were of his acquaintance, my Lord Pitsligo would always find something good to say of him as a counterpoise. If he were a stranger and quite unknown to him, my lord would urge in his defence the general corruption of manners, and the frailties and infirmities of human nature. It is no wonder that such an excellent man, who, *besides*, is a polite scholar, and has many other great and good qualities, should be universally admired and beloved, inasmuch that I persuade myself he has not one enemy in the world. At least, to this general esteem and affection for his person his preservation must be owing. For, since his attainder, he has never removed far from his own house, protected by men of different principles, and unsought for and unmolested by the government. . . . . It was not ambition, but a love for his country, and a conscientious regard to his duty, which drew this honest man (however he might be mistaken) into the rebellion of 1745. A great prince, who had been well informed of my Lord Pitsligo's character, would immediately have pardoned him, and restored the little estate which he had forfeited."—*Anecdotes, Political and Literary, of his own Times.*

father's loyal subjects. Finding his argument ineffectual, the messenger went from Skye to Castle Downie, the chief seat of the Frasers, and there remained some time in close conference with Lord Lovat. Notwithstanding all the representations of Duncan Forbes, that old chief had been wonderfully elated with the news of the battle of Prestonpans, declaring that it was a victory not to be paralleled in history; and that, as sure as God was in heaven, his right master would prevail. He had already connived at sundry little levies and marchings of the Frasers to join his son-in-law, MacPherson of Clunie; and now he began to complain to Duncan Forbes, with whom it was necessary to wear a mask to the last, that, while he, Lord Lovat himself, was in a deplorable state of health—with a most terrible stitch in his side—with a shortness of breath—with horrible tortures that would not yield even to warm brandy—his eldest son and heir, losing all fear of God and of his father, was exerting himself for the false prince and carrying off his vassals from their allegiance to King George. "My stitch," writes the old fox, "still continues; it will soon make an end of me; and then I'll be no further troublesome to my dear Lord President, or to any other of my friends; and the mad youth will be then Lord Lovat, as well as colonel of his rebellious regiment. I do assure you, my dear lord, that I will not regret dying at this time, that I may not see the evils that threaten my family, which was always regarded as an honest brave family in this country. I am very easy about my obstreperous and unnatural son, and the mad people that feed him in his false ambition; but the thoughts and fears of seeing the honest family of Lovat demolished and extinguished in our days pierces my heart and soul with the most melancholy thoughts, which would be enough to kill me, though I had no stitch nor pains in my body. . . . . As to my clan, I wish with all my heart that the villains and rascals of them were seized and severely chastised and punished; but I believe they are marched south, in the regiment of that unhappy youth, to screen themselves from justice; and I would be very glad that the fifth man of them were hanged. But, my dear lord, as to the honest gentlemen and tenants that have stayed at home for love of me, and for love of peace and quietness, it would be the hardest case in the world that those honest people should be molested."* All this was clear, or it became so soon after:—the obstreperous and unnatural son, as he chose to call the heir of his house, was in reality set on by his truly unnatural father, who had ever behaved to the young man in a tyrannical and brutal manner, and who was now intending to make him his stalking-horse, and, if need were, his scape-goat.† The artful blind was further intended for his own security—for there had been repeatedly a talk of putting him under arrest—and for keeping together unhurt and in arms all the rest of his clan, so that he might declare himself with weight and effect at the most proper moment. The person he most feared was Lord Loudon, who had kept together a good strong regiment in the Highlands, and was daily enlisting more men for the service of King George. In the same remarkable letter from which we have just quoted, he gives Duncan Forbes a thousand thanks for speaking to Loudon in his favour. "I would expect," he says, "civility and friendship from his father's son, who was my good and intimate friend. It is certain, my dear lord, that while you please, and the Earl of Loudon pleases, I will be safe and unmolested in this little hut; for the ministry will never give a warrant against me, or against any man in this country, but on your lordship's representation or the Earl of Loudon's." Meanwhile the other great Whig lords of the Highlands were far from being so active and honest as Loudon and Duncan Forbes. Whether residing about court, or being at the time in the North, most of these noblemen betrayed an astounding degree of selfishness. One of the greatest among them—the Duke of Hamilton—was discontented because government had not given him the lord-lieutenancy of his county; the Duke of Queensberry had other grounds of personal dissatisfaction, and so had the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Marquess of Lothian, Lord Dumfries, and nearly all the rest. These thanes seldom agreed among themselves, except upon the single point of jealousy and hatred to the Duke of Argyll. "I would do nothing," said the Earl of Marchmont, "that should enable the Duke of Argyll to say we were forced to call his lackeys to our assistance. . . . . They must not be left free to do what they would with Scotland, and saddle us with the Duke of Argyll." Hampered and embarrassed, Argyll had gone up to London; but he found that he was neither permitted to act by himself nor able to get his jealous co-thanes to act with him. According to Lord Marchmont, "Those in power in Scotland considered only how to create blame to one another." The great leader of the Campbells declared that, on leaving Argyleshire, he was in danger of being taken by the rebels,—that he had now three companies at Inverary, but no arms to give them,—that the Camerons had been in arms for several years,—that he had been in the habit of paying 7½ per cent. of his own rents, as black mail, to be safe from plunder,—and that whenever he had spoken of these things they had not been regarded by the government. The Duke of Argyll, moreover, complained generally that Scotland had been neglected, and hinted that somebody at Edinburgh had bahaved like fools, or worse, in opening a gate to let a hackney coach out, and the Highlanders in. But his re-

* Lord Lovat to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.

† "It appears," says Walter Scott, "from the evidence of Fraser of Dunballoch and others upon Lord Lovat's trial, that all this while the threats and arguments of the father were urging the son (afterwards the highly esteemed General Fraser) to a step of which he disapproved, and that he was still more disgusted by the duplicity and versatility with which his father qualified it."—*Art. in Quart. Rev.*

presentations and suggestions continued to be disregarded by the lords of the opposite faction, who, as Lord Marchmont confesses without a blush, had a political purpose in view, and meant all they did or offered for a political use—that is to say, to show that they could serve King George better than Argyll could, and that, consequently, they were better fitted for honours and employments, and the real men that ought to have the government of Scotland in their hands.* In this base manner did the dissensions of a most corrupt and jobbing aristocracy tend to leave the people in the Lowlands of Scotland at the mercy of the Jacobite clans, and to favour the Pretender's march into England, which could hardly have been undertaken now if half of the great lords had raised their men in his rear.

On the 9th of October Charles had published a proclamation denouncing "the pretended parliament of the Elector of Hanover," and on the 10th of the same month he issued another proclamation, drawn up by Sir James Stewart and Sir Thomas Sheridan, abolishing for ever the Act of Union, or announcing that his father would never ratify this "pretended union," though he was ready to approve and confirm all other laws or acts which had been passed since the Revolution, if called upon so to do by a free and legal Scottish parliament. Charles thought at one moment of calling a Scottish parliament at once to meet in Edinburgh, but in the face of many difficulties he readily gave up that scheme. Parts of his last proclamation were well conceived and strongly expressed. It was known how the dread of the Stuart sponge had increased the loyalty of fundholders to King George, and the proclamation aimed at removing those fears. "We must declare," said the printed document, "the sentiments of our royal father with regard to the national debt. That it has been contracted under an unlawful government nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it." The proclamation, in the name of Almighty God, and upon the faith of a Christian and the honour of a prince, promised liberty of conscience, and to England, Scotland, and Ireland the enjoyment of the religions or forms of worship at present established in those countries respectively, and also full security for property of all kinds. It stigmatised as false and ridiculous the dreadful threats of popery and arbitrary power with which all the pulpits of the country were ringing; and it denied that the cause of the Stuarts was linked with the formidable powers of France and Spain. "Listen only to the naked truth," said the paper; "I, with my own money, hired a vessel, ill-provided with money, arms, or friends: I arrive in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the king my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people." The proclamation threw a glaring light upon the unsightly and unnatural spectacle of England calling in foreign troops to assist her in this contest on her own soil. "The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain," said the paper, "are vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But, indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the king's subjects, is it not high time for the king my father to accept also of assistance?"* In simple truth, Charles had come unattended by a foreign army because neither France nor Spain would risk one with him; he and his father had deafened those two courts with cries for such an army; and they had endeavoured, in nearly every country in Europe, from Russia to Italy, to get a foreign force wherewith to invade England; at this very moment they were pressing the French for such a force as would, if granted, have established, at least for a season, the supremacy of that contemptible despot Louis XV. in Scotland; but nevertheless, the thing told well in the public eye, for Charles had really come as he said, as yet very few French or Spaniards had joined him, and no considerable number *did* join him until after the arrival of most of George's foreign host. As the weather grew more stormy and foggy, a few more French ships braved the vigilance of the English cruisers and privateers; one got into Montrose with about 5000*l.*, and two or three others contrived to land on the same coast 5000 stand of arms, six field-pieces, a little more money, and several experienced officers, French and Irish. Nay, in one of these ships there ventured over M. de Boyer, who brought a letter of congratulation from Louis XV. Charles received this Monsieur as a regular ambassador from the court of Versailles, and paraded him as such among his Highland chiefs, whom he deluded into the belief that Louis was soon going to send an immense army. Another gentleman was forthwith sent to France to give a magnified account of his successes, and to press for further and immediate supplies. Indeed, five or six thousand pounds would not go far with as many thousand hungry Highlanders. Various odd and irregular methods

* Diary of Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in the Right Honourable Sir George Henry Rose's Selection from the Papers of the Earl of Marchmont.

* The conclusion of this paragraph of the proclamation was still more startling:—"Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who with the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, with assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? *Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment; let him send off his foreign hirelings and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the king my father's subjects!*"

were resorted to to obtain more cash. One of these methods was particularly curious. Charles seized all the goods of smugglers that were deposited in the custom-houses of Leith and other ports, and sold them back for ready money, at low prices, to the very smugglers from whom they had been taken. The Highlanders in and about the camp at Duddingstone were still less particular, for they occasionally demanded *baubees* from the peaceful passengers with levelled muskets or brandished claymores; and, to make matters worse, the young Pretender had thrown open all the gaols, and the emancipated felons, putting on the Highland kilt and mounting the white cockade, levied more considerable contributions as real Highlanders.

The young Pretender had by this time a regular council of state, consisting of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, his two lieutenant-generals; O'Sullivan, his quarter-master-general; Lord Elcho, a colonel of his horse-guards; Murray of Broughton, his secretary; Sir Thomas Sheridan, his former tutor; the Lords Oglevie, Nairne, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon; Cameron of Locheil, and all the greater Highland chiefs. But if we are to believe Lord Elcho, one of the members of it, Charles might just as well have had no council at all, being prevented by the old family obstinacy of the Stuarts from taking its advice. "His royal highness," says Elcho, "could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to everybody that did." His lordship also assures us that about one-third of this council consisted of true Tories and divine-right men, whose principle it was that kings and princes could never do or think wrong.* The place where he was seen to most advantage was indisputably the ball-room; and Charles entertained the fair Jacobites with several gay balls while he stayed at Edinburgh. "In the evening," says Home, "he received the ladies who came to his drawing-room; he then supped in public, and generally there was music at supper and a ball afterwards." But this kind of life could not last; it was necessary to hear the louder music of cannon-balls, and do something, unless he intended to remain to be attacked at Edinburgh. He had all along expressed his determination of marching into England. His uneasiness about his rear was partly removed by the assurance of Fraser of Foyers that old Lord Lovat would now declare on the right side, and that not only the MacIntoshes and the MacKenzies, but also the MacDonalds and the MacLeods of Skye, had engaged in honour to join Lovat and the Frasers on the Corryarrak.† But the old fox was deceived as to the intentions of the Mac Donalds and the MacLeods of Skye, the most powerful of the clans; and he dispatched his secretary Hugh Fraser to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of four or five thousand men, and to have marched at their head to Edinburgh, but that, as some people had not acted up to their engagements, and as he was so old and infirm, he had resolved to stay at home, leaving his eldest son, with the clansmen he had with him, to serve the prince. And as old Lovat did not declare himself until some time after Charles had left Edinburgh, and as few of the Frasers went farther than Perth, they were of little use to the insurgents. The Highlanders who had fought at Prestonpans returned however to their standard; and by the end of October, Charles mustered, in all, from 5000 to 6000 men, of whom about 400 were cavalry and 4000 real Highlanders. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland dress. But, as it was perfectly well known that 12,000 veteran troops were now on foot in England, besides the thirteen regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry raised by the noble regiment factors, it seemed but a desperate enterprise to invade that country. The council in Holyrood was much divided in opinion; some proposed waiting until the arrival of that French army of which the Prince had spoken so confidently; some wanted to wait at least till they had got more money from France; and some were of opinion that he ought not to go to England at all, nor aspire to the possession of that throne, but content himself with the ancient kingdom of Scotland, as his ancestors had done before him. But at last it was resolved to march, sanguine hopes being entertained of a Jacobite rising in England as soon as they should get across the borders; and on the last day of October, at six o'clock in the evening, the young Pretender left Holyrood House. That night he slept at Pinkie House, as he had done the night after the battle of Prestonpans; and on the 1st of November, having appointed Lord Strathallan to command in Scotland during his absence, he began his march.* He was now joined by MacPherson of Clunie and by Menzies of Sheen, who brought about 900 more Highlanders; and this was the last reinforcement that joined. The whole army was divided into two columns: the first, with the baggage, artillery, &c., to move upon Carlisle by the direct road through Moffat; the second, headed by Charles in person, to take the more circuitous route by Kelso, as if it intended to enter England not by Cumberland but by Northumberland, and to meet Marshal Wade, who lay at Newcastle, in front. Either column was preceded by some men on horseback, denominated hussars, who kept a look out, scoured the country, and procured intelligence. In the clan regiments every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns; the colonelcy and command resting with the chiefs of the respective clans, or with their sons or brothers or nearest of kin capable of war, according to the ancient custom

* Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs, as quoted by Walter Scott in his Tales of a Grandfather.

† Foyer's Letter to Tullibardine in Home's Appendix.

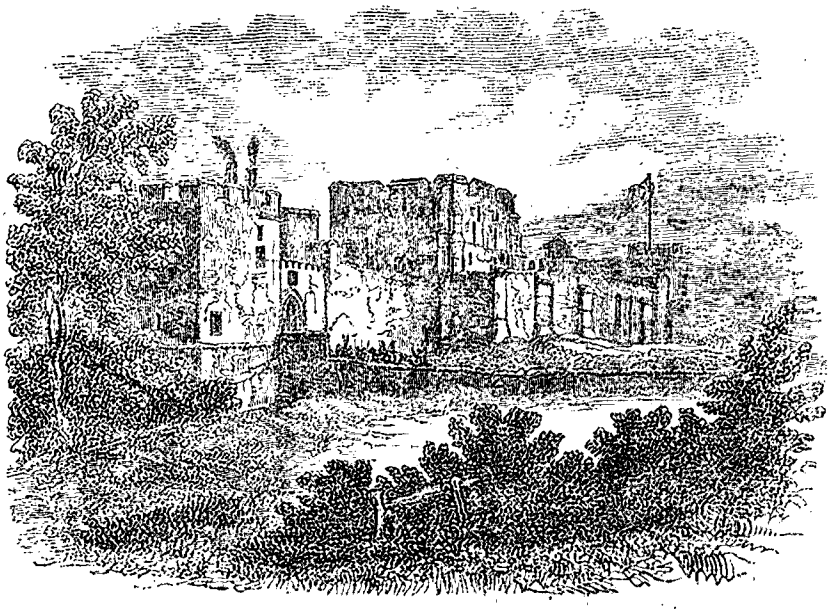
* Strathallan was to remain at Perth with some Jacobite gentlemen and a few French and Irish officers and their men, to look after the succours expected from France, and to form an army of reserve of such other Highland clans as might come in.

of clanship. Every man in the regiment bore the name and considered himself the kinsman of the chief and colonel. The pay of a captain was fixed at half-a-crown a day; that of a lieutenant at two shillings; that of an ensign at one shilling and sixpence; and the privates received sixpence a-day without deduction; but the front rank of each regiment, consisting of persons who considered themselves gentlemen, were paid a shilling a-day per man; and these tacksmen and duniewassails were better armed than the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not. In the day of battle, each company of a Highland regiment furnished two of its best men to form a body guard to the chief, who always took post in the centre, and who was generally flanked by brothers or cousins, who, in common with the whole clan, held it the greatest possible disgrace to abandon the head of their house; but it was soon observed that the common men of the clans were less enthusiastic than usual. To make raids and forays on the Lowlands of Scotland, was work to which they had been accustomed, and the success of which in all times was recorded in a thousand ballads and traditions; but the country beyond the Cheviot and the Tweed was an unknown world to them, and they liked not to go so far from their homes, uncertain as they were of the intentions and the power of the Whig clans they had left behind them. Thus almost as soon as they lost sight of Edinburgh they began to desert in small parties. Charles crossed the Tweed at Kelso, and halted one day in that little town. From Kelso he sent forward to Wooler with sham orders to prepare quarters there for his troops, as if he intended to march eastward; but when he moved he struck to the westward, marching down Liddesdale, and, crossing the river Esk on the 8th of November, he and his men occupied that night a place called Reddings, in Cumberland, on the road to Carlisle, from which important city the attention of Wade had been completely withdrawn by the deceptive movements of the Highland army. But in crossing the English border the spirit of the superstitious mountaineers had been further depressed by a trifling accident:—as they set their feet on English sward they drew their claymores and shouted; but Cameron of Locheil, in drawing his sword, happened to cut his hand, and all those hardy fellows turned pale at the sight of a little blood, because it was considered as a bad omen.* Next day the other column, which had gone by the Moffat road, having turned suddenly westward, as agreed upon, joined on the Carlisle road, and the whole army marched forward for that city, which they summoned in form on the 10th.† Carlisle, like all our old inland fortified towns, had been suffered to go to decay since the cessation of the fierce border wars between Scots and English. It was surrounded by a very old and very infirm wall; it had a castle stronger than the wall, but with no other garrison in it than a company of invalids, commanded by Colonel Durand. Within the city, however, there was a considerable body of Cumberland and Westmoreland militia;* and the officers of that force, Colonel Durand, and Mr. Pattison the mayor, resolved to defend the place, and to return no answer to the summons. They, no doubt, expected that General Wade would soon come across from Newcastle to their relief; and, in effect, before the Highlanders could break ground, intelligence was received that Wade was in full march, by Hexham, to raise the siege. Upon this the whole rebel army was ordered to march to Brampton, in the forest of Inglewood, seven miles from Carlisle, to wait for Wade there; but at Brampton no English troops were seen or heard of; and, after losing three days, it was resolved to return to Carlisle and besiege that place in form. The Duke of Perth had the direction of the siege, which Lord George Murray covered, taking up his quarters at Harraby, on the high road to Penrith, and placing Glenbucket at Rickerby, on the north side of the river, to hinder any succour from going into the town by the bridge. Other troops were thrown into little hovels and hamlets round about, or, for want of better lodging, they lay upon the ground—the weather being very cold, with both frost and snow. Charles himself remained with a strong detachment at Brampton, and appears not to have moved till the business was finished at Carlisle. For a short time the Cumberland militiamen fired very briskly all along the walls, making a great noise, and hitting very few of the enemy; but when they saw Perth erecting a battery, or rather preparing to erect a battery, with a few contemptible light pieces upon it, their hearts failed them, and they hung out the white flag. Perth and his officers refused to admit the town to a separate capitulation, and insisted that the castle should be included in the surrender; and both town and castle were accordingly surrendered on the 15th of November, at the very moment when Marshal Wade in reality had begun to move from Newcastle to their relief. "Not a battery was raised," says a Highland officer, "not a cannon was fired

* Account of the Young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart Papers. We learn from a letter written by Doctor Chandler, Bishop of Durham, that the public spirit in Northumberland, Durham, and the neighbouring counties was exceedingly good; but that, unless the troops of the association could be put under a proper regulation of discipline, they could not stand before a body of Highlanders.—*Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters, Illust. Eng. Hist.*

† "November the 9th, the rebel army appeared on a moor, two miles distant from Carlisle, on whom the garrison began to fire, and continued it briskly for some time. The Pretender took up his quarters at Mr. Lowry's, of Blakewell, from which, on the 10th, he dispatched a messenger, to whom he gave two guineas, with a letter to the garrison, which was received in at the sally-port. . . . . On which the garrison thought proper to confine the messenger, and returned no other answer but from the mouths of their cannon.—*A Complete History of the Rebellion, from its first rise, in* 1745, *to its total suppression at the glorious battle of Culloden, in April,* 1746. *By James Ray, of Whitehaven, Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*—This Volunteer Ray was rather a silly, vapouring person, but he saw a good deal of the military operations, and is to be depended upon when he describes what he has seen with his own eyes. In other particulars his very absurdities render him amusing.

* Ray says, "there was the whole militia of the two counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, who were about 1600 men, besides the inhabitants, and 80 invalids in the castle, which was well supplied with ammunition, partly from Whitehaven."



Carlisle Castle.

by us."* This easy acquisition was matter of great triumph; but during the short siege Perth had quarrelled most violently with Lord George Murray; and, as Perth was allowed the honour of signing the capitulation, the quarrel became still further envenomed. The mass of the Highlanders were a sort of Protestants, and were therefore disposed to hate the Duke of Perth, who was a Papist. The army murmured; and Lord George Murray insisted upon resigning his commission as lieutenant-general, telling the prince he would continue to serve as a volunteer to the last drop of his blood; this was presently followed by a petition from several officers, praying Charles to dismiss all Roman Catholics, and reinstate Lord George Murray. Perth then waited upon the prince, and resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, assuring him at the same time that he would remain at the head of the regiment which he had raised. The young Pretender could do nothing but submit to circumstances. Perth was left to serve as a colonel of a regiment, and the sole command was intrusted to Murray, who was far the more competent of the two. It is said that Perth was anxious to avoid discord, which must ruin everything at once, and that he had magnanimity enough to feel or show no resentment at his dismissal from the joint command. But if it be true that Perth himself was capable of this generosity and greatness of mind, it is impossible to conceive that his friends, vassals, and dependents were animated by the same sentiments. We believe, on the contrary, that, even under the most favourable circumstances, jealousies and dissensions like these, and the fierce old feuds between clan and clan, would have broken up the army in a very short time. As for the young Pretender, his authority and influence were next to nothing among the common Highlanders, who now, as formerly, merely looked to their respective chiefs, and would take no command from any other person.

Having surrendered the town, the castle, the military stores, and their own arms and horses, and having engaged not to serve against the Pretender for one whole twelvemonth, the Cumberland militiamen and the invalids marched out; and on the 17th Charles made a triumphal entry into Carlisle, where the people seemed stupified, but by no means disposed to welcome him or to join him. A council of war was called to decide what was to be done next: some proposed to march towards Newcastle, and bring Wade to an action; some thought it would be better to march directly upon London by the Lancashire road; and others thought it would be best of all to go back into Scotland, as there was no appearance of an invasion from France, and

* "The Duke of Perth, with his division, were the first of the rebels that entered Carlisle, which they did on the 15th, the Pretender being then seven miles from the city. They made the garrison to swear never to appear in arms any more against them; and Perth, shaking the men by the hands, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them money to enlist with him. The rebels have taken about 200 horses, and all the arms from the militia, besides a thousand stand lodged in the castle. They also found a rich booty in the castle; the people of the country round about having brought thither for safety the most valuable of their effects. One of their Highland chiefs was killed by the fire from the walls on the 10th."—*Letter from a Gentleman of Cumberland, in Ray's History:*—It appears from the Jacobite accounts that the person killed was not a chief, but a common man; and that the addition of another man wounded made up all the loss they sustained in taking Carlisle. According to Ray, the Highlanders, while they were at Brampton, made very free with the sheep, geese, and other poultry, belonging to Lord Carlisle's tenants; and they also seized all the horses they could lay hold of, without any question either as to the value of the beasts or the rights of the owners.

just as little of a Jacobite rising in England. Charles, it is said, declared that he would adhere to his original resolution of marching forward at all hazards. "Lord George Murray," says Home, "compared the advantages and disadvantages of each of the proposals; and concluded that, if his royal highness chose to make a trial of what could be done by marching to the southward, he was persuaded that his army, small as it was, would follow him. Charles said he would venture it. It was a venture."* If, instead of advancing, Charles had chosen to retire, he would not very easily have got back to his old lodgings in Holyrood. He had scarcely turned his back upon Edinburgh, when the crown officers re-entered that city in solemn procession,—while he was resting at Kelso, the garrison of Edinburgh castle was reinforced, levies of men were made for King George, and now Wade had sent forward two regiments of cavalry to support the forces assembled in Edinburgh. The Jacobite ladies wrung their hands; but there was nothing to be done. The Holyrood royalty of Charles was destined to be scarcely longer lived than the gourd of the prophet. He had now sent back orders to Lord Strathallan to march from Perth with all speed, and join him in England with his whole force: but Strathallan was in no condition to move; for the Earl of Loudon and the Lord President Forbes were gathering in great force in his rear—levies of Highland Whigs were coming down from the mountains—the Philistines were almost upon him—Glasgow, Paisley, Dumfries, nearly all the towns where there was trade or industry, and their attendant the Whig principle, were beginning to give alarming symptoms of loyalty to King George; and even in the fair city of Perth itself, the destined head-quarters of this Jacobite army of reserve, the mob could not be restrained from celebrating King George's birthday; and, what with whiskey, and what with loyalty, they came to blows with Strathallan's men! The same demonstrations took place at Dundee; and Strathallan told the Pretender he could not move yet. It is said that M. de Boyer, who had accompanied him on his march into England, confidently declared that a French force would presently land; and that Charles himself proclaimed with equal confidence that he was sure his old friends of Lancashire would join him as soon as he appeared among them. With these hopes, and with an army reduced to 4500 men, Charles renewed his march, leaving 200 men to garrison Carlisle. The Highlanders marched in two divisions: the first, consisting of six regiments of foot and the first troop of Horse Guards, and commanded by Lord George Murray, moved first, and marched to Penrith on the 21st of November; the second division, under the command of Charles, arrived at Penrith on the following day, and there occupied the quarters which the van and Lord George Murray had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by Perth's regiment, the second troop of Horse Guards, and some other mounted gentlemen, whom it was a stretch of courtesy to call hussars. There was a short halt at Penrith, on account of a rumour that Wade was crossing the Westmoreland and Cumberland mountains to attack them in flank; but, as this intelligence was disproved, they pushed on by Shapp, Kendal, and Lancaster to Preston, where both columns met and rested on the 27th. The catastrophe in 1715, when MacIntosh and Forster laid down their arms before Generals Carpenter and Wills, had made a very deep impression on the Highlanders; and perhaps there were other traditions which pointed out that town as their *ne plus ultra*. It is at least certain that there was a general impression among them that they could not, or ought not, to venture farther into England than Preston. "Preston," says one of the Pretender's officers, "was so fatal to the Scots, that they never could get beyond it; but Lord George Murray, in order to evade the *freet* (or superstition, which the Highlanders are full of), crossed the bridge immediately, and quartered a great many of the men on that side of the water; where they halted next day, expecting some intelligence, in which, it is to be presumed, they were disappointed."* Their march from Kendal had not been altogether undisturbed, for some of the Cumberland farmers, who had been robbed of their horses, being better mounted upon other steeds, followed the so-called hussars, dismounting some of them, and recovering their lost property. Wherever the young Pretender came he demanded the public money.† From Preston the Highlanders marched to Wigan, where they arrived on the 28th, when a party of them went through Leigh, and what was called an *advance party* entered Manchester the same day. This advanced party, according to all accounts, consisted of a serjeant, a drummer, and a drunken woman. "Manchester," says Ray, "was taken by a serjeant, a drum, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon, who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters (a just emblem of what they deserved), where they dined; after dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty. They were likewise joined by several others, some of desperate fortunes, who were modelled into what they called the Manchester Regiment,—mostly people of the lowest rank and the vilest principles; which occasioned him who called himself the Duke of Perth to say that if the devil had come a recruiting, and proffered a shilling more than his prince, they would have preferred

* History of the Rebellion. Lord George Murray, in his own Narrative, fully confirms all that is said in this particular by Home. See *Jacobite Memoirs*.

* Account of the Young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart Papers.

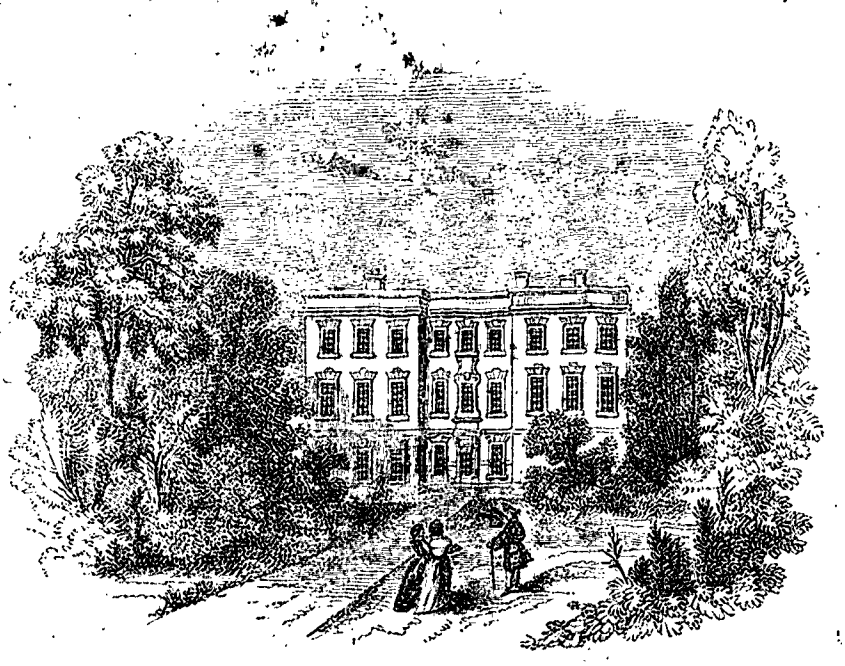
† Volunteer Ray was following the march of the rebels from Cumberland—"reconnoitring," as he says, in the disguise of a pedlar. He assures us that, having borrowed a fusil and a case of pistols, he sallied out from his quarters at the Sun in Lancaster, and made two prisoners, that he picked up another straggler between Lancaster and Preston, and that within two miles of the latter town he stopped and made prisoner the rebel courier who was carrying dispatches from the army to Scotland, and forty-nine letters besides.

the former."* To deceive people as to their real numbers, quarters had been demanded in Manchester for 10,000 men. Ray says that they were a plundering mob of about 6700; but in reality the Pretender's force did not at this moment much exceed 4000 men, for few or none had joined them on their march in Lancashire; and even "proud Preston," though considered the most Jacobite place in England, had furnished only some half-dozen vagabonds. When all these roadside recruits had been joined to the Manchester men the total number was about 200. This Manchester regiment was put under the command of Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of a very ancient family, and almost the only gentleman that joined in Lancashire. In the mean time Marshal Wade, with the Major-Generals Howard and Oglethorpe and Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, had marched as far as Hexham in the direction of Carlisle, where he arrived on the 17th, with a considerable body of Swiss troops for his van. Receiving intelligence there that Carlisle had surrendered, Wade had returned to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 22nd, with his forces much fatigued and distressed by inclement weather. But after a rest he had again put himself in motion, and was now marching through Yorkshire to attack the Pretender in the rear. In the front lay the Duke of Cumberland at his head-quarters at Lichfield, and with an army that counted at least 5000 disciplined troops and from 2000 to 3000 militia and new levies; and behind the duke, between him and London, a third army was rapidly collecting on the borders of Hertfordshire and Middlesex. Nor was this all: the city of Chester, where there were many Catholics, who were all—somewhat unreasonably—expected to join the standard of rebellion, had been secured for government by the Earl of Cholmondeley, and put into a posture of defence in a surprisingly short time; while, still nearer to Manchester, the important town of Liverpool was secured by the magistrates, merchants, and other inhabitants, who showed as much spirit and resolution as the people of Manchester had shown indifference. The townspeople of Liverpool raised a regiment nearly 700 strong; and, unlike the noble regiment-factors, they asked no pay, no reward, and attempted to make no job whatever; but at their own expense clothed, fed, and paid the men, and took for their colonel an old and experienced officer, the Honourable Colonel Graham, appointed by the king. To this service the corporation voted 2000*l.*, and nearly every man in Liverpool, from the opulent merchant down to the poor porter or day-labourer, contributed something, according to his ability. When the first fear of an attack from the Highlanders had evaporated, this Liverpool regiment, after breaking down several bridges to embarrass and retard the march of the Highlanders, crossed the country, and joined the forces of the Duke of Cumberland, who was astonished to find them so well disciplined in so short a time.*

The wisest and even the most resolute of the Highland chiefs recommended an instant retreat, saying that they might possibly avoid Wade, or defeat him if they met him, and get back into Scotland without any great loss; but that, if they went forward into the heart of England, where the people, instead of joining them—as Charles had assured them they would—were thwarting them in all possible ways, and reinforcing day after day the forces of King George, they must inevitably be surrounded by three or four armies and cut to pieces. Lord George Murray, as an experienced soldier, must have felt the force of these arguments; yet he said that they ought not to oppose the will of the prince, who was quite certain of being joined by thousands as he approached the Trent; and he induced them to agree to go on as far as Derby. On the 1st of December they resumed their onward march, fording the Mersey near Stockport, and carrying the baggage and artillery across, lower down the river at Cheedle, by means of a rude temporary bridge made of the trunks of trees. On the Cheshire bank they found assembled an enthusiastic old lady, and some few old Jacobite gentlemen; but no reinforcements, no insurgent bands of English, no money (except a little donation to be mentioned presently), nothing but some timid good wishes and one or two fervent prayers. The old Jacobite lady—the story is traditional—was a Mrs. Skyring, who, when an infant, had witnessed what was called the happy landing of Charles II. at the Restoration. Since the second, and, as it proved, final expulsion of the Stuarts, by the Revolution of 1688, she had continued hoping to witness another restoration, and another blessed

* Lord Mahon has found in the State Paper Office, Scotland, several letters of secret intelligence written by a gentleman at Manchester to the Duke of Cumberland; and one of these letters completely agrees with the account given by Ray and others of the mighty force that took for the Pretender the good town of Manchester. "Just now," says the Manchester correspondent, writing on the 28th of November, "are come in two of the Pretender's men, a serjeant and a drummer, and a woman with them. I have seen them. The serjeant is a Scotchman, the drummer is a Halifax man, and they are now going to beat up. These two men and the woman, without any other, came into the town amidst thousands of spectators." On the following day, when the Pretender and his main body had arrived in Manchester, the same correspondent says—"The two Highlanders who came in yesterday and beat up for volunteers for him they call his royal highness Charles Prince of Wales, offered five guineas advance. Many took on; each received one shilling, to have the rest when the prince came! They do not appear to be such terrible fellows as has been represented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures, but many clever men among them. The guards and officers are all in a Highland dress, a long sword, and stuck with pistols; their horses all sizes and colours. The bellman went to order all persons charged with excise, and innkeepers, forthwith to appear, and bring their last acquittance, and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. . . . Several thousands came in at two o'clock: they ordered the bells to ring, and the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to-night, which must be done. The chevalier marched by my door in a Highland dress, surrounded by a Highland guard; no music but a pair of bagpipes."—*Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. from Peace Utrecht.* We may mention, in further proof of Volunteer Ray's correctness in such details, that his account of the arrival of Charles at Manchester and the proceedings thereupon exactly agrees with that given in these letters.

* "It is to be observed that after the prince passed Preston the bridges where he was to pass were all broke down, and the fords spoiled, in order to hinder his passage; but that was a needless precaution, for Highlanders give themselves no great trouble about a bridge, if the water be any way fordable."—*Account of the Young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart Papers.* The artillery and baggage and sundry other parts of the Pretender's army could not, however, dispense with bridges so well as the Highlanders; and when the advance was converted into a retreat the precaution caused them much mischief and suffering.



THE HOUSE IN WHICH THE PRETENDER LODGED AT DERBY

landing at Dover or somewhere else; and she had ever since laid aside half of her yearly income to remit to the exiled family abroad, from whom she concealed her name. She had just now sold her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed; and she brought the money in a purse and laid it at the Chevalier's feet, exclaiming, as she beheld him—"Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." The amiable and aged enthusiast, it is added, could not survive the shock when she heard a few days after that Charles had completely failed in England, and was retreating in a wretched condition.* On the same day on which he crossed the Mersey, Charles, with the main body of his army and all his artillery, entered Macclesfield, where they busily employed themselves in putting their fire-arms in order, as if they expected a battle. From the Cheshire bank of the Mersey Lord George Murray marched to Congleton with a strong body of horse and foot, and sent forward Colonel Kerr, who drove before him a small body of the Duke of Kingston's horse, who fled in the direction of the Trent, to which the Duke of Cumberland was now advancing. Kerr also seized "the famous Captain Weir, well known to all about court, and carried him to Congleton, from which he was sent to Prince Charles to be examined."† This Weir, who was reconnoitring for Cumberland, was threatened with the gallows as a spy, and thereupon it appears he revealed all he knew about the motions of the duke. This was that his royal highness, deceived by Lord George Murray's side movement, had been led to believe that the Highlanders intended to get into Wales, and that the best thing he could do was to interpose between them and that country, where some hot-headed gentlemen were suspected of Jacobitism. And, in effect, Cumberland went on that wrong scent as far as Stone, thus leaving the London road as it were open to the Highlanders. Lord George Murray instantly turned off to the left, and gained the high road to Derby and the capital at Ashburn. The other division of their army also made straight for Ashburn, and by the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of December, Charles, with his united and entire force, was at Derby, and some two days' march nearer to London than his deceived opponent the Duke of Cumberland. The young Pretender took up his quarters at a house in the town belonging to the Earl of Exeter.* His artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces, was stationed upon Nun's Green; his troops were dispersed through the town, and amounted to nearly the number of the inhabitants. Charles entered on foot with his guards in the dusk of the evening. According to a gentleman of Derby—"he was tall, straight, slender, and handsome, dressed in a green bonnet laced with gold, a white bob-wig, a Highland plaid, and broadsword." The same respectable eye-witness says that the prince's life-guards, commanded by Lord Elcho, "were fine figures, well dressed; but

* Lord Mahon says that he heard this interesting story in conversation from the late Lord Keith. To make Mrs. Skyring's devotion the more wonderful, it is said that her father, an old cavalier, had been basely treated at the Restoration by Charles II.

† Jacobite Account, in Lockhart Papers.

* At the bottom of Full-street, Derby. The house is still standing, and belongs to and is occupied by Eaton Mousley, Esq.

their horses were jaded"—that "the main body of the army entered Derby six or eight abreast; a mixture of every kind, from childhood to old age, from the dwarf to the giant, chiefly in deranged dresses, marked with dirt and fatigue"—that "they carried eight standards, white with red crosses; and were ushered in by bagpipes, that ancient northern music which raises the spirit of the martial Highlander."* "His whole force," says Ray, "being now together, and his stragglers and English recruits all come in, they made their most formidable appearance at Derby; yet they used all the precaution imaginable to hinder an exact account from being taken of their number; which was a point they laboured to manage with the utmost diligence during their whole march, often demanding billets for 10,000 men, when they had not above half that number with them. On their first coming into Derby, it was judged, both from the measures they took and from the behaviour of their chiefs, that they were still disposed to march on. In the evening they held several councils of war; in which the debates amongst their chiefs grew too high to be concealed; yet they agreed upon nothing the first night except levying the public money, which they did with the usual threats of military execution, as they had done in all the towns they marched through."† On their first entrance they demanded billets for 9000 men, and then inquired for the magistrates, but were told they were fled. However, they afterwards seized upon Alderman Cooper, who was too lame to run away, and obliged him to proclaim the Pretender. Articles of dress were applied for, as being much wanted by the Highlanders, who had torn and worn their clothes in their rough progress, "and some they had with money, but more without."‡ They demanded the land-tax, excise, &c., and actually received about 2500*l.* They demanded also 100*l.* from the post-office, which was refused: they then reduced it to 50*l.*, and, not getting even that, they seized and took away a post-chaise. On the following day one Coppoch, whom the chevalier had chosen to make bishop of Carlisle, preached at All Saints Church, Derby; and the drummers and serjeants beat up for volunteers, offering five shillings in hand, and five guineas when they should arrive in London. Cook, an itinerant journeyman blacksmith, Edward Hewitt, a butcher, who had had a brother hanged, and James Sparks, a stocking-maker, took the five shillings and enlisted; and these were all the recruits Charles got at Derby.* Another council was held, apparently more stormy and discordant than that of the preceding night. The Highland chiefs insisted that they had shown no want of alacrity and daring—that they had already run hazards equal to their ardent love for the cause; but that now they could not in *common* sanity go farther, and that they ought not and could not lead the brave men who followed them to certain destruction. Lord George Murray, now the real commander-in-chief, and the man of most military ability and knowledge, agreed with the chiefs, and told Charles that, as there was no rising among the English, no sign of a descent from France, not one circumstance to encourage their going forward, they must retrace their steps and get across the borders while it was yet time—for, if the Duke of Cumberland should get between them and Scotland, and join Marshal Wade's army to his own, retreat would be impracticable. Murray also represented that, by going back instantly, they might greatly increase their force; for news had reached them that Lord John Drummond had landed at Montrose from France, with some picquets of the Irish brigade and some Scottish troops in the service of Louis XV.; and, if Lord Strathallan could only keep his forces together at Perth, there was reason to hope that there would be 4000 brave men on foot to meet them on their return to the North. Lord George Murray offered to occupy the post of danger, which in a retreat is in the rear. There are several discrepancies and contradictions in the contemporary accounts of these proceedings; but the majority of them agree in stating that Charles was much averse to the retreat; and hence occasion has been taken to commend his personal bravery at—as appears to us—the expense of his discretion or sanity. Nobody, however, seems to have reflected that he may have considered it as dangerous to go back as to go forward, or that cowardice itself is capable of desperation, or that it was not cool manly courage, but absolute madness to think of rejecting the strong arguments offered to him by Murray and the chiefs, who were, assuredly, no cowards themselves, no timid, cautious, formal campaign-makers, that could deem the capture of a town work enough for a season, and a retreat no disgrace, but as brave and daring men as ever drew sword in a

* Letter written by Hugh Bateman, Esq., as cited in W. Hutton's sensible and excellent history of Derby. Old William Hutton, who had a large and liberal mind himself, says with perfect truth that Mr. Bateman's letter is written with more candour than was the practice of the time.

† "Order was given for the collecting all the public monies, as also the association money signed for by particular persons for raising men for the government, which was done everywhere where we passed.—*Jacobite Account, Lockhart Papers.*—The respectable people in the counties of England had signed associations for mutual and general defence. Whatever sum of money they had paid, or had promised to pay, for raising troops for King George, the like sum they were compelled to pay to the Pretender whenever the subscribers could be caught, or whenever their property could be subjected to claymore law.

‡ Bateman's Letter, in Hutton's Hist. Derby.—Volunteer Ray says that the common Highlanders were sadly addicted to *borrowing*, and that when they wanted a pair of shoes they would borrow them from the feet of any man they met. Ray, however, was far from having so much candour as Mr. Bateman, or as good old William Huttou, who says—"Perhaps history cannot produce any instance of so small a number of men, so ill supplied, making a November march of so great an extent in a remarkable wet winter, into the centre of a powerful enemy's country, and surrounded with continual dangers, who were able to retreat, and who did so little mischief. The prince was of a mild temper, much averse to cruelty or depredation. Horses, arms, ammunition, and public money, in all similar cases, are deemed lawful plunder. They frequently paid their quarters—more frequently it was not expected. If they took people's shoes it was because they had none of their own; and no voice speaks so loud as that of necessity: if they omitted payment, it was because they had no money."

* Of these Derby recruits Cook and Hewitt escaped when the game was up; but Sparks, the poor stocking-maker, was caught and hanged.

desperate cause. And what had the young Pretender to answer to the arguments they urged? Nothing—absolutely nothing but childish dreams and a trusting in chance, or, as he termed it, in Providence. The reasoning generally put into his mouth is no reasoning at all; and if he actually employed it to men of sense he must have excited their contempt or compassion. It is represented, for example, that he said to the council of officers that he trusted in the justice of his cause,—that Providence, which had hitherto protected him, would continue its favour and open his way to London,—that it was *probable* the French might yet land in Kent or Essex, and that the English would yet rise and join him,—that it would be better to go into Wales than to retreat to Scotland,—and that, as for himself, he would rather be twenty feet under ground than go back. It is said that not one of the noblemen, officers, or chiefs with him was in the least moved by these discourses, except the Duke of Perth, who, be it observed, had the weakest head among them, and who had personal reasons to induce him to vote against Lord George Murray, who had reduced him from a lieutenant-general to be the simple commander of his own regiment. But it is admitted that even Perth reluctantly and against his better judgment agreed with his master that it would be better to advance than to retreat. Some Irish officers, it is said, were not so unwilling to cross the Trent; but it is added that the Scots observed that these Irish, who held regular commissions in the French army, and who had been sent over by Louis, were sure, at the worst, of being honourably treated as prisoners of war; whereas they (the Scots), if defeated and made prisoners, would be hanged and quartered as rebels and traitors. It is absurd to call this reflection invidious—it is the height of injustice and folly to attempt to throw any imputation upon the courage of these Highlanders. No men in their circumstances, and with the use of their eyes, ears, and reason, would, unless they had taken a bond of fate, have consented to march towards London. It is reported that the men in the ranks, or at least all the common Highlanders, were eager to go forward, and employed themselves while at Derby in taking the sacrament and sharpening their broadswords; but these poor mountaineers, who could speak no English, were probably ignorant of the intelligence that was familiar to their chiefs; they had seen no enemy since they had left Carlisle, and they may have fancied that they should see none between Derby and London. With all our high notion of their hardihood and daring, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that they could have been anxious to advance if they had known the real force of the several English armies, which by this time made in the aggregate upwards of 25,000 men. Under no circumstances, however, could the common Highlanders have been in a state to judge and decide; but among their leaders there was an abundance of proper military judgment, and they, as we have seen, were unanimous. It is said that Sir Thomas Sheridan, his tutor, and Murray of Broughton, his secretary, at length prevailed over the obstinacy or woful stupidity of Charles, and that he at last sullenly agreed to a retreat; saying that, in future, he would summon no more councils—that he was accountable to nobody except to God and his father, and that he would no longer be advised by any man. This, if true, goes to prove that he was a true Stuart, and that he bore a striking resemblance in character to his grandfather, James II.

Walter Scott, whose charming and romantic fancy not unfrequently blinded his keen and shrewd perception in matters of history and historical doubts, treats the council of war at Derby as a great mystery, that requires documentary explanations; and he hints that papers may yet be produced capable of altering received opinions very materially. "The history of the council of war at Derby," he says, "in which Charles Edward's retreat was determined has never yet been fully explained; it will, however, be one day made known."* Waiting for this knowledge, we must humbly say that it appears to us that no explanation however full, no document that was ever penned, can alter the facts of the case, diminish the force of the English gathering on all sides to close round the Highlanders, disprove the utter aversion of the English people to the Pretender's cause, or their resolution to stand by the government, or in any way establish that the retreat from Derby was not a proper military measure and an inevitable necessity. No evidence, documentary or traditional, can ever prove that a French army had landed on the English coast, and that the English people between Derby and London were ready to take up arms for the Stuarts —two contingencies without which an advance was madness. If Charles had stayed only two days longer at Derby the Duke of Cumberland would have been upon him with a far superior force, with men very different from Cope's dragoons at Prestonpans, — veterans who had fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who were devoted to their leader. According to some of the Jacobite accounts there was no council of war at all held at Derby. Thus John Hay says that there was a council held at Macclesfield, when Lord George Murray was keen for the advance; and that Lord George at Derby suddenly told the young Pretender that it was high time to think what they were to do,—that he was of opinion they ought to go back to Scotland, and join their friends there (under Lord George Drummond and Lord Strathallan); and that he finally used the names of many of the chiefs, who he said were bent upon the retreat. "The whole day was spent in intrigue and cabal, but no council of war was called."† In the same collection there is, however, a paper appa-

* Art. in Quart. Rev.
† Hay's Account of the Retreat from Derby, in Home's Appendix.

rently written by Charles himself, stating that M. le Comte affirmed that the retreat was in consequence of a council of war; that all the members of that council, except M. le Comte himself, were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary; and that M. le Comte endeavoured to persuade some of them to join with him, but could not prevail upon one single person. The Highland officer who kept the journal we have so often referred to says, distinctly, that there *was* a council held at Derby in Charles's presence,* and that, "dispatches of importance being received, it was resolved to return to Scotland."† The account of the young Pretender's operations in the same valuable repertory, and to which also we have frequently referred, does not mention the council of war at Derby, but shows, in the clearest manner possible, that no council could possibly have recommended Charles either to advance or to stay where he was. This Jacobite authority says,—"They were now at Derby, *with an army not half the number they were reported to be*, surrounded in a manner with regular troops on all sides and more than double their number. To go forward there was no encouragement, for their friends (if they had any) had kept little or no correspondence with them from the time they entered England. If they passed Swarkston-bridge, not far from Derby, which of necessity they must do to go either to London or Wales, they were credibly informed that there were orders to cut the bridge behind them to hinder their retreat, which, if done, they must fall a sacrifice to their enemies. As they had no assurance of assistance even if they went forward, and as they had intelligence of Lord John Drummond's arrival in Scotland with his regiment, and some Irish piquets from the Irish regiments in France, commanded by Brigadier Stapleton, with four pieces of brass cannon, eight-pounders, two of sixteen, some small arms, with a profusion (as was said) of warlike stores, it was resolved to return to Scotland, and to send orders to Lord John Drummond, who was commander-in-chief of the French troops, to march with all expedition with his whole force to join the prince on the borders."

If Charles had meant to go on to London, he ought not to have rested a single day at Derby; for the Duke of Cumberland soon found out his mistake, and retraced his steps: he was at Stafford on the 5th, with detachments at Burton-upon-Trent and at Lichfield; and on the 6th he had his head-quarters at Lichfield, whence he moved to cover the high road to the capital, and to take post at Northampton. Marshal Wade on the 5th was at Weatherby, with his horse and dragoons thrown forward to Doncaster. On the morning of the 6th, before daylight, the Highlanders began their retreat from Derby. According to John Hay, very few of them knew that they were marching back; and when the men, who had been put in motion in the grey of the morning, began to perceive, by daylight, from marks they had taken of the road, that they were retreating, there was a universal lamentation among them.* Charles, who during the advance had generally walked on foot at the head of his men, now mounted on horseback, "for his spirit was heavy; he could not walk, and hardly stand, as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used."† He rode a black horse, which was said to have belonged to Colonel Gardiner, slain at Prestonpans. The first night they got back to Ashburn; on Saturday, the 7th, they reached Leek, destroying in their passage whatever might be of use to the government troops, and resenting the disappointments they had met with, which provoked the country people to do them all the mischief they could; and on Monday, the 9th, about the hour of noon, they re-entered Manchester, where the mob gave them some visible marks of their dislike. On the 8th the Duke of Cumberland sent forward General Hawley from Meriden Moor, near Coventry, with the dragoons and some mounted infantry,‡ to try and harass the Highlanders in their retreat, and detached an aide-de-camp across the country with orders to Marshal Wade to hasten his march, so as to intercept them in their northern route. On Friday, the 6th, when the last news in London was that the young Pretender was at Derby, between the army of the Duke of Cumberland and the capital, there was a considerable panic in the city, and men feared the worst when the Highlanders were actually retreating. The consternation was so great as to obtain for that day the name of "Black Friday." But on the next day news was received of their retreat; and by the 9th the alarm was entirely dissipated. "We dread them no longer," writes Horace Walpole. "We are, indeed, threatened with preparations for a French invasion, but the coast is exceedingly guarded; and, for the people, the spirit against the rebels increases every day: though they have marched thus into the heart of the kingdom, there has not been the least symptom of a rising, not even in the great towns of which they possessed themselves. . . . . Here in London the aversion to them is amazing."§ Volunteers of all descriptions offered themselves to serve in the

* A room in Lord Exeter's, now Mr. Eaton Mousley's, house, has always been pointed out as the place where the council was held. According to local tradition, the young Pretender went very little out, and was engaged in council or debate nearly the whole time he was in Derby—these debates being loud enough at times to be heard in the streets.

† Lockhart Papers.

* Volunteer Ray, who was riding about the country reconnoitring, says, that on leaving Derby they made a feint, as if they would have marched for Loughborough, but suddenly retreated northward, with the utmost speed, and fled to Ashburn that night.

† John Hay's Account, in Home's Appendix.

‡ Volunteer Ray says—"To facilitate his march the country people, firm to their king, brought in horses to mount 1000 foot soldiers, drafted out of several regiments, that were to follow in order to overtake the rebels. Our foot soldiers not being accustomed to riding, I thought they looked odd on horseback, with their muskets and knapsacks slung over their shoulders; but their desire to come up with the rebels was visible in every one of their countenances; with so much pleasure they rode along, and the countrymen with fresh horses coming to remount our soldiers running themselves on foot very cheerfully, that it really afforded a most pleasing prospect."

§ Letter to Horace Mann, dated December the 9th.

ranks; and the whole body of the law had formed themselves into a regiment, under the command of Lord Chief Justice Willes, and were to have done duty at St. James's, to guard the royal family, in case it had been necessary for the king to take the field with the army that lay encamped about Barnet and Finchley Common. Luckily that force was not required, and did little more than scare away the highwaymen from their usual beat. Weavers and other London artisans were probably not the best of troops, and it became the fashion to turn the Finchley camp and the march to Finchley into ridicule; but there were nevertheless some good regular troops on that point, both horse and foot, with thirty-two pieces of artillery; and the life guards and horse grenadiers were ready to march out from London at a moment's notice. As soon as the retreat of Charles was known, these regular troops, which, without the household corps, amounted to 3000 foot and 1000 horse, were marched from Finchley Common and Barnet to the coasts of Essex and Suffolk; and London and the neighbourhood was besides enabled to send 4000 foot and 1500 horse to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, to meet any attempt that might be made at invasion. If it had been necessary for the king to take the field—if the Highlanders had really given Cumberland the slip,—it is quite certain that his majesty could have covered London with a regular army far superior in number to that of the Pretender; and we cannot think so lightly of the spirit of the English people, as to believe that the thronging thousands of volunteers and new recruits would have counted for nothing in a battle. As, however, the rumour still rang of an invasion —which France certainly never seriously entertained a notion of—his majesty notified to parliament that he had sent for 6000 more foreign troops—Hessians of good name and repute, that might serve in Scotland. Pelham moved for an address of thanks; but Lord Cornbury proposed to add a representation that national troops were the only constitutional troops, and that the House hoped to be relieved of all foreigners as soon as possible. Pitt, who was not yet secretary-at-war, joined Cornbury; but, upon a division, it was decided, by a majority of 190 to 44, that the utmost precaution was recommendable, and that the nation at such a crisis was anxious to get all the troops it could. In a very brief space of time people laughed as much at the apprehensions of a French invasion as they had done at their fears of the Highland army.

The young Pretender meanwhile continued his headlong retreat, apparently taking little or no charge of the army, riding on in the van on his black charger, getting gloomily into quarters every night as soon as he could, and leaving the rear to take care of itself. Having levied some heavy contributions from Manchester, which were to be repaid when the country should be settled under his government, he left that city on the 10th of December, and hurried on to Wigan. On the next day he and the Highlanders reached proud Preston, in the neighbourhood of which they were extremely apprehensive of some sudden attack. On the 13th they were at Lancaster, where they threw open the gaols and committed other disorders. The discipline preserved on their advance, which, though not so perfect as described by some writers of Jacobite propensities, was still very remarkable for an army of Highlanders, disappeared on the retreat. "The meaner part of them pilfered and stole everything portable for their purpose; and their chiefs sent ruffians to plunder and extort money from gentlemen who had exerted themselves most against them."* This conduct excited the people against them; and the peasants of Lancashire and Cumberland ceased to have any awe of a flying army. Thus when the Duke of Perth was sent in advance, with a party of hussars for his escort, to get across the borders, and, if possible, to bring up Lord John Drummond and his so-called French army, he was attacked between Penrith and Kendal by a party of the country people, and forced to return to Charles at Kendal, after losing several of his horses and horsemen. This was on the 14th; and on the 15th, when Perth advanced again with a greater force to Penrith, the townsmen rose and fell upon him with such fury that he was again obliged to turn rein and fly. Several gentlemen and farmers of the neighbourhood mounted their horses and pursued Perth as far as Shapp, a little village between Penrith and Kendal; and that night beacon-fires were lighted on every hill-top to raise the country. The night of the 16th was spent by Charles and the whole rebel army in and about Shapp: before reaching that place they had seen some troops of light horse appearing on the heights in their rear, and during the night they had frequent alarms. Lord George Murray, who had charge of the rear and of all the baggage, found it extremely difficult to proceed over the mountains; for his carts broke down, his gun-carriages stuck in the ruts, and the horses were worn out. He was even compelled to throw a great deal of the powder into one of the mountain tarns, from want of means of transport. On the next day they pushed forward for Penrith with all their force, being watched by some troops of government light horse, who continued to hover on the heights. On crossing an open moor the country people, with about fifty or sixty of the regular cavalry, seemed disposed to make a stand; but they went off as soon as the Highlanders ran towards them. "If," says one of the Jacobites, "these people had had the least thought or judgment, they might have made themselves masters of all the baggage and cannon; for, if they had had the precaution to have thrown down in different places parts of the stone walls on the sides of the highway near the villages, it would not have been possible for the baggage and cannon to have passed

* Letter from a gentleman of Lancaster, in Ray's Complete History, &c.

without a great deal of trouble and more time than we had to spare: however, as that was neglected, the Highlanders continued their march, not without a great many stops occasioned by the frequent breaking of the carriages."* Old Marshal Wade was not quick enough for the rebels, and he made a bad guess as to the route they would take. When he got to Ferry bridge he called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, as the most likely way to intercept the Highlanders. But when he reached Wakefield he learned that they were already at Preston, and, judging it impossible to come up with them with his fatigued infantry, he detached major-general Oglethorpe with all his horse to look after the Pretender; and then with the foot turned back towards Newcastle. Oglethorpe and his horse marched one hundred miles in three days over ice and snow, and got to Preston on the 13th, not many hours after the Highlanders had left it. On the same day the Duke of Cumberland with part of his light horse reached Preston also. On the 14th Oglethorpe continued his pursuit at the heels of the Highlanders, some of his rangers going so fast that they fell among the clans before they were aware of it, and were taken prisoners. On the 17th, when the mass of the Highlanders were near Penrith, both Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived in considerable force of horse, and with the duke's thousand mounted foot, at Kendal. They had then good hopes of coming up with the enemy; but they were obliged to rest their men and horses that night, and during the night Charles rested at Penrith, where Lord George Murray strained every nerve to bring up the encumbered rear with all the baggage, &c. On the morrow, the 18th, Cumberland and Oglethorpe moved so early that their light horse came in sight of the Highland rear as it was toiling across Clifton Moor about three miles from Penrith; but the pursuers were too weak to attempt any important attack; and the Cumberland squires and farmers that were acting with them wheeled about when the clan of Glengary set up a shout and threatened to fall upon them. Moreover, Charles from Penrith sent back most of his horse to assist Lord George and the rear, and then the light horse of Oglethorpe fell back to wait the arrival of their main body. The baggage was sent forward to Penrith with a small escort, and it was proposed to turn aside and surprise Lowther Hall, the princely residence of Lord Lonsdale. Lord George Murray, who had been frequently at Lowther Hall, said that he was very well acquainted with the park and all the enclosures about the house, and that he would be himself the guide.† Leaving some of his hussars as a decoy at a farm-house on the edge of the moor, Lord George with about 300 foot and a troop of horse marched through the village of Clifton and turned down to Lowther Hall. He found the gates shut, and that those within would not open them at his summons, but some of his light Highlanders soon began to climb over the walls; and then a man on horseback and another on foot rushed out from the mansion. But the attempt at escape was hopeless; —the two Englishmen were soon taken, and one of them proved to be a running footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who told them that his royal highness had appointed to sleep at Lowther Hall that night, and was coming on with all possible speed with 4000 horse and with some infantry following him. Lord George Murray then moved back to the village of Clifton, and sent notice to Charles, who was reviewing his men on the moor behind Penrith, but who soon detached some regiments to Clifton to reinforce Lord George. The day was now spent, but the moon arose in a clouded sky, and gave an occasional and fitful light. Murray in a short time discovered some of Cumberland's and Oglethorpe's horse, and part of the infantry that had now quitted the horses which had carried them forward so rapidly, stealing between the hedges and stone walls, as if they hoped to take him by surprise.* But Murray had already lined most of those hedges and walls; and, though the English troops came on with a deal of bravery and resolution, they were checked by a most unexpected cross fire; and then Lord George, shouting "Claymore! claymore!" rushed down with Clunie and the MacPhersons, and attacked them sword in hand. The English dragoons soon retired; Colonel Honeywood was wounded and left for dead; and the intended surprise ended in a complete discomfiture. Volunteer Ray, who will not admit the defeat, says—"The rebels, from their situation, had greatly the advantage of us, we being obliged to go over the hedges up to the boot-tops in water; and not only so, but, it being late, they could see our buff belts and laced hats when we could not so well discern their blue bonnets and dark-coloured plaids; so that we directed our fire at their fire, which for a time was very hot on both sides." Even the Jacobite officers allow that they were glad to be off, and that the most they intended was to check the pursuit. There never was a notion entertained of attacking Cumberland and his main body, which was now clearly seen on the edge of Clifton Moor. "Night coming on," says one of these warm partisans, "put an end to the affair, and both parties retired—the Duke of Cumberland, it was said, towards Appleby, and the Highlanders to Penrith." "Our men," says the journalising Highland officer, "would have done more execution on the enemy had not night prevented them; but,

* *Account in Lockhart Papers.*

† It appears that several of the Scotch lords knew well Lowther Hall and the country about, from having been educated in that neighbourhood.

* According to Ray, who was present, the rebels at Clifton had posted themselves in the most advantageous manner, by lining every hedge, orchard, and outhouse, from the south end of Clifton to Thomas Savage's, a Quaker, at the foot of the moor. By this time his royal highness was come up, and was close by the ambuscade; but he was warned of his danger by Jonathan Savage, who ran through the fields at the risk of his life.

learning that they might be overpowered by the greatly superior number of the enemy, they made now a *quick* but orderly retreat, and joined the prince at Penrith; and it was not judged proper to engage their whole force till we were reinforced by our army from Perth." Late at night as it was when the affair was over, Charles instantly resumed his march, leaving Clanronald's and Keppoch's regiments between Penrith and Clifton-bridge, to cover his retreat, or to make Cumberland believe that he intended to stay and fight the next day. The duke slept neither at Appleby nor in Lowther Hall, but was fain to take up his lodgings with a loyal Quaker, whose house was close to the village of Clifton.* According to the official account, he had only lost in killed and wounded some forty men and four officers; but, according to the Highlanders, his loss was much more considerable. The clans confessed to the loss of twelve men; but the English said that five of them were found dead on the field, and about thirty thrown into the river. But, whatever was the relative amount of slaughter, the affair of Clifton Moor seems to have discouraged Cumberland's dragoons, who left off their close pursuit, and allowed the rebel army, rear, baggage, artillery, and all, to get to Carlisle without any disturbance. But the night-march from Penrith was dreadful; the moon had set, or become obscured by the clouds, so that the men could hardly see their hands before them or the rough and dangerous mountain-road over which they were walking.† Charles was obliged to quit the saddle and trudge on foot with the rest; and when they arrived at Carlisle in the morning of the following day, the 19th of December, both officers and men were spent with fatigue, and altogether in a deplorable condition. "This," says the Highland officer, "was one of the darkest nights I ever saw; yet did his highness walk it on foot, and most part of the way without a lantern, and yet never stumbled, which many of us Highlanders did often." Perhaps it was scarcely to be expected that Cumberland's and Oglethorpe's tired horse, which for the most part had marched ten hours that day, or that any regular troops, even in better plight, should have hazarded themselves along such a road in such a night. If they had ventured to do so nearly every advantage would have been on the side of the Highland foot, who had been accustomed to fight and skirmish by the light of "Mac Farlane's lantern,"‡ or even without it, in the dark: as for the English foot, they could never have kept pace with the nimble, long-winded mountaineers; and horses would have been little more than an embarrassment in that darkness where even men on foot could not see their way. Some of the Highlanders boasted that the English regulars never appeared after Clifton Moor, and that what they met with there had cooled their courage; but it appears to us that the rebels never gave them an opportunity of trying their mettle, and that they ran too fast to be caught. Even at Carlisle they only rested part of a day and night, setting forward early on the morning of the 20th, and moving so rapidly that they crossed the deep river Esk that very night, and so got back into Scotland. To go the faster, and at the same time to improve the defences of Carlisle, where they changed their garrison, they left behind them there all their cannon except three, called the Swedish pieces, all their cohorns, and a great deal of their baggage. Ray says that they chose rather to venture drowning than stay to give Cumberland battle; and he adds that some of them were drowned in crossing the deep river. The duke was certainly not far behind them; for, while they were crossing the Esk, he advanced to within eight miles of Carlisle; and on the next day that place was invested by the king's troops, who were aided and assisted most zealously by the country people—a class of men who would have made more figure in this invasion if they had not been deprived of arms by a jealous and barbarous statute.* As Cumberland had already begun to show the natural severity of his temper by hanging some prisoners and spies as soon as caught, few or none ventured to give any assistance or information to the beleaguered garrison, which consisted of some men from a regiment of Lowland Scots, a few Frenchmen and Irishmen, and the recently raised Manchester regiment: in all they were about four hundred unpractised soldiers, under the incompetent command of Mr. Townley and one Hamilton, who had formerly been steward to the Duke of Gordon. At first they seemed disposed to make a vigorous defence, firing their cannon on everybody that appeared; but they were astonished and palsied, as at the shock of an earthquake, when the duke began to reply to their four and seven gun batteries with six 18-pounders, which had been brought up with sixteen or eighteen country horses to each piece from the sea-port of Whitehaven; and on the morning of the 30th, when shot and shell were falling fast about them, they hung out a white flag, and proposed a surrender. They sent out a man with two letters, one directed to his royal highness and the other to the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with his army, and both subscribed by a French officer, who styled himself the commandant of the French garrison and French artillery. The letter to the Dutch was to require their withdrawing from the English army, under pretence of

* The house of Thomas Savage, mentioned by Ray.

† It is quite clear that the young Pretender feared a pursuit, for otherwise he would not have risked the disorders of a retreat in a dark night with tired soldiers. According to Ray, he began his retreat even while Lord George Murray was fighting at Clifton; "and was so apprehensive of being overtaken, that at ten o'clock at night he ordered his artillery and baggage to advance towards Carlisle."

‡ The moon.

* "All the horse and foot-guards," says Ray, who was himself sent down to Whitehaven, his native place, to bring up some battering cannon, "were cantoned round the town of Carlisle, at a mile or two distance. His royal highness fixed his head-quarters at Blackhall, and a great many people came out of the country to assist the king's army, *with clubs and staves, and such other weapons as they had; the game-law forbidding the use of fire-arms.*"

a capitulation which had been entered into at Tournay between France and the States-General. Cumberland, in reply, said that he could make no bargain with rebels,—that he had no Dutch troops with him, but Englishmen enough to chastise the rebels and those who dared give them assistance. Hamilton, the Duke of Gordon's ex-steward, then made another application in a letter signed by himself; but he was only answered, that the only terms his royal highness could grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle were, that they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure. And at three o'clock in the afternoon both town and castle were thrown open to Brigadier Bligh; the officers yielded themselves prisoners, and the men, piling their arms in the market-place, retired into the cathedral, where a strong guard was set upon them. The French part of the garrison was found to amount only to three officers and five men! Among the prisoners were seven that had deserted from Cope's army at Prestonpans, or had taken service with the Pretender after that catastrophe;—the duke hanged them instantly, together with four others of the same sort. Poor Thomas Coppoch, the young Pretender's intrusive Bishop of Carlisle, was also taken, and reserved for the gallows in another place. The duke, leaving the command to General Hawley, set out from Carlisle on the 3rd of January, to travel post back to London. The 20th of December, when Charles recrossed the Scottish border, was his birth-day, but there was small time or means to celebrate it. It appears he expected that Lord John Drummond, with the army from Perth, would have crossed the Forth, and have been well advanced towards the borders to meet him; but there was no news of this reinforcement, and it was not found possible to keep together all the army that had been in England. As soon as they were on their own territory many of the Scots began to run home. Those that remained were, for convenience of quarters, divided into separate columns, and marched by different routes. Charles went with one of these divisions to the town of Annan, where he arrived that night; Lord George Murray went with another to Ecclesfechan; and Lord Elcho advanced with the horse to Dumfries, where, as one of the rebels remarked, his presence would not be very agreeable, as, in his advance, he had seized all the town-people's carts. But, besides, Dumfries, an industrious, trading place, was strongly attached to the established government; and it is said that, as the Highlanders marched in, they found bonfires blazing in the streets in joy at their failure. The point fixed for the re-union of the divisions was not Edinburgh but Glasgow, where they all arrived by the 26th of December, Lord George Murray entering that town a day before Charles. The Duke of Perth was then sent to hasten the march of his brother, Lord John Drummond; the rest remained seven or eight days in Glasgow, levying contributions and forcing the Whiggish and Presbyterian inhabitants of that thriving place to furnish shirts, coats, shoes, bonnets, and all that the Highlanders and their allies wanted. During their march into England the magistrates and citizens of Glasgow had raised a regiment of 600 men, and had made other great exertions for the established government. The Glasgow regiment, under the command of the Earl of Home, had joined the king's troops at Stirling on the 12th of December. These circumstances did not tend to moderate the rapacity and animosity of the Highlanders, who, moreover, had always considered the rich town of Glasgow as a proper place to be plundered. The king's troops, which had assembled in and about Stirling to guard the passage of the river Forth against the rebels collected at Perth, consisted of two regiments of foot and of the two regiments of dragoons (Hamilton's and Gardiner's) that had behaved so shamefully at Prestonpans, and they were backed by about 3000 volunteers from Glasgow, from Edinburgh, and from other places. Many of these volunteers served at their own expense,—not above half of them required any pay; but all, it appears, received their arms from the government and the castle of Edinburgh. During the same interval, or while Charles had been marching towards London, Lord Loudon had raised his little army in the North to more than 2000 men, who, when the money was spent with which government had furnished his lordship, were kept together through the credit and influence of the Lord President Forbes. The head-quarters of this force, composed almost entirely of Highlanders devoted to the government or to their Whig chiefs, continued to be in the town of Inverness. On the other side Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, had raised a regiment for the Pretender, and several Jacobite gentlemen had made levies in Aberdeenshire, Angus, and other places in the low country of the North, in expectation of the arrival of Lord John Drummond with a great force from France. But Lord John had been very unfortunate at sea; more than half of his transports had been captured by the English cruizers, or driven back to Dunkirk; and when he landed in Scotland he had only his own regiment of foot, and that not complete, and two troops of horse from Fitz James's, or the Duke of Berwick's, regiment, a few companies of the Irish brigade, a very petty train of artillery, some arms, and a very little money. Indeed, when landing at Montrose, his first occupation was to send out parties into the neighbouring country to collect money,—a circumstance which had an exceedingly bad effect upon a people who had been led to believe that he was coming to give, and not to take,—that he was bringing over ship-loads of Louis d'ors and other bright French coins. He also sought to impose a regular military levy like those established in France, exacting that every proprietor of land should furnish him with one able-bodied man, or 5*l.* sterling for every 100*l.* Scots of his valued

rent. Shortly after his arrival at Montrose he detached General Stapleton, with his Irish piquets and some companies of his own regiment, to join Lord Strathallan at Perth; sending at the same time some other companies to join Lord Lewis Gordon, who had fixed himself at Aberdeen. Lord Loudon was resolved to check as much as possible the levy of Drummond's arbitrary imposition; and, as MacLeod of MacLeod had come over from Skye, and brought 450 of his men to serve King George, Loudon detached him with this force and with 200 Monros to Inverury, about twelve computed miles to the north-west of the town of Aberdeen, Lord Lewis Gordon's head-quarters. Lord Lewis, warned of MacLeod's approach, advanced by night, and lay waiting for him in ambush with a superior force. A short moonlight combat was the result; and, as MacLeod's men would not stand the charge, he was obliged to turn, and run for it, leaving about forty prisoners behind him, but very few either killed or wounded. This skirmish happened after the young Pretender had recrossed the border; but, before that time, Lord Strathallan's head-quarters at Perth had been the scene of constant quarrel,—the Highlanders and Lowlanders, the Irish troops and the French, all disagreeing in opinion, and indulging in old antipathies and prejudices. Though old Lovat had finally thrown the dice, and sent all the Frasers to Perth, —though the Mackintoshes, the Mackenzies, the Farquharsons, and other clans had assembled there, —it was considered by Lord Strathallan and a council of officers, that the order received from Charles to march forward to the borders and advance into England could not be obeyed. Strathallan was supported in this opinion by all the Frenchmen, all the Irish, and most of the low country Jacobites; but the Highlanders declared that he ought not to examine and criticise but obey the prince's order; and they were actually on the point of taking forced possession of Strathallan's money, arms, ammunition, and stores, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth just in time to prevent a battle. Rollo announced that the young Pretender was in Scotland, was marching from Dumfries to Glasgow, and expected Lord Strathallan to hold himself with his forces in readiness to join him as soon as he should send further orders from Glasgow. The cause of the quarrel was thus removed, but not the bad blood which it had excited. On the first news of Charles's return from England, the king's troops and the volunteers at Stirling fell back upon Edinburgh, not being strong enough to keep their ground on the river Forth, between two armies. Thus the passages of that river were again left open, and there was no obstruction whatever to the junction of the two armies of Charles and Strathallan. On the 29th of December it was announced from every pulpit in Edinburgh that it had been resolved in a council of war to defend the city against the rebels if they should venture to attack it, and on the following day a number of able-bodied men from the neighbouring parishes were marched into the High-street and furnished with arms, the ministers of the kirk marching with their respective parishioners. The spirit was good, but still liable to cold fits and ague-like attacks of fear and misgiving, until the second day of January, when two regiments of foot arrived from the south at Edinburgh, with news that General Hawley was following with nearly the whole force of Marshal Wade.

A.D. 1746.—On the same day the Highland army left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling, to meet Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond: they moved in two divisions, one led by Charles, marching by Kilsyth, and the other under the command of Lord George Murray, going by Cumbernauld. During their march they received certain accounts of the surrender of Carlisle from two gentlemen that had made their escape from that place. On the next day Charles took up his quarters in the house of Bannockburn, near Stirling, and his men were cantoned in the neighbouring villages: Lord George Murray occupied the town of Falkirk, and threw out some of the clan regiments as an advanced post. Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond presently came up from Perth and joined; and then the Pretender's army amounted to 9000 men, by far the greatest number they had ever assembled. Yet, instead of wheeling round to meet Hawley, and to check the English troops that were constantly marching along the east coast from Berwick and Dunbar to Edinburgh—instead of attempting some bold and decisive blow, Charles and his officers resolved to sit down before Stirling Castle, which was exceedingly well provided, and sure to be well defended by the brave General Blakeney. With extreme difficulty they got their French artillery across the Forth, broke ground, and began the siege. "Our artillery," says one of the rebels, "was commanded by one M. Gourdon (alias the Marquis de Mirabelle, *nom de guerre*), a French engineer, and another young man that had applied himself to that business (a volunteer never in commission), and there were ten or twelve French gunners, which was all of that kind that came from France, who were covered by the Duke of Perth with four or five hundred men. The engineer, to show his dexterity in his profession (not considering that he had neither all things necessary for such an undertaking nor regular troops that had been accustomed to such undertakings), made his appearance on the strongest side of the castle, where there was nothing but rock and shingle to work upon, so that in order to raise the batteries that were intended, there was nothing but forced earth which was to be carried from a great distance and at great expense, and when finished was commanded by the castle, by which there was a great many men lost, and the battery of little use; however the work was continued rather than oppose his schemes, though it was agreed that the approaches might have been

made, and to better purpose, on the other side." * Nothing could well be more absurd than this siege, except the method which Hawley took to raise it. That very confident English general reached Edinburgh on the 6th of January, breathing fire and destruction. He had seen some service both at home and abroad, having served as an officer of dragoons in the battle of Sheriffmuir, and having fought in Flanders under the Duke of Cumberland, who had favoured and promoted him. He appears to have been fitter for the post of provost martial and hangman than for that of general. "I must give you some idea of this man," says Horace Walpole; "he is called *Lord Chief Justice* (as if another Jeffries); frequent and sudden executions are his passion. Last winter abroad he had intelligence of a spy come from the French army: the first notice our army had of his arrival was, by seeing him dangle on a gallows in his muff and boots. One of the surgeons of the army begged the body of a soldier, who was hanged for desertion, to dissect. Well, said Hawley, but then you shall give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-room." † The army was full of stories of this man's brutal severity and passionate temper. The first thing he did on entering Edinburgh was to erect two gibbets on which to hang the rebels he intended to take. He brought a staff of executioners with him, and he conferred more frequently with his hangmen than with his aides-de-camp. When Lord John Drummond, who had a regular commission from Louis XV., and who styled himself commander-in-chief of the army of his most Christian majesty in Scotland, sent to propose a cartel or exchange of prisoners, Hawley threw the letter into the fire, seized upon the drummer that brought it as a traitor, and made him write to Lord John—"that rebels were not to be treated with." He had scoffed most unmercifully at the sad failures of poor Sir John Cope, and had boasted in a company of officers, "that *he* knew the Highlanders, they were good militia, but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons who attacked them well." ‡ Hawley had now with him twelve old regiments of foot, who for the most part had served on the continent, the Glasgow regiment of foot recently raised, and Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons. On the 13th of January he sent forward the dragoons, the Glasgow men, and six of his old regiments of foot towards Stirling, by Linlithgow and Borrowstonness, under the command of General Husk; on the 14th he sent forward his other six regiments; and upon the 16th he left Edinburgh himself, and encamped that evening with all his troops collected at Falkirk, only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had now fixed himself with all his troops, except about a thousand men, left to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle. On the morning of the 17th Hawley was joined by Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and by one thousand Argyllshire Highlanders under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll. He was thus, even numerically, equal to the young Pretender, or nearly so, having between eight and nine thousand men. Between night and morning Charles's forces had advanced a little, and were now drawn up upon Pleanmuir, about two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood lay between the two armies, the whole of the intervening distance being about seven miles. It appears that the Highlanders expected Hawley would attack them, and that Hawley expected the Highlanders would run away at the mere fame of his approach. Indeed that vainglorious general had said as much. But the mountaineers had no such notions; and, seeing that Hawley was in no hurry to attack them, they determined to attack him. At about eleven o'clock in the forenoon a body of the rebels appeared upon the high road which traversed the Torwood and led from Stirling to Bannockburn and Falkirk, moving about with standards and colours to attract the attention of the English camp. Hawley was not at his post—he was refreshing his inward man with a good luncheon at Callender House, at some distance from the field;—but his officers and men fully expected that the Highlanders would attack them right in front from the quarter where they were showing themselves. But a little before one Captain Teesdale of the third regiment of foot and another officer climbed a tree, and with the aid of a telescope discovered the mass of the Highland army in full march, not by the high road through the centre of the Torwood, but by another road on the southern side of the Torwood. In fact the Highlanders had already crossed the river Carron near Dunnipace, and were pointing towards Falkirk moor and some high ground on the left of the king's army. General Husk, the second in command, had been completely deceived by the demonstrations on the high road; but Hawley was so blind or so absorbed by his good cheer that he could not make out the design even when Lieutenant-Colonel Howard of the third regiment reported to him what Teesdale had seen from the tree: he said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but that there was no necessity for them to be under arms; and he continued where he was, feasting at Callender House. The officers on the field were heard saying to one another, "Where is the general? What shall be done? We have no orders." Warned, however, of the close approach of the rebels by some gentlemen well mounted, who attended the army and rode about to procure intelligence, the commanding-officers formed their regiments in the front of their camp; and then—when there was nothing but Falkirk moor between the two armies—Hawley came galloping up with curses and confusion, and without his hat. In the middle the rugged moor

* Account, &c., in Lockhart Papers.
† Letters to Horace Mann.
‡ Lieutenant Colonel Hepburn, who was one of the company of officers, told this anecdote to Home.

covered with heath rose to a considerable elevation, which it was the object of both armies to occupy first. Hawley threw forward his three regiments of dragoons, ordering the infantry to follow with fixed bayonets; and, on the other side, Lord George Murray threw forward his light-footed mountaineers. The English cavalry went considerably in advance of their infantry, spurring over the rough heath; and for a time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The Highland foot, however, outran the English horse, occupied the height, and formed along the ridge of it, while Hawley's men were compelled to halt a little below them, with a storm of wind and rain beating right in their eyes and wetting their muskets. The Highlanders formed in two lines; the first line consisted of the three MacDonald clans, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, who stood on the right; of the Farquharsons, the Mackenzies, and the Mackintoshes, who stood in the centre; and of the Macphersons, the Frasers, the Camerons, and the Stuarts, who occupied the left: their second line, including a considerable number of Lowland levies who were neither so fond of fighting nor so passionately attached to the cause as the mountaineers, comprised the Atholl brigade, Lord Ogilvie's regiment, Lord Lewis Gordon's two battalions, the MacLachlans, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. Charles was neither in the first line nor in the second; he stood not even *between* the two lines, as he had done at Prestonpans; but he took up his post in the rear of the second line, on a mound which still goes by the name of *Charlie's Hill*. When Hawley's men formed, the three regiments of dragoons were in front; the infantry which had followed them stood in two lines; and the rest of the army, consisting of the Argyllshire Highlanders and the Glasgow regiment, remained as a body of reserve at a considerable distance. Artillery there was none on either side, for the Highlanders, in their rapid advance, had left their guns behind them, and in crossing the moor the English guns had stuck fast in a bog and could not be removed in time. But Hawley heeded them not; he had got his horse and they were to do everything; though two of the three regiments had not yet cleansed their banners of the foul dirt of Prestonpans. In his younger days he had fought against the old Pretender at Sheriff Muir, and he remembered how the left wing of the Highlanders had been broken by a charge of the Duke of Argyll's horse, which fell upon them across a morass, and as he had now a bog in his front and flank, and bogs in his rear, he fancied the cases were parallel. He, however, forgot a material circumstance:—the morass at Sheriff Muir was hard frozen of a sudden, and gave good passage to the cavalry; whereas the bogs at Falkirk Muir were in their most liquid and sinking state. On the word of command to charge, Colonel Ligonier led on all the horse towards the enemy's right. That right, consisting of the Macdonalds, advanced to meet Ligonier, reserving their fire till they were within pistol-shot; but then they gave such a volley as made the dragoons reel in their saddles; and, the rest of the Highland line stepping forward, Lord Lovat's regiment gave a similar discharge with equal effect. This was enough for the heroes of the "Canter of Colt Brig;"—Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments wheeled round, disordered the foot behind them, and fled with loose bridle. Cobham's dragoons behaved better; but the Highland fire was terrible, the ground was unfavourable for horse, and they wheeled to the right and went off between the two armies, receiving many a murderous shot as they passed the left wing of the Highlanders. Many of the flying horse ran into the bogs, and sinking to the saddle-girths, were cut to pieces by the Highland claymore.* When the English dragoons were gone off, Lord George Murray, who displayed as much personal bravery as good generalship, endeavoured to keep the Macdonalds in their ranks, well knowing that the well disciplined infantry of the enemy would be firmer than their horse, and that any premature pursuit of the fugitives would prove mischievous or fatal; but those hot-headed clans disregarded his orders, and some of the men continued to run into the bogs after the floundering dragoons, and some ran furiously upon the left of Hawley's army, who received them with a general discharge. But while the Highlanders had had the rain, which continued still to fall in torrents, at their backs, and the conveniency of their kilts and plaids wherewith to keep their pieces dry, the English infantry, with the rain full in their faces, and with no such convenient drapery, had got their muskets and powder-pans so wetted that hardly more than one piece in five went off.† The Macdonalds, little hurt by this irregular fire, poured in a much more effective volley, and then, throwing down their muskets in their usual way, they fell upon the English infantry with their broad-swords, attacking them both in front and flank. The left gave way, the centre followed their example, and the second line as well as the first was thrown into confusion. It seemed a total rout, and Hawley, who had been standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons when they advanced to the attack, had got involved in a crowd of flying horse, had been swept down the hill-side, and now had not the means of knowing whether any of his regiments of foot stood firm.‡ But Burrell's regiment stood

* One of the Highland performers, many a year after, assured Walter Scott that the feat was as easy as slicing bacon.

† Volunteer Ray says—"It rained heavily and blew hard, which, in a great measure, was the cause of our misfortunes; for our men could not see before them, and consequently the rebels had the advantage of us greatly in that particular. Besides, as it rained hard before, many of the firelocks were so wet, that it is believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired went off."

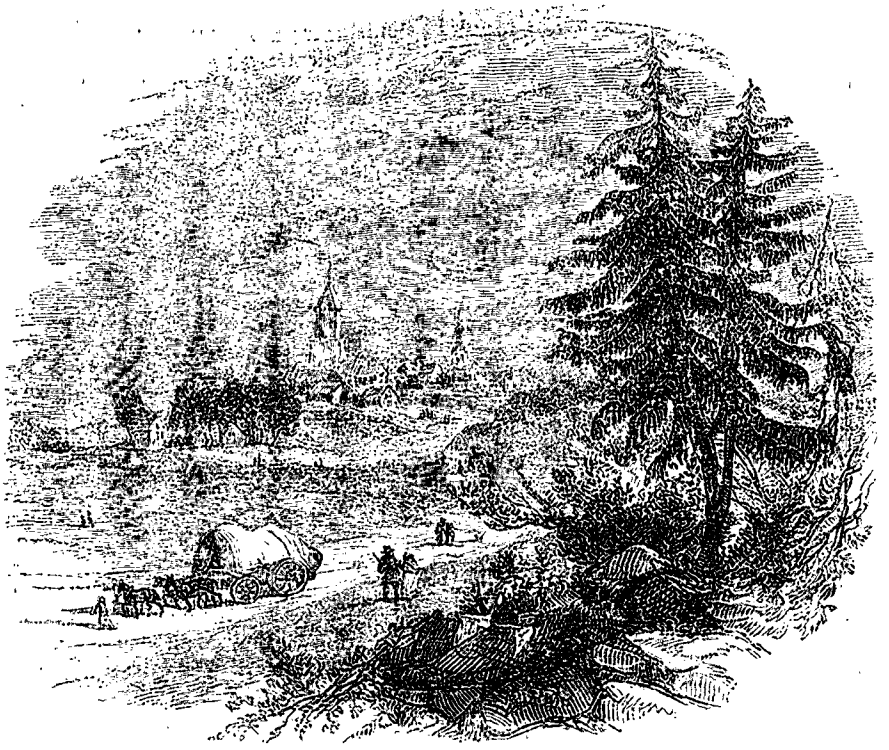
‡ Home—who was himself the *lieutenant* he speaks of—says that the Edinburgh company of volunteers had marched up the hill, was standing by itself, and had not begun to fly—that the captain of that company went in search of General Hawley to know what the volunteers were to do, and that the *lieutenant* followed the captain to ask the general if he would be pleased to assign the Edinburgh volun-

as firm as a wall, and, being joined by part of two other veteran regiments, it moved to the Highland left wing, and, when it came directly opposite to the Cameron and Stuart clans, it began to fire with good effect. A narrow ravine that lay between them prevented the Camerons and Stuarts from charging with the claymore, and, soon finding that they were losing a considerable number of men, and that their fire was not equal to that of the English veterans, they fell back from the opposite edge of the ravine in some disorder. Cobham's dragoons, who had soon rallied, now came up to support these gallant regiments of foot. In the mean while the fiery Macdonalds had broken loose and fought loosely in pursuit, as if the battle were over; but the steady fire of Burrel's regiment, and other signs now seen in their rear, induced these Macdonalds to run speedily back to the ground which they had occupied at the beginning of the battle, and upon which Lord George Murray had been so anxious to keep them. But when they got there they found that their second line had vanished! The indiscipline of those Highlanders that formed the second line had been equal to that of the Macdonalds;—most of the men, seeing the wonderful success of the first onslaught, and being fearful that if they stayed where they were they should get no horses, saddles, and bridles—no part of the booty—had broken away from their lines to join in the pursuit, and when their comrades, who were more obedient to orders and remained on their ground, saw the Camerons and Stuarts repulsed, and heard the steady and increasing fire of the king's troops that stood, and saw Cobham's horse compact and firm, and ready, as they thought, to charge them in their loose and broken lines, they lost heart, and had gone off rapidly to the westward. "At this moment," says Home, "the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war, whose great events fortune is said to rule. Part of the king's army—much the greater part—was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place; for the Atholl brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line and joined Lord George Murray where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine), there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chase, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords." Lord George Murray, however, succeeded in getting these men into line, and brought up some of his own men who had been cool enough to obey orders; and then Charles, who had moved off with the second line, came back with the Irish piquets and some other troops, and, when the Highlanders had collected their muskets which lay thick upon the ground, he led them to the brow of the hill. This movement of so considerable a body disconcerted Cobham's dragoons, who had been again attempting to cover the ridge: they turned back, went down to the place where Burrel's regiment and the portions of the two regiments acting with them were standing, and, retreating with them in good order, they joined the rest of the army, which had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, where the Argyllshire Highlanders had been left by Hawley, except the heroes of the "Canter of Colt Brig," who, for the most part, never drew rein till they got to Linlithgow.

This was the whole of the battle or affair of Falkirk, which did not last altogether half an hour. But it was now drawing near five o'clock of a wintry evening, and the early darkness of the season was increased by the storm and the black rolling clouds which continued to deluge that uncomfortable moor. Before it grew quite dark Hawley set fire to his tents, and, marching through Falkirk, retreated for Linlithgow, leaving behind him bag and baggage, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. As for his tents, they were so soaked by the rain that they would not burn, and the Highlanders got possession of most of them also. Lord George Murray immediately advanced, and took possession of the abandoned town; and Charles entered Falkirk by torchlight late in the evening, and was conducted to a lodging prepared for him. Hawley had left behind him between 300 and 400 killed and wounded and a considerable number of prisoners, including many of the Glasgow regiment and the Edinburgh volunteers, who, on the whole, had behaved rather manfully. The poet Home was among the captives. But the steady fire of Burrel's men and their companions who had stood by them at the perilous moment seems to have done almost as much mischief; and many of the Highlanders of the second line who had run away were in no hurry to return, while those who remained on the field of battle, or moved from the moor of Falkirk towards the town, were far more eager to pick up the spoils and undress the killed than to pursue the retreating enemy.* Besides, Cobham's dragoons and a considerable part of the English infantry continued to behave well, and the whole army (the Colt Brig men always excepted) made a good and regular retreat, with drums beating and colours flying, and the rear-guard under a brave and sensible veteran—Major-General Husk—who had

teers some post, which they would do their utmost to maintain. "The *lieutenant*," continues Home, "knew General Hawley very well, having waited on him several times at Holyrood House, and asked if there were any regiments standing? Where they were? The general made no answer to his questions, but, pointing to a fold for cattle, which was close by, called to him to get in there with his men. The disorder and confusion increased, and General Hawley rode down the hill."

* "The mountaineers did this work so effectually, that a townsman of Falkirk, who surveyed the field of battle on the following morning, used to say that he could compare the slain only to a large flock of white sheep at rest on the face of the hill—so completely had the Highlanders stripped them."—*Chambers, Hist. of the Rebellion.*



Falkirk.

not lost his head like Hawley. Few doubts can be entertained as to the conduct of the bullying Hawley. General Wightman, an old soldier, who had fought in Scotland in the Fifteen, says, in a letter written a few days after the disgraceful fact, to Duncan Forbes—"I am sorry to tell you, that Lord H——e and Lord Gl——n abandoned the Glasgow regiment on the field of battle, before they were formed, and fled as fast as the Irish dragoons. General Hawley is in much the same situation as General Cope; he was never seen in the field during the battle; and everything would have gone to wreck, in a worse manner than at Preston, if General Husk had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared everywhere. Hawley seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for, when I was with him on Saturday morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than Cope did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala. This is an odd scene of things, and altogether an unexpected occurrence; and will doubtless shock the K. and the M——ry, as well as the whole English nation, more than the Preston affair did; but does not at all shock me: I see no one bad consequence from it, unless Hawley's disgrace be reckoned one; and I apprehend several good ones; such as the duke's coming down hither, and our having an army of 20,000 men in this country for some months; to which I add General Husk's advancement, who is, indeed, an excellent officer, and an open honest man." But when the news of the affair of Falkirk was announced at court—which it was upon a drawing-room day—the king was neither shocked nor much surprised; and, though the countenances of most of the company betrayed doubt and apprehension, George's was as cheerful as that of the Earl of Stair or as that of Sir John Cope, which was radiant with joy at Hawley's discomfiture. We have seen how disrespectfully the hero of Falkirk had spoken of the hero of Prestonpans; but now their odds were made even—Hawley and Cope seemed one and the same—and a Scotch peer much amused that drawing-room by addressing Sir John with the title of General Hawley.*

Having rested for the night at Linlithgow, Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh; but not till the 19th, and then, rather to dry his wet gunpowder, and get more, than out of any fear of

* Walter Scott.—Horace Walpole.—Walpole says—"Hawley, of whom I said so much, has been as unsuccessful as Cope, and by almost every circumstance the same, except that Hawley had less want of skill and much more presumption. The very same dragoons ran away at Falkirk that ran away at Prestonpans. . . . . General Husk and Brigadier Cholmondeley shone extremely. . . . . Our loss is trifling; for many of the rebels fled as fast as the glorious dragoons; but we have lost some good officers, particularly Sir Robert Munro; and seven pieces of cannon. . . . . The fighting lay in a very small compass, the great body of each army running away."—*Letters to Horace Mann.*

Prince Charles. On his leaving Linlithgow, by accident or by design, fire was set to the palace, and that "royal dwelling"—"the fairest in all Scotland"—was reduced to a ruin. Charles was in no condition to follow or molest King George's army: on the morning after the battle thousands of his Highlanders went off to their mountains to secure the plunder they had made, and violent dissensions broke out between Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, and between several of the Highland chiefs. It was evident that there was and could be no unity of command—no steadiness of purpose, no discipline, and that the chevalier possessed not the rare talent of overawing, and commanding, or winning by other means the respect and obedience of turbulent clans and self-willed chiefs. It appears that in the heat of the battle several of his chief officers were as careful as he was himself of keeping out of harm's way—that Lord John Drummond was not in his place—that O'Sullivan, the adjutant-general, was skulking in the rear, and that no general officer was seen in front except Lord George Murray. Some unlucky accidents which occurred in Falkirk the morning after the battle greatly augmented the anarchy and discontent. Lord Kilmarnock came in with some prisoners he had made near his house at Callender, where Hawley had made that good repast which was followed by so bad a digestion; and the chevalier stood at an open window with the list in his hand to look at the captives. Home, who was of the number, has recorded in his best manner the singular occurrence which followed:—"Meanwhile a soldier, in the uniform of one of the king's regiments, made his appearance in the street of Falkirk, which was full of Highlanders: he was armed with a musket and bayonet, and had a black cockade in his hat. When the volunteers saw a soldier with his firelock in his hand coming towards Charles, they were amazed, and fancied a thousand things; they expected every moment to hear a shot. Charles observing that the volunteers (who were within a few yards of him) looked all one way, turned his head that way too: he seemed surprised; and, calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed to the soldier. Lord Kilmarnock came down stairs immediately: when he got to the street the soldier was just opposite to the window where Charles stood. Kilmarnock came up to the fellow, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot on the black cockade. At that instant a Highlander came running from the other side of the street, laid hands on Lord Kilmarnock, and pushed him back. Kilmarnock pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander drew his dirk, and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in and drove away Lord Kilmarnock. The man with the dirk in his hand took up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph. This piece of dumb show, of which they understood nothing, perplexed the volunteers. They expressed their astonishment to a Highland officer who stood near them, and entreated him to explain the meaning of what they had seen. He told them that the soldier in the uniform of the Royals was a Cameron:—'Yesterday,' said he, 'when your army was defeated, he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with great joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and everything else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed, and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his relations.' 'And in my opinion,' continued the officer, 'no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat except Locheil himself.'" One of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, while examining an English musket he had taken on the field of battle, let the piece go off, and unluckily killed Colonel Æneas Macdonald of the clan of Glengary, and second son of the chief, who was passing by. The Highland tribes had many eastern notions, and, like the Chinese, made no difference between intentional and accidental homicide; and the clan of Glengary made a wild "ululu," and demanded life for life. Charles did what he could to moderate this fury, and correct a barbarous but ancient custom: he attended the wake or funeral as chief mourner; but all was of no avail—the chief of the clan was obliged, by laws more potent than those in the Statute Book, to give up the owner of the musket, who was forthwith led out and shot by the Macdonalds of Glengary. Æneas, who is described by a brother officer as a brave and good-natured youth, was fully satisfied of the unhappy fellow's innocence, and had begged with his dying breath that he might not suffer. "But nothing," says the Highland officer, "could restrain the grief and fury of his people; and good luck it was that the man was a Macdonald, though not of his own tribe, but of Keppoch's." If the owner of the musket had not been a Macdonald his single life would not have satisfied the grief and fury of the Glengaries, who, after all, "began to desert daily upon this accident, which had a bad effect upon others also, and lessened the numbers of the army considerably."*

After staying two days at Falkirk, Charles returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray to observe the motions of the enemy, and cover the siege of Stirling Castle, which he was still resolved to prosecute. He employed a printing press, which had been brought from Glasgow, to print a quarto sheet with an exaggerated account of the battle of Falkirk. This was the last of his gazettes or proclamations. A few days after he attended a general review at Falkirk, "where the men made a good appearance, though far short of the numbers they were before the battle."† When

* Journal in Lockhart Papers.
† Account of the young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart

Lord George Drummond summoned Stirling Castle, and threatened terrible things in case the surrender were any longer delayed, old General Blakeney answered as before—that he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and the rebels should find he would die so. Instead of destroying the old fortress, the besiegers seemed to run a chance of being destroyed by it: the Highlanders soon grew desperately weary of work for which they were unfit; and on the 24th of January, after suffering severely from the hot and exact fire of the castle, they refused to man their batteries or to go any more into the trenches; and the operations of the siege were then left to the piquets of the Irish brigade and Drummond's regiment from France, who had been better trained to such service. They succeeded in erecting two batteries—the one on Gawan-hill, within forty yards of the castle, and the other on Lady's-hill; and on the 28th they began to batter from these points with two eighteen pounders, two sixteens, and three twelves, continuing to fire all the while upon the castle with small arms, which did little or no mischief. But both their gunners and musketeers suffered severely at those close quarters; and what put the whole besieging force more and more out of humour with the siege was the great want of provisions, and a galling fire kept up by the Vulture sloop of war and by small craft filled with soldiers, which had ascended the Forth. They sent out parties in all directions to seize oatmeal and such other victuals as they could find in the country; but all kinds of provisions were scarce and concealed, or occasionally well defended by their sturdy owners; and not a few of these parties were cut off or sent back to Stirling without victuals, but with broken heads.

The tragi-comedy, however, was now drawing rapidly to its close: the curtain was about to fall on the bloody field of Culloden. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and three days after the erection of the batteries on Gawan-hill and Lady's-hill, the chevalier's unloving cousin, William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, arrived in the Scottish capital with full powers to finish the war in his own way. Upon receiving the news of the affair of Falkirk, Cumberland had "laid the blame of Hawley on want of discipline; and said, were he there, he would attack the rebels with the men that Hawley now had; and said soldiers must be told what they are to do, and then he believed they would do it."* As he was popular with the army, it was determined to entrust him with the sole and supreme command; though it should appear that this determination was not adopted without some jealousies and obstructions. The duke, on his part, slighted the loyal offers of the Lowland lords, and left Lord Marchmont at court, though he had particularly requested the honour of being allowed to accompany him. Cumberland was of very nearly the same age as the young Pretender, but, with his youth, he had none of Charles's personal graces and outward accomplishments, being fat and ill-favoured, with boisterous and uncouth manners. His temper also was hasty, harsh, and often tyrannical; and, like a thorough trooper, he was apt to despise all that was not military, and to be irritated at the nice restrictions of constitutional law. As he had undoubted bravery, some talent, and more energy and steadiness of purpose, it was unquestionably fortunate for England and the English constitution that an elder brother and that elder brother's son stood between Cumberland and the throne.* One who knew him well, and was, on the whole, favourably disposed towards him, says—"His royal highness's judgment would be equal to his parts were it not too much guided by his passions, which are often violent and ungovernable. He has abilities to perform things which are difficult, but sometimes loves an impossibility. In his military capacity he appears greatly superior to any man in this country; and I have frequently wished that he had confined himself to that department, without entering into party disputes or interfering in the affairs of civil government, the first of which is below his dignity, and for the latter he is not qualified. His notions of honour and generosity are worthy of a prince. That he is ambitious is not to be doubted."†

The duke left London on the 27th, and, travelling post day and night, he arrived at Holyrood House on the 30th of January, many hours sooner than he was expected. He very judiciously stopped the hangman hand of his friend or *protégé* Hawley, who, having caught no rebels at Falkirk to execute, was decorating his gibbets at Edinburgh with some of his own soldiers who had behaved particularly ill in that battle, —as if hanging dragoons were the best mode of reviving their courage. The duke was received by the army with great surprise and joy: he took up his lodging in the same apartment, and slept even in the same bed, which had been so lately occupied by Charles. But the citizens of Edinburgh were considerably less pleased than the troops with his royal highness's arrival and conduct. When the magistrates represented that it was against the laws to bring troops into the city without their permission, he took no heed of their remonstrances, but made his guards ride in sword in hand; and he afterwards refused to see the magistrates at the palace. And he treated with little respect the citizens and lowland gentlemen

Papers.—It seems at least probable that the loss of the Highlanders in the affair of Falkirk was greater than was stated by either party. Duncan Forbes says he was told by a gentleman who was present in the action, that the loss of the Highlanders, at the lowest computation, was supposed to be 1000—that the gaps made in their lines were terrible.

* Conversation with the Earl of Marchmont, in Marchmont's Diary.

* Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and his son Prince George, afterwards George III.

† Lord Waldegrave, Memoirs from 1754 to 1758. This character, it should be observed, was drawn more than ten years after the battle of Culloden, when time had somewhat moderated Cumberland's passions and considerably improved his military knowledge.

that waited upon him, intimating that, if he did not suspect them all of Jacobitism, he had no great opinion of their zeal for the House of Hanover. The Scottish pride was sorely hurt; but the self-seeking, timeserving spirit of their thanes and men in office had in some degree merited the duke's coolness and suspicion.

On the 31st, the very day after his arrival, Cumberland put himself at the head of the army, to go in search of Charles. The men "banished all remembrances of the late untoward accident, and the troops showed uncommon ardour to be led (bad as the weather was) into the field again."* They were formed and marched in two columns, consisting of fourteen battalions; and the Argyllshire men and Cobham's dragoons led the van. Instead of sending Hawley to London to be tried by a court-martial, as he most richly deserved, the duke kept him with him as one of his lieutenant-generals, the other lieutenant-general being William Earl of Albemarle. He quartered that night at Linlithgow with eight battalions; Brigadier Mordaunt was at Borrowstonness; the dragoons lay in adjacent villages; and Colonel Campbell, with his brave loyal Highland-men, took post in the front of the army. A considerable body of Charles's army, that was still lying in that town, now immediately retired from Falkirk towards the Torwood, giving out that they would await the English there, or repeat upon them at Bannockburn the chastisement which the great Bruce had given their ancestors at the same place. The next morning the duke continued his march, all his officers and soldiers showing the greatest alacrity; but before he reached Falkirk he was informed that Charles had no intention of meeting him at Bannockburn, the Torwood, or at any other place in the south; and that the Highlanders were actually repassing the Forth with headlong speed. As the English troops marched on they saw the advanced guards retiring everywhere with the utmost precipitation; and presently they heard a most tremendous noise—two loud reports like the blowing up of powder-magazines. By this it was understood that the siege of Stirling Castle was raised, and that old Blakeney was safe. The duke forthwith detached Brigadier Mordaunt with the Cobham dragoons and the Argyllshire Highlanders to harass the retreating forces and to take possession of the town of Stirling. Mordaunt arrived at Stirling late in the evening, and found that, in blowing-up about 6000 pounds of gunpowder which they kept in the church of St. Ninians, about a mile distant, the hasty and unskilful Highlanders had killed several of the townspeople and several of their own men, had destroyed entirely the church and all the buildings near it, and broken the windows of all the houses in the place.

A great deal has been made of a memorial recommending retreat, and signed by most of the chiefs; but it is as clear as any fact in military history, that a retreat from Stirling was as imperative as it had been from Derby; and that if Charles and his favourite counsellors, Secretary Murray, Sheridan, and O'Sullivan, the quarter-master-general,—since his return from England he had scarcely deigned to consult with any others,—really proposed staying and prosecuting their miserably-conducted siege of Stirling Castle, they must have been far gone in fatuity. But we can scarcely credit that any four men could be so woefully blind as not to see the facts set down in the memorial or address of the chiefs which *was* presented to the young Pretender on the 29th of January, one day before Cumberland got even to Edinburgh, and when the Highlanders scarcely knew that he was coming, and which was signed by Lord George Murray, by the gentle Locheil, by the impetuous Keppoch, by the brave Clanronald, and by four other chiefs, including Simon Fraser, master of Lovat. "We think it our duty," said these chiefs, "in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your royal highness. We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your royal highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent; and, as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your royal highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion that there is no way to extricate your royal highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, to follow your royal highness wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved by your royal highness's friends both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the mean time, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere. The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your royal highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the river Forth,* as that your royal highness, besides the danger of

* Ray.

* Brigadier Mordaunt found, on arriving at Perth, that they had *spiked* all their heavier guns.

your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to and gone about without the loss of one moment; and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your royal highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are persuaded that your royal highness can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions."*

There was nothing to answer to this reasoning—the going off of the Highlanders must have been as well known to Charles and his quarter-master-general, as to Lord George Murray or the devoted Locheil, or to any of the chiefs that signed the paper: it was not a thing to be either concealed or invented—if there had been any attempt either to conceal the fact or to exaggerate the numbers of the deserters, a military eye would have detected it at a glance. There is, however, a story told by *one* that was about Charles's person, and resolutely determined to attribute every failure to treacherous or bad advice, and since repeated by others that seem equally determined to make the chevalier a Paladin, a real hero of chivalry—a hero even at the expense of his sanity;—and, according to this incredible tale, he, if left to his own devices, would not have retreated at all, would not have raised the siege of Stirling, but would have waited, with his army as it was, for Cumberland, in the confident hope of rivalling at Bannockburn the fame of his remote ancestor the immortal Bruce. The story is soon told in its author's own words.—"Before the retreat from Stirling a plan of battle was drawn up by Lord George Murray, and shown to Charles, who approved the plan, and corrected it with his own hand. That night Charles was unusually gay, held a council of war at Falkirk, where he was quartered, and early in the morning his aide-de-camp came to Charles's quarters with a parcel for him from Lord George. Charles was a-bed, and Mr. Hay would not allow him to be called for some time. When he got up Hay went into the room with this dispatch. Charles opened it, and found a paper signed by Lord George Murray and many of the chiefs, advising a retreat to the north as absolutely necessary; for many of the men, they alleged, were gone home, particularly the men of Glengary's regiment. When Charles read this paper, he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. His words were, Good God! have I lived to see this? He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk to signify his opinion to the chiefs against a retreat. Sheridan returned with Keppoch and several other chiefs, who were of Lord George's opinion, and argued for a retreat."*

After crossing the Forth at the ford of Frew, the Highlanders made a flight rather than a retreat; but such as kept together and obeyed orders went by Dumblane to Crieff, where a council was held. According to the Highland officer they then divided and marched in two separate corps; Charles himself with the clans, going by Tay bridge, the high road to the Highlands, and the horse and the low-countrymen going by Perth and the coast side to Aberdeen, it being agreed that they should meet again to the north of Inverness. This separation, he adds, was necessary for the easier march and better subsistence of the army.

Cumberland, who entered Stirling with the main body of his army at about one in the afternoon on the 2nd of February, or many hours after the last of the Highlanders had wetted their trews and their active limbs in the Forth at Frew, did not attempt a vain pursuit. He paid a fitting compliment to General Blakeney; he gave directions for repairing Stirling-bridge, one of the arches of which had been blown up some time before by the garrison of the castle. While this work was performing a whole company of the Irish brigade, that had deserted from Lord John Drummond, came to Stirling and delivered themselves up; and a considerable number of the rebels, who had hid themselves in holes and corners, were brought prisoners to head quarters. Even Mistress Jenny Cameron who had repaired to the Jacobite standard shortly after it was raised, riding on a bay gelding with cap and scarlet feather, and with a naked sword in her hand, and who, according to the

* The eight chiefs added,—"Nobody is privy to this address to your royal highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your royal highness that it is with great concern and reluctance we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done but the unhappy going off of so many men."—*Address from the Chiefs to Charles, in Home's Appendix.* The writer of the "Account of the Young Pretender's Operations," in the Appendix to the Lockhart Papers, says, most distinctly, that the rebel army was so reduced as to make it impossible to stay. "Next morning (*i.e.* after the affair of Falkirk Muir) an inquiry was made into the force in the town (Falkirk), and it was found that there were not 800 men, the rest having gone either from the field of battle the night before or early that morning to Stirling (where the Duke of Perth had been left to keep the garrison of the castle from sallying out to carry off the cannon and destroying the works) and other places, where officers were sent after them to endeavour to stop them, and if possible to prevail with them to stay. When they entered Scotland from England they began to desert, and, in order to prevent that, they were promised leave to go home to see their friends as they came near their own countries. Till they saw what would be the consequence of the battle they were prevailed upon to stay for some days, but were always going off." The Highland officer who kept the journal, says, with equal distinctness, that the men had been deserting daily, "so that when the Duke of Cumberland was ordered down to Scotland with a reinforcement of two regiments of foot and two of dragoons, it was judged expedient *by the prince and a council of war* to repass the Forth. Colonel O'Sullivan having wrote to Lord John Drummond to leave the siege of Stirling, and join us in the retreat, we accordingly passed the Forth at the Frew." Neither of these writers makes any mention of the strong reluctance of Charles to the retreat. That story seems to rest solely on the testimony of John Hay, a man too enthusiastic to make use of his senses, and who had pretended that even the retreat from Derby was unnecessarily forced upon the chevalier.

* Account of the retreat from Stirling by John Hay, in Home's Appendix. Hay adds that it was afterwards found that the number of men said to be absent was greatly exaggerated; but this exaggeration—at least to any extent—must, as we have already said, have been open to detection at the instant.

scandalous chronicle of the Whigs, had been to Charles what my Lady Yarmouth was to George II., was left behind in the retreat, made prisoner, and sent to Edinburgh Castle. The repairs of Stirling bridge were finished by the 4th of February, and at six o'clock in the morning Cumberland and his army crossed the Forth. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyllshire men and the dragoons, marched that day as far as Crieff; but the Duke and the main body of the infantry halted in and about Dumblane, and passed the night there. On the following day the advanced guard took quiet possession of Perth, being welcomed as deliverers by the large majority of the townspeople.* Lord John Drummond, who headed one of Charles's divisions, had evacuated the place on the 3rd of February, leaving behind him thirteen pieces of iron cannon, all spiked, and fourteen swivel guns which had been taken out of the Hazard sloop of war,† which, together with a considerable quantity of ammunition, he threw into the river Tay. There were also found several works which had been thrown up by Lord Strathallan for the defence of the place. The swivel guns were easily discovered and fished up. On the 6th the Duke of Cumberland, with the main body, reached Perth, where he remained several days.

While he was thus advancing in Scotland against the rebels there happened a ministerial revolution at London. The Duke of Newcastle and his more important brother, Mr. Pelham, who was prime minister, had both pledged themselves to Pitt to get him into office as secretary-at-war, and, urged on by the hot impatience of that able and aspiring man, and suspecting that the king, who had never withdrawn his confidence from Lord Granville (Carteret), was intending to place that ex-minister at the head of affairs, they demanded in a peremptory manner an office for Pitt. On the 6th of February Lord Bath (Pulteney) announced that the king would not employ Mr. Pitt as secretary-at-war—that he, himself, had advised his majesty to negative that appointment, and that if Mr. Pitt was forced into that office his majesty was fully resolved never to transact business with him or admit him to his presence. "The ministry," says Horace Walpole, "then gave up that point; but, finding that a change had been made in a scheme of foreign politics which they had laid before the king, and for which he had thanked them; and perceiving some symptoms of a resolution to dismiss them at the end of the session, they came to a sudden determination not to do Lord Granville's business by carrying the supplies, and then to be turned out: so on Monday morning, to the astonishment of every body, the two secretaries of state* threw up the seals, and the next day Mr. Pelham, with the rest of the treasury, the Duke of Bedford with the admiralty, Lord Gower, privy seal, and Lord Pembroke, groom of the stole, gave up too: the Dukes of Devonshire, Grafton, and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, Winnington, paymaster, and almost all the other great officers and offices, declaring they would do the same. Lord Granville immediately received both seals, one for himself and the other to give to whom he pleased. Lord Bath was named first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Carlisle privy seal; and Lord Winchelsea re-instated in the admiralty. Thus far all went swimmingly; they had only forgot one little point, which was, to secure a majority in both Houses. In the Commons they unluckily found that they had no better man to take the lead than poor Sir John Rushout, for Sir John Barnard refused to be chancellor of the exchequer; so did Lord Chief Justice Willes to be lord chancellor; and the wildness of the scheme soon prevented others, who did not wish ill to Lord Granville, or well to the Pelhams, from giving in to it."† While this sudden and mad Granville ministry found that there was no chance of obtaining a majority in either House, and that courtiers and placemen were running a race to resign their white staves and golden keys, Hoppe, the Dutch ambassador, made matters worse by declaring that the States General, which could have no confidence in such a cabinet, would be almost sure to accept terms offered by France, and leave England to manage the war without their alliance. Lord Bath, whose ambition and avarice were now counted equally great, had not courage to undertake the treasury, and on Wednesday morning he went to the king and told him he had tried the House of Commons and *found it would not do.* "The poor king," adds Walpole, "who, from being fatigued with the Duke of Newcastle, and sick of Pelham's timidity and compromises, had given in to this mad hurly-burly of alterations, was confounded with having floundered to no purpose, and to find himself more than ever in the power of men he hated, shut himself up in his closet, and refused to admit any more of the persons who were pouring in upon him with white sticks and golden keys, commissions, &c. At last he sent for Winnington, and told him he was the only honest man about him, and he should have the honour of the reconciliation, and sent him to Mr. Pelham to desire they would all return to their employments.

* "It is here to be observed," writes Volunteer Ray, whose facts are generally more correct than his rhetorical figures, "and I believe not history can show a more illustrious instance of the effects of a general's reputation, that, in the space of one single week, his royal highness quitted the court of the king his father, put himself at the head of his troops in Scotland, and saw the enemy flying with precipitation before him; so that it may be said, that his progress was like lightning,—the rebels *fled at the flash*, fearing the *thunder* that was to follow."

† The Hazard sloop had been surprised and captured by the Highlanders at Montrose in the preceding month of November.

* The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington.—Newcastle, as usual with him, hung back at the critical moment: Harrington, who was ever afterwards hated by George, threw up the seals first, on Monday morning the 10th of February, and Newcastle, half reluctantly, followed his example in the evening of the same day. Neither of these men nor any of the rest—whether their friends or their opponents—could have cared very much about the dangerous state of their country, threatened with invasion from abroad and with a civil war still raging at home! Their objects were all personal—to keep or to gain power and its profits, to help themselves, their brothers, and cousins, and to circumvent their rivals.

† Letter to Horace Mann.

Lord Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks, and owns it was mad, and owns he would do it again to-morrow."

But the Pelhams and their adherents, who had great advantages to secure to themselves from the false move he had made, would not return to their posts without driving a hard bargain with their perplexed and bewildered master. They demanded that Lord Bath should be removed from the cabinet, and that his few dependents who had places should be deprived of them; that Lord Barrington and Mr. Legge should both have seats at the board of admiralty; that Mr. James Grenville should have a seat at the board of trade, and that Mr. Pitt should be in the war office; and George, however unwilling, was obliged to accede to these demands—but mitigated in one essential; for, as he passionately declared that he would risk everything rather than make Pitt secretary-at-war, they agreed that, for the present, the terrible orator should be only joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; and *he* who had so often proclaimed that he would never accept anything less than the war secretaryship was fain to rest satisfied with this lucrative office. The Irish vice-treasurership was little more than a sinecure; and, if there had been much work attached to it, Pitt was incompetent to the performance of such duties; for, with all his genius and abilities, he was not, and he never became, a man of business. He seemed to have been born solely to make splendid speeches and to overthrow by oratory—which, by itself, can never *make* a government—an infinite variety and long succession of administrations. Such as it was, this Irish office had an immediate and wonderful effect on the *patriot*: his old themes for declamation were dropped; Hanover and Hanoverian interests ceased to be his bugbears, subsidies to foreign powers were no longer his abominations; and, in a brief space of time from his swallowing the well gilded pill* of the Irish vice-treasurership, he spoke and voted for the grants of 400,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary, 300,000*l.* to the King of Sardinia, and 310,000*l.* for 18,000 *Hanoverian troops!*

The Duke of Cumberland, who was advised by letter of the sudden breaking up of the Pelham administration, and who could scarcely imagine that the Granville ministry was to last only *forty-eight hours*, wrote to the king, his father, to express his deep concern at proceedings which, in his eyes, seemed to threaten the dissolution of the Whig interest that had placed and maintained his family on the throne. But his anxieties were soon removed, for he received the news of the restoration of the Pelhams, while he lay with his army at Perth—and then, without fear for the Whigs in England, he prepared to crush the Ultra-Tories or Jacobites in Scotland. He detached 500 foot and some Whig Highlanders to Dunkeld, under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; sent forward Colonel Leighton with a similar detachment to Castle Menzies, and then continued his own march, with the main body, to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 26th of February. Scarcely a Highlander with the white cockade was seen anywhere; the rebel army seemed to have vanished into thin air; but here and there the Duke's exploring parties discovered and made prize of muskets, bayonets, ball and gunpowder, hid among the mountain-heather or buried in the snow-heaps. It began to be generally believed, not only in London, but at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, that the war was over, that the young Pretender had fled back to France, and that the clans would not again attempt to make head anywhere. Nevertheless considerable reinforcements—including the 6000 Hessians—continued to be sent to Perth, or still farther to the north, to join the Duke. Meanwhile Charles had reached Inverness, which was in no disposition to bid him welcome. Lord Loudon lay there with a little army steady to King George, and protected from attack by a ditch and a palisade. The Chevalier therefore turned aside to Moy Castle, ten miles from the town of Inverness, and, while there with only a few of his followers, Loudon *almost* succeeded in making him prisoner by a night attack. Yet, a day or two after this attempt, the Highlanders gathered in such numbers round him at Moy Castle that Charles felt himself strong enough to attack Loudon at Inverness; and on the 18th of February his lordship found it expedient to withdraw his men and to cross the ferry of Kessock into Ross-shire. The Lord President, Duncan Forbes, who had remained at his chosen post at Inverness, doing everything that man could do for a blundering and an ungrateful government, accompanied Loudon in this retreat, and shared in his subsequent hardships and dangers. It is impossible to read without astonishment and indignation this true patriot's account of his own doings, and the no-doings or misdoings of the government. He and Loudon had exhausted both their purse and their credit, yet still the mercenary statesmen of the day, that could give, and were giving, away thousands to stop the tongues of their opponents in parliament, would, for a long time, send neither money nor arms to Inverness! "What distressed us most," said Forbes, "and was the real cause why the rebels ever came to a head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms and money, which, God knows, had been long enough called for and expected: had these come in due time, we could have armed a force sufficient to have prevented their looking at us on this side Drumuachter."*

Upon Loudon's retreat into Ross-shire, the Chevalier entered the town of Inverness; and from that day, as Home observes, the war assumed a new form. Siege was laid to Fort George, which surrendered in two or three days; and from this exploit, which put them in possession of sixteen

* "The nation's digestion," says Horace Walpole, "has been much facilitated by the pill given to Pitt, of vice-treasurer of Ireland."

* Letter to Mr. G. Ross, in Culloden Papers.

pieces of artillery and a considerable stock of provisions and ammunition, the Highlanders marched away thirty-two miles from Inverness, and laid siege to Fort Augustus, battering its walls with the heavy guns they had just taken at Fort George. In a very few days the flag of the Stuart floated over Fort Augustus. Locheil and General Stapleton were then sent, with the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the Stuarts of Appin, and 300 of the French-Irish piquets, towards the western end of the chain of forts, to lay siege to Fort William. But this enterprise was not destined to be so successful: the way was long, the roads and mountain-paths were steep and terrible; the heavy guns had, in many places, to be drawn by the men; and it was the 20th of March ere Stapleton and Locheil could get them placed in battery before the fort. But, in the mean time, while snow and ice impeded Cumberland's advance, and the cutting, cruel March winds, doubly cruel on that north-eastern coast, blew life and spirit out of the English troops (accustomed to the old routine of winter-quarters), the hardier Highlanders, indifferent to the inclemencies of the season, carried on a series of attacks and expeditions. The clans of Mackinnon and Macgregor, the Borisdale men, and some others, under the command of Lord Cromartie, burst into Ross-shire to dislodge Lord Loudon, and, as this force was not found sufficient, as Loudon's and Duncan Forbes's independent companies stood their ground against it, Lord George Murray followed and joined Cromartie with the Macdonalds of Clanronald and other clans. Loudon and the Lord President were then compelled to retreat across the Dornoch Frith into Sutherland. Leaving the Duke of Perth to look after Loudon, Lord George Murray flew back to Inverness, and from Inverness to the mountains of Badenoch, where they overlook Atholl and the lowlands of Aberdeen. On those rugged, snow-covered heights he was joined by Macpherson of Cluny, with 300 Macphersons, who knew all the sly passes and every bit of the country before them, and who brought news that several detachments of Argyllshire men, and some advanced posts of Cumberland's regulars, had come forward from Aberdeen into Atholl, and were now cantoned in farm-houses and inns considerably apart from each other. It was presently resolved by Lord George and by Cluny, who had already taken care to guard the passes, and so prevent any warning being carried from Badenoch to Atholl, to surprise these scattered corps, and cut them off by a simultaneous attack at all points. This was precisely the service for which the Highlanders were best fitted. On the approach of evening 700 men, of different clans, were set in motion from Dalwhinnie; at Drumuachter, or Drumochter, they were separated into many parties, and so they proceeded, under cover of night and in perfect silence,—their habitual activity, vigilance, and caution increased by a promise made by Lord George Murray to give a guinea to every man that should surprise a sentinel at his post. They succeeded in nearly every attack; killed a few, and at the appointed time rejoined Lord George at the bridge of Bruer with some scores of prisoners.* The castle of Blair, where Sir Andrew Agnew was now quartered with a considerable number of officers, was only two miles from the bridge of Bruer. As soon as the Highlanders had come in to the rendezvous, he marched to attack the castle, but the shot of his two small field-pieces made no impression upon walls seven feet thick; and he converted his siege into a blockade, believing that the place was badly victualled, and that hunger would soon open the gates. But Sir Andrew Agnew and his friends preferred eating horse-flesh to surrendering; and, though the blockade lasted eighteen or twenty days, it failed completely. The Duke of Perth had better success with Lord Loudon, who, after losing some men, was again compelled to shift his quarters. Loudon, with about 800 men, and Duncan Forbes, and Macleod of Macleod, quitted the main-land, and went over to the Isle of Skye: the rest of his independent companies dispersed in different directions.

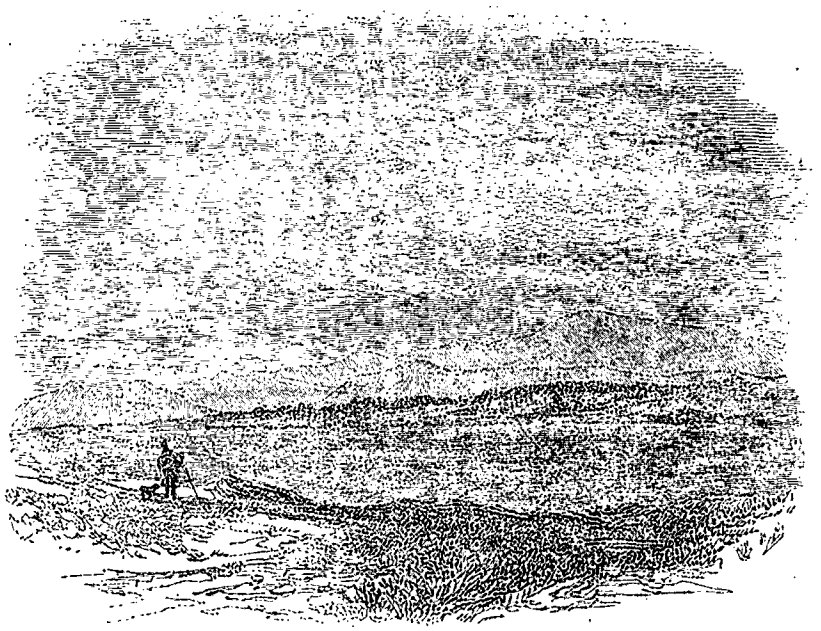
But, though the rebel clans had been thus allowed to make head, the king's troops were gradually closing upon them, and shutting them up within their hungry mountains, while the king's ships were intercepting the inadequate supplies sent from France. "The French," says Horace Walpole, "continue to drop a ship or two: we have taken two, with the Duke of Berwick's brother on board: it seems evident that they design to keep up our disturbances as long as possible, to prevent our sending any troops to Flanders." The Hazard sloop, a fast sailing vessel, which, as mentioned above, had been captured by the Highlanders, and sent once or twice to France, re-appeared at this critical juncture, having on board a considerable sum of money for Charles's use, and

* "About break of day, before any of the parties had joined Lord George at the place of rendezvous, or any account had been received of their success, a common fellow, from the town of Blair, came to the bridge of Bruer and informed Lord George Murray that Sir Andrew Agnew had got his men under arms, and was coming to see who they were that attacked his posts. When Lord George and Cluny received this notice they had with them only twenty-five private men and some elderly gentlemen. They consulted together what should be done. Some advised that, without loss of time, they should make the best of their way back to Drumochter; others were of opinion that it would be better to mount the hills that were nearest, and make their retreat by roads where they could not easily be followed. Lord George differed from everybody who had given his opinion. 'If I quit my post,' said he, 'all the parties I have sent out, as they come in, will fall into the hands of the enemy.'" It was daylight, but the sun was not up. Lord George, looking earnestly about him, observed a feal dyke (that is, a wall of sod or turf) which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished: it was of considerable length, and cut in two a field that was near the bridge. He ordered his men to follow him, and drew them up behind the dyke at such a distance one from another that they might make a great show, having the colours of both regiments flying in their front. He then gave orders to the pipers (for he had with him all the pipers both of the Atholl-men and the Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear to strike up all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiment came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy pibrochs. Lord George Murray and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drew their swords and brandished them about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing awhile at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about and marched them back to the castle of Blair. Lord George Murray kept his post at the bridge till several of his parties came in."—*Home.*

120 men and 20 officers, mostly Irish, in the service of Spain. An English cruiser caught sight of her on the 25th of March, and, after a long chase, drove her ashore on the coast of Sutherland, where some of Loudon's companies and some of the Mackays, raised and regimented by Lord Reay, took both the men and the money. The chevalier was again reduced almost to his last Louis-d'or, and compelled to pay his troops in oatmeal or barley-meal. "This loss at this critical time," says the Highland officer, "contributed much to all our future misfortunes, we being at this time in great want of pay, which we had got very regularly before. Our men now got no pay in money, but meal only, which the men being obliged to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and were suspicious that we, the officers, had detained it from them." But the officers were, in reality, as poor as the men, and reduced to subsist on whatever coarse food they could beg, borrow, or steal. The Frenchmen and all the adventurers that had come from France and Spain were worn out and utterly disheartened. As *their* lives were safe, they would generally have preferred a surrender to a continuance of such a war in such a country; and even under more favourable circumstances the life and manners of the Highlanders were exceedingly distasteful to them. As the cold winds of March had dried the ground and rendered the rivers fordable, and as the weather became milder, the army of King George began to draw still more closely round the Highlanders; and they effectually closed the passes into the low country, where alone provisions and money could be obtained. General Bland lay at Strathbogie, Mordaunt at Old Meldrum, and the Duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen, with strong advanced posts in various directions. As it was believed his royal highness would march very soon to attack Charles in his head-quarters at Inverness, all the detached corps of the Highlanders were called in and united on that point. Lord George Murray was thus compelled to give up his blockade of Blair Castle, and Locheil and Stapleton their siege of Fort William. Lord George carried his two light pieces back with him, but Stapleton found it necessary to spike his heavy guns. Cumberland had got up to Perth the 6000 Hessians, who, however, according to his own account, behaved sadly.* Overwhelming as was his force, the duke resolved to proceed with extreme caution. He waited till the southerly wind brought up to Aberdeen a fleet of transports with Bligh's regiment, firing, and provision. Then, upon the report of two officers that the river Spey was fordable, he put his troops in motion on the 7th of April; and on the next day he himself marched from Aberdeen with six battalions of foot and Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons. He kept to the sea-coast road, having his right flanked by the English fleet. "It being fine weather," says Ray, "our transports moved with us close along shore, with a gentle breeze and a fair wind." The first night Cumberland quartered at Old Meldrum, and the next evening he got to Banff, where he gave the army a day's rest, and hanged two Highland prisoners. "Here," says Ray, "two rebel spies were taken; the one was notching on a stick the number of our forces, for which he was hanged on a tree in the town; and the other a little out of town; and, for want of a tree, was hanged on what they call the ridging-tree of a house, that projected out from the end, and on his breast was fixed, in writing.—*A rebel spy.*" Every day summary executions of this kind took place; so that Cumberland's line of march and his halting places were to be traced by gibbets. His troops also set fire to the chapels of the episcopalian Scots, who had always given unequivocal proofs of Jacobitism. From Banff Cumberland proceeded to Cullen, and from Cullen to Fochabers, on the right bank of the Spey, seldom losing sight of the men-of-war and transports. On approaching the Spey he saw the shipping discharging some shot at a party of rebel hussars beyond the river, and discovered on the left bank of the Spey a considerable body of Charles's army, with his white flags displayed. This division was under the command of Lord John Drummond, and consisted in good part of the men he had brought over with him from France. Lord John had raised a battery to sweep the ford, and he stationed some of his best marksmen along the bank, who fired across the river, "kneeling and taking sight as at a blackbird."* But neither his battery nor his men could stand against the numerous and well-appointed artillery of the duke; and, after setting fire to his barracks and huts, Lord John Drummond retreated and left his enemies to pass at a narrow and slippery ford—which they did with no greater loss than that of a dragoon and a woman, who fell from her horse and was swept down the rapid river and drowned. On Sunday, the 13th of April, the English and their allies advanced on the left bank of the Spey to the Muir of Alves, and encamped near the parish church. "About this time," says Ray, "a great many of the rebels deserted and came to his royal highness with their arms." On Monday, the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, about seventeen miles from Alves, the van being led by part of the Argyllshire men, some companies of grenadiers, and Kingston's lighthorse. On coming up to the bridge of Nairn, this van found that Lord George Drummond's rear had not left the town, and there

* Letter from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, in Archdeacon Coxe's Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, collected from the family papers and other authentic documents. In this epistle his royal highness is in an absolute fury against all the Scots, whether Highlanders or Lowlanders. He prepares us to expect the detestable severities he exercised as soon as he was able. Apparently not being able to see beyond the district he was in, he says—"All in this country are almost to a man Jacobites; *and mild measures will not do*; . . . . . were I to enumerate the villains and villainies this country abounds in, I should never have done.'

* So says Volunteer Ray, who adds that he was nearly shot by these sharpshooters.



Culloden (or Drummossie) Moor.

was a short skirmish with muskets on the bridge between Drummond's Irish piquets and the English grenadiers. When Lord John Drummond's men quitted the town of Nairn their retreat was covered by two troops of horse, and they ran as fast as their legs could carry them to a place called the Loch of the Clans, some five or six miles beyond Nairn. At that point the young Pretender very unexpectedly came up in person from Inverness with the clan Macintosh and some of his guards; and then the English pursuers, seeing themselves out-numbered, fled in their turn, and hardly stopped till they rejoined the main body of the army, which was now encamped on a plain to the west of the town of Nairn. That night Charles took up his lodging in Culloden House, the seat of Duncan Forbes, his troops lying out upon the moor, where the heather served both for bedding and fuel, the cold being very severe.* Early on the following morning, the 15th of April, the Highlanders rose from their rough bed, and, expecting an attack, they formed in order of battle upon Drummossie Muir, a part of the Culloden plain, and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden House. The gentle Locheil, with the bold Camerons, had joined in the course of the preceding night; but Cluny, with the Macphersons, was still away in Badenoch; Lord Cromartie, with about 700 men, and also Mackinnon, Glengyle, and Borisdale, with their clans, were still in Sutherland, where Duncan Forbes and Loudon had made work for them; and the Master of Lovat, with the Frasers, had gone up to his father's country. Yet, it is said, notwithstanding all these deficiencies it was resolved *by*, or *for*, the Highlanders, that they should stand their ground, and seek rather than avoid an action. They kept looking across the moor in the expectation of seeing Cumberland's columns; but, when mid-day came and not a red coat was seen, Lord Elcho was detached with his troops of horse to reconnoitre.* His lordship soon returned with intelligence that the English were halting at Nairn, and that, as it was the Duke of Cumberland's birthday, the troops were keeping a feast and a holiday, drinking, and singing, and showing no intention of moving forward. The generality of accounts state the fact differently; but we believe that it was Elcho's intelligence which really induced the Highlanders to stay where they were, instead of falling back upon Inverness to strengthen themselves with the junction of Lord Cromartie, Mackinnon, Cluny, Fraser, and the rest; we believe that they were completely fascinated by the prospect of making a night surprise and attack upon a drunken camp*—that, when this surprise failed, as it did, they stood and fought without their clans in the rear, because they could not avoid a battle, because the men worn out with a long night march and

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, as cited by Lord Mahon.

* The Highland Officer says—"In the evening it was resolved in a council of war that we should march under cloud of night and attack the enemy in their camp at Naira, judging that, this being the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, his army would make merry and be less prepared for a surprise."

counter march were too tired to run, and because a retreat, with the English now close at their heels, must have been more dangerous and bloody than even an unequal action. It is recorded that upon Lord Elcho's report a council of war was assembled; that there Charles made a speech, and proposed a march with all the forces he had with him, and to make a night attack; that the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond expressed their dislike of the project; that Locheil, a man of few words, said it would be better to wait till the morrow, when their army would be stronger by at least 1500 men; that Lord George Murray insisted and enlarged upon the advantages of a night attack, which would render artillery and cavalry—in which the superiority of Cumberland's army chiefly consisted—of little service; and that it was finally agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that could be done in their present circumstances, as they were almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions.* It is said, indeed, that on that day the poor Highlanders got no other food than a single biscuit a man.† To quiet their murmurs they had been promised payment of all their arrears two days before a battle; and now that they were drawn up in battle array there was not a farthing to give them. "This," says the Highland Officer, "made the fellows refractory and more negligent of their duty." When the council of war rose and the officers and chiefs returned to their regiments and clans, they found that many of their men had gone off to Inverness in order to get something to eat. These poor famishing fellows were followed along the road and intreated to return; but they told their officers that they might shoot them if they pleased, but that they would not go back till they had got some food. By this time it was between six and seven o'clock, and the army was appointed to march at eight. Many were of opinion that the hunger defection ought to put an end to the design; but Charles, it appears, thought otherwise, and ordered Lord George Murray to put himself at the head of the men that remained and march upon Nairn with all the speed possible. "Accordingly," says one of the actors, "we set out about eight o'clock that night, with express orders to observe the profoundest silence in our march. Our word was, 'King James the Eighth.' We were likewise forbid in the attack to make any use of our fire arms, but only of sword, dirk, and bayonet, to cut the tent strings and pull down the poles, *and where we observed a swelling or bulge in the fallen tents there we were to strike and push vigorously.*"‡ The river Nairn passes within half a mile of Drummossie muir, where the Highlanders had been spending the day, and runs from that point directly east to the town of Nairn, which stands upon the north bank of the river. The distance from the muir to the town was about twelve miles by the regular road; but considerably farther by the route which part of the Highland army were instructed to take—for Lord George Murray intended to divide his troops at Kilravock and to cross the river with the van some two or three miles above Nairn, in order to attack Cumberland both in flank and rear as well as in front. The whole army marched from Culloden in a long irregular line, with an interval in the middle, as if there had been two columns, one following the other. Lord George Murray was in the front with the Atholl brigade; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval in the middle, and Lord John Drummond was in the rear. The night was very dark, yet, to avoid some houses on the highway, they quitted the road, and struck aside through some very wet and heavy ground, which retarded their march, and caused the men, hungry and in a bad humour when they started, to murmur and to curse and swear. Those in the rear moved so slowly that they were left far behind. An officer forced his way to the front and ordered the van to halt; but the van would not halt, and the rear was left more and more behind. Other orders were sent to the front, and then Lord George Murray made his men go somewhat slower; but, as the rear moved slower still, they continued to lose ground. Lord George afterwards said himself he was positive he was stopped by aides-de-camp and other officers fifty times before he had marched six miles. It was now two o'clock in the morning. By this time most of the officers of distinction had got to the van, and, for the first time, there was a general and regular halt. It is said that Lord John Drummond, who had repeatedly whispered to Lord George Murray before, now said aloud to his lordship—"Why will you go on? there is a gap in the line half a mile long; the men wo'n't come up,"—and that then Lord George for the first time ordered the halt. They had calculated upon being at Nairn by two o'clock, but even in a straight line that town was still some three or four miles off, and the rear was still far behind, and without any alacrity or spirit. "Several of the officers," says Lord George Murray, "that came from the rear, assured us that many of the men had left the ranks and had laid down, particularly in the wood of Kilravock. This must have been occasioned by faintness for want of food, for it could not be weariness in a six miles' march. . . . . What I am persuaded is, that, if all the line had marched as quickly as the four or five first regiments, they might all have been at or near Nairn by two in the morning; but even the van, as the thing happened, was four full miles from Nairn at two in the morning. . . . . At the halt all the principal officers who were come to the van agreed that the thing was now *impossible*. A surprise was designed, but now it was palpable they could not, even by a quick march, advance two miles before day-break, so that they must be for two miles in the enemies' sight before they could come at them: add to this that the officers were also convinced that they

* Home.

† "On Tuesday the 15th," says the Highland Officer, "we lay under our arms upon the hill all day expecting the enemy, without any other provision but a sea biscuit to each man."

‡ Journal of Highland Officer.

had not half of the men that had been drawn up the day before." * Lord George, on whose honour and veracity we are disposed to rely, says that Charles never came up to the front, but sent O'Sullivan with a message, importing that his royal highness would be very glad to have the attack made, but that Lord George was the best judge whether it could be made in time or not. Charles, on the other hand, afterwards said that upon the army's halting he rode up to the front to inquire the reason, and was there and then convinced by Lord George Murray of the unavoidable necessity of retreating.† Great pains have been taken to prove that the Chevalier was determined to make the attack, or, in other words, to prove that he was mad; and that Lord George Murray, in defiance of his authority, insisted upon returning. It is scarcely worth examining whether the young Pretender wanted to make a *night* attack, with such a force, in broad *daylight* or not. According to Murray, every officer present declared against such an insane step; and only Mr. Hepburn of Keith, the gentleman volunteer, who had conducted Charles into Holyrood House, was of opinion that the attack might be made, arguing that though it were daylight the red coats would be drunk with solemnising the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. Lord George says distinctly that there was not one officer present but agreed that the best thing to do was to get back to Culloden as fast as possible, in order that the tired men might have some hours' refreshment; and, repeating the assertion that Charles was not come up to the front, he adds that he was actually a mile behind, so that it would have wasted a considerable time to send backward and forward to him for orders. "I am certain," says his lordship, "as things were situated, had we advanced from Kilravock to Nairn, it would have been near five before we could have reached it, and made the dispositions that it would have been requisite to have made in our army before we attacked the enemy. No person who knows the truth can find fault with this retreat. Our design was a surprise and an attack before break of day. I never yet heard of one man who thought it was to have been done in another way. We had not half of our men; and it was found impossible to make the attack in the time proposed." Home, who seems to rely on some tradition (and he does not here furnish any documentary evidence), says that *several* of the officers advised a retreat, as daylight was so near; that *others* declared themselves for marching forward, and that Mr. Hepburn, in particular, urged Lord George to order the men to march on as fast as they could. "While Mr. Hepburn was speaking a drum beat. Don't you hear? said Lord George. The enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them. I never expected, said Mr. Hepburn, to find them asleep; but it is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition than we are now." * But though Hepburn was a brave man he was no general, and, if he really said these words, it is nevertheless certain that the whole hope of the Highlanders lay in taking the English army by surprise, and finding them, if not all dead asleep in their tents, stupified with drink. It is said moreover by Home himself —and the fact is exceedingly probable—that the Duke of Cumberland had certain information of this night march towards Nairn, from several people in his pay who spoke the Highland language, wore the Highland dress, mixed with the rebels as they marched, and stole away from them at different times—a thing easy to do in the darkness, and when so many were lying down from exhaustion in the wood or lagging behind. Volunteer Ray, who was in Nairn at the time, says simply—"The rebels expecting to find us merry marched to attack us in our camp; but, not arriving in due time, and our men being got under arms, they returned without making us a visit." All accounts agree that the Highland army hurried back whence it had come, and that most of them were at or near Culloden by five in the morning. But the Duke of Cumberland, with his men fresh and vigorous, and well fed, was close behind them, having marched away from Nairn between four and five. Orders had been given for collecting some meat and drink on the field; but either the supply was insufficient, or it did not arrive in time; for many of the Highlanders slipped off in search of food. Others, exhausted by hunger and want of sleep, fell upon the moor, as if careless whether the English dragoons rode over them or not. "By this means," says the Highland officer, "we wanted in the action at least one-third of our best men, and of those who did engage many had hurried all the way from Inverness." Perhaps the desperate, tired condition of the men had as much to do as the folly of Charles and his favourite advisers, Sheridan and O'Sullivan, in defeating a plan suggested by Lord George Murray. This plan was to march to some good ground upon the south side of the water of Nairn, to draw the Duke of Cumberland up afterwards to passes in the mountains, and to prolong the war in the very heart of the Highlands. Overlooking too much, perhaps, the present condition of their troops, and the future difficulty of victualling them, Lord George says—"Why what I have now mentioned was not performed, let them answer, who were determined against a hill campaign, as they called it. What I can aver is, that myself and most of the clans, at least all those I spoke with, were for this operation; and his royal highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It's true *Sir Thomas Sheridan*, &c., could not have undergone it; so we were obliged

* Letter from Lord G. Murray, calling himself De Vallignie, to W. Hamilton, Esq., in Home's Appendix.

† See Charles's answers to queries presented, at the request of Home, by Geddes, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, in Home's Appendix.

* Home.

to be undone for their ease. As to provisions, had I been allowed to have any direction, we would not have wanted (though perhaps not the best) for years, as long as there were cattle in the Highlands or *meal* in the Lowlands."

In the mean while the English army was coming on with a broad front, divided into three columns of five battalions each, with the artillery and baggage following the first column on the right, which moved by the sea-coast, and with the cavalry covering the left wing, which stretched towards the hills. The men were in the best spirits, and even the dragoons that had fled at Colt Brigg, at Prestonpans, and Falkirk, seemed fully determined never to fly again. About eight o'clock a Cameron, one of Locheil's lieutenants, who had been left dead asleep in Kilravock wood, when the halt had been made, came running into Culloden House and informed Charles and his principal officers, who were taking a little rest in Duncan Forbes's mansion, that the English were in full march. Thereupon hurried orders were issued to move the fatigued and sadly thinned regiments to a part of Culloden moor, about half a mile to the west of the place where they had been drawn up in battle array the day before. The Highlanders formed in two lines with a body of reserve. Great discontent was given to one of the bravest and most powerful of the clans, whose superstitions were excited as much as their honour and pride were piqued. "We of the clan MacDonald," says the Highland Officer, "thought it ominous we had not this day the right hand in battle as formerly, and as we engaged in this enterprise when the events proved successful, as at Prestonpans and Falkirk, and in which our clans maintained we had engaged in all our battles and struggles in behalf of our royal family since the battle of Bannockburn, on which glorious day Robert the Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus MacDonald, Lord of the Isles, as a reward for his never-to-be-forgot fidelity to that brave prince, in protecting him for above nine months in his country of Ruchlin, Isla, and Uist, as the same name has done since to his royal successor Prince Charles."* Instead of the MacDonalds the Atholl brigade had the right of the first line; in the centre stood the Camerons of Locheil, the Stuarts of Appin, the Frasers, the MacIntoshes, the MacLauchlans, the MacLeans, the Fergusons, and the Roy Stuarts; and on the extreme left were the MacDonalds, who formed three regiments under their respective chiefs, Clan Ronald, Keppoch, and Glengary. Lord George Murray, incomparably the best of Charles's generals, commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left. The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's regiment, which had the right of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's, Lord John Dummond's, and the Irish piquets, who stood on the extreme left. This second line was commanded by Stapleton. On the right of the first line, and somewhat behind it, were two or three troops of horse—nearly all that remained in the service, or that remained mounted, for the rapid marches and counter-marches, the sad roads of the Highlands, and the sadder want of proper forage had knocked up all the rest of the horses.—The body of reserve, in which Charles placed himself on a small eminence, behind the right of the second line, consisted of Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot guards, and some two or three dozen of horse, the miserable remnant of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallan's cavalry. The right flank of the Highland army was covered with a strong stone wall. It appears that the Duke of Cumberland hardly expected that the Highlanders would stand for a battle; but he found them arranged in this order when he came up with them at about eleven o'clock. He halted within half a mile of their first line, and then formed his columns into two lines of foot, with a morass on his right, between him and the sea shore, which secured that flank. He placed two of his regiments of dragoons and four companies of Argyllshire Highlanders on his left, to fall upon the enemy's right; and, in addition to his two lines, he formed a very strong body of reserve with the Duke of Kingston's horse, the rest of the Argyllshire foot, and two or three English regiments. The Scots Royals had the right of the first line, and Burrell's regiment, which had behaved so well at Falkirk, had the left of the foot. In the second line, which, like the first, consisted of six full regiments, Howard's regiment had the right and Wolfe's the left; but when the battle began one or two other regiments were brought forward from the reserve, and placed on the left by the side of Wolfe's, and additional squadrons of horse were sent to the flanks of both lines. Ten pieces of well served artillery were placed in the intervals between the regiments of the front line: the right flank was commanded by Major General Bland, the left by Lord Ancram, the centre by the Earl of Albemarle:—this was the front line. In the second line the Duke of Cumberland was on the right, and his favourite General Hawley on the left. While these dispositions were making, and each army was trying to outflank the other, there set in a heavy shower of rain, "which," says Volunteer Ray, "was very discouraging, remembering the Falkirk affair." But this time the English had the wind and the rain at their backs, and the Highlanders in their faces. When the English came within five or six hundred paces of the enemy they got upon soft and boggy ground, which was also calculated to revive unpleasant recollections; but, when the artillery horses and the heavy guns stuck fast in the mire, the soldiers cheerfully slung their firelocks and dragged the cannon across the bog with the strength of their own arms. While this was doing the weather grew fair, and the Highlanders from behind a strip of old wall began to fire with their cannon. But their pieces were so badly served and so badly pointed that they did no other mischief than carrying off the leg of a common

* Lockhart Papers.

soldier in Bligh's regiment. At about one o'clock Cumberland commenced replying to this cannonade; and, as his guns were exceedingly well served, they made a slaughter-house of the Highlanders' irregular and crazy battery, cutting at the same time lanes through some of the clan regiments. It was with extreme difficulty that Lord George Murray and his officers could keep their men in their positions to face this murderous fire; —the Highlanders wanted to run, but forward and not backward from the field; they wanted to take the cannon with the broadsword, as they had done at Prestonpans. "Not liking this way of fighting," says Ray, who was in the English front, "they came running forward in their furious wild way on our right, where his royal highness had placed himself to receive them, imagining the greatest push would be there: they came down three several times within a hundred yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but our soldiers appeared as if they took little notice of their bravadoes." The cannonade lasted nearly an hour, during which time Cumberland made several changes in the disposition of his army; the most important of which was bringing up Wolfe's regiment from the second line, where the men were standing in water up to their ankles, to the front line, and there placing them, *en potence*, or forward at a right angle from the left flank, so as to make a new front, and to fire upon the flank of the Highlanders if they should come forward in full force. The duke then placed himself in the front of Howard's regiment between the two lines, and Colonel Belford, who had the charge of the artillery, threw some ball, so well that they broke ground in the midst of Charles's reserve, bespattered the Chevalier's face with dirt, and killed one of his attendants. Upon seeing that masses of the Highlanders were breaking from their centre and right to come forward, Belford, who had been using common cannon-ball, loaded his field-pieces with grape-shot. The clan MacIntosh came right on to the English centre, but the fire of the field-pieces and the small arms of the 21st regiment made them incline to the right; other clans, however, advanced to their support; and then, in spite of grape-shot and musketry in front, and the flank fire from Wolfe's regiment, they fired their pieces, threw down their muskets, and attacked the English left, sword in hand, broke through Burrel's regiment in the first line, and pushed forward, through the gap they had made, on the second line; but there they were checked by Sempill's regiment, which, kneeling down, reserved their fire till they came close up, and then, with their bayonets fixed, gave a terrible discharge, that brought a great many of them to the ground. Most of those who did not fall turned back after they had killed Lord Robert Kerr and some twenty men. A few of the most desperate still pressed on with their broadswords and targets to break into Sempill's regiment; but not a man of them could succeed; they all dropped at the point of the well-directed bayonets.* It was calculated that from four to five hundred of them fell dead or desperately wounded between the two lines of the English army. This was, in fact, almost all the fighting; the rest of the operations at Culloden and beyond it were little more than pursuit, slaughter, and butchery. When the regiments on the right of the Highland first line made this attack, the regiments on the left of that line, the Fergusons and the three MacDonald clans, who thought that they ought to have been on the right, did not accompany the forward movement, but hung back till the MacIntoshes were goring themselves on the English bayonets. Then they came forward, gave a general discharge, threw down their muskets, and drew their claymores; but the grape-shot and the musket-shot, right in their teeth, made them pause, and, when the MacDonalds saw the MacIntoshes running back from the gap they had made, they also went off, pursued by some English dragoons. The Irish piquets in Charles's second line fired upon the dragoons, and made them either halt or wheel about. Through this timely check the MacDonalds, the Fergusons, and all that remained of the MacIntoshes, got back to the main body, which was now formed into one single line instead of two. But in another direction Cumberland's cavalry performed a more important service than the dragoons that had pursued the MacDonalds. General Hawley, with four companies of the Campbells of Argyllshire, had succeeded in breaking down the east wall of the inclosure, whose north wall covered the flank of the Highlanders, killed all the men that were in that inclosure, and pulled down other parts of the wall; and through these apertures Lord Ancram led Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons and some of Cobham's, and formed on the right flank of the rebels, a little behind them. With that mass of horse standing in that threatening position, and with the whole of the English infantry and artillery, and other clouds of cavalry coming on full in their front, the mountaineers lost heart completely, and began to go off the field in small parties, some with their chief and officers, and others without them. "At this sight," says Ray, who is an uncourteous critic of Charles's military conduct, but whose assertions are supported by every contemporary authority at all entitled to credit, "their mock prince wheeled off and fled; so that he had *then* the honour of being in the front, which held on with so much courage that he crossed the river at the nearest place, at the hazard of drowning, and never stopped nor looked behind him until he got to Lord Lovat's house, where he stayed all night." It is said, that Lord Elcho, before the

* According to a letter published shortly after in the Scots Magazine, the Duke of Cumberland had made a sensible alteration in the mode of managing the bayonet against the Highlanders:—before this the bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting him: now the left-hand bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by the adversary's target where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told.

bloody game was *quite finished*, rode up to Charles and implored him to head a general and desperate charge in person; that the Chevalier turned pale and refused; and that thereupon Elcho called him an Italian coward and scoundrel, and swore he would never serve him or speak to him again. The authority for the fact is Lord Elcho himself; and, though his lordship lived an exile for the Stuarts' cause, he would never again see Prince Charles, and used to leave Paris as soon as the Chevalier entered it.* On the other hand, it is affirmed that Charles desired to go from his place in the rear and rally the Highlanders, and that he was only forced from the field by the entreaties of Sheridan and others, who represented the attempt as desperate, and the success of it impossible. Nay, according to a cornet of his horseguards, who summons 'his eyes' to witness the truth, Charles would not move until O'Sullivan laid hold of the reins of his horse and turned him about. The weight of authority is, however, on the side of Lord Elcho, a man of bravery and honour. Nor can we ever give much credit to the stories of mere intentions. It is so easy to say that Charles *intended* the charge, and that his tender friends prevented him! Yet all his valour in battle rests upon these stories. Walter Scott says, correctly, that after the battle was over there was no hope of collecting the Highlanders, who fled to their mountains and glens; but a hero would most assuredly have attempted a charge with the left wing and part of the second line when the right was repulsed; this, in similar cases, had been done over and over again, successfully or otherwise, by every veteran general; and it was neither done, nor, as we believe, attempted by the Chevalier. Under the circumstances the charge would and must have failed; but it was better for the Highlanders to throw away their lives in battle than to be butchered as they were in their retreat, and afterwards in their hiding-places; and it behoved a young man who had set himself forward as the romantic hero of the age to risk life and all in the decisive struggle. As it was, the fugitives went off in two large bodies, the larger one consisting of western Highlanders, directing their flight towards Badenoch; the other, and much smaller one, consisting of the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish *piquets*, retreating to Inverness. The latter body suffered most, being pursued till within a mile of Inverness by the Duke of Cumberland's horse, who made few prisoners, but shot or cut down nearly every officer they overtook; for they had learned from their royal commander that rebels had no claim to mercy, while most of the dragoons were made fierce and pitiless by the recollections of the defeats and humiliations they had sustained. Cumberland and the infantry followed leisurely towards Inverness. When near the town a drummer presented himself with a letter from the French officers, and Irish officers that had been *in* Louis's service, offering to surrender themselves prisoners to his royal highness, and invoking from the English generous quarter and honourable treatment. The duke promised them quarter, and then sent forward a company of grenadiers, who took possession of Inverness and of the arms which the French and Irish there laid down. It appears that the Highlanders lost three times more men in the retreat than in the battle, and that, altogether, there perished on that bloody day from 2000 to 2500 men. Many of their bravest chiefs were killed or miserably wounded on the field. Mac Lean of Drimnin, after losing two of his sons, was killed by a random shot while turning to look for his third son; Cameron of Locheil fell wounded with grape-shot, but was carried off by two brothers between whom he was advancing; Mac Donald of Keppoch was wounded by a musket-shot, which brought him to the ground; a friend ran to his assistance, told him that the wound was not mortal, and implored him to exert himself and join in the retreat; but Keppoch begged his friend to take care of himself, and, rising to his feet, he soon received another shot, which dispatched him. In the regiments which had charged Burrel's regiment, and thrown themselves upon the bayonets of Sempill's, there was scarcely an officer or a first-rank man left alive. According to the official returns published by Cumberland and the government, the loss of the English in killed, wounded, and missing, officers and men, amounted only to 310. It is not easy to say what was the exact force engaged. A report furnished to Home from the State-Paper Office states that the effective force of Cumberland's army at Aberdeen on the 28th of March was, rank and file, 7179 men. He may have left some detachments in his rear, but in his advance to Culloden he was joined by Lord Albemarle, who brought some reinforcements with him. Ray, however, says that there were only 5721 rank and file in the king's army on the day of the battle; but this appears to be an intentional error, and it may be fairly assumed that Cumberland had from 7000 to 8000 men, fresh and in excellent condition, while the Highlanders, with their allies, could not possibly have mustered 4000, and these, as we have seen, exhausted by hunger, incessant fatigue, and *that fatal night march and countermarch* which made their condition—bad enough before—worse than ever. The ministry at London, and the friends and dependants about the duke, styled this a great and glorious victory; but there was no glory in it or about it. His royal highness himself called it a "complete victory;" and complete it certainly was. "I thank God most heartily," he says in a letter to ministers, "that I was an instrument in the affair, and that the glory of the day was owing entirely to the British troops, who fully retrieved the little stain of Falkirk without any assistance from the Hessians, though they might have saved us a good deal of trouble, and were of

* MS. Memoirs of Lord Elcho, as cited by Walter Scott.

some use, even in their inactive state." If *all* the Hessians had been up at Culloden, Cumberland's army would have exceeded 13,000 men! The carnage which had been committed, and which was still committing, by his moveable columns, his royal highness was pleased to style "a *little blood-letting*, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured it."* "If," says he, "we had destroyed every man of them, such is the soil, rebellion would sprout out again." In another letter he says,—"But my greatest pleasure is, in hoping that the king may have restored his favour to the troops, and that the nation in general find that their own army is almost as good as a foreign one."† If these words were not meant in irony they were a gross insult to the English nation; his royal highness ought to have recollected that the English had been the foremost soldiers in the world; that no very long time ago—no further back than the days of Marlborough—they had beaten every enemy opposed to them; and that, if this tide of triumph had been turned back at various periods, it was not owing to any degeneracy in the men, but to the blundering, the ignorance, the indolence, and fatuity of their commanders. But in those grovelling days, when our king and our ministers sought to fight their battles with Hanoverians and Hessians, and subsidized mercenaries, it had become the fashion to speak of the descendants of the Englishmen that fought at Cressy and Azincourt, at Blenheim and Ramillies, as men unfit for soldiers; and this degrading of the military character of the nation had the worst effect upon its general character. We can almost excuse his royal highness for thirsting for the blood of the doubly-damned traitor, Fraser of Lovat. Immediately after the battle of Culloden he wrote to ministers—"I believe old Lovat will not escape me. I have several parties out for him, and papers such as will suffice to prove high treason upon him." The Chevalier, as we have stated, fled straight from the field of Culloden to Lovat's house, and there he and the old fox met for the first and for the last time. Walter Scott has preserved, in magical colours, the picture drawn of this strange meeting by an eye and ear witness:—"A lady, who, when a girl, was residing in Lord Lovat's family, described to us the unexpected appearance of Prince Charles and his flying attendants at Castle Downie. The wild, desolate vale on which she was gazing with indolent composure was at once so suddenly filled with horsemen riding furiously towards the castle, that, impressed with the belief that they were fairies, who, according to Highland tradition, are visible to men only from one twinkle of the eyelid to another, she strove to refrain from the vibration which she believed would occasion the strange and magnificent apparition to become invisible. To Lord Lovat it brought a certainty more dreadful than the presence of fairies or even demons.' The tower on which he had depended had fallen to crush him, and he only met the Chevalier to exchange mutual condolences."* Lovat was then so old and infirm that he could neither ride nor walk, but he agreed with Locheil and other chiefs in recommending the prosecution of a mountain war, or at least the keeping together of the clans, so as to present a bold countenance to the enemy, and obtain honourable or merciful conditions. But the Chevalier's head was completely bewildered; his chief favourites and advisers were only anxious to get back to France; and, changing his dress, Charles stole away by night, and crossed the mountains to Invergarie, near Fort Augustus, which fort had been set fire to and burnt by a body of Highlanders the day before the battle of Culloden. Left to shift for himself, old Lovat put himself in a sort of hammock, and was carried away to a good hiding-place on the shoulders of some of his clan.

Lord George Murray had succeeded in rallying at Ruthven about 1200 of the fugitives from Culloden, and was sustained by the confident hope of collecting such an army as might face Cumberland again; but there was no corresponding spirit on the part of the Chevalier; there was no means of provisioning an army; and, instead of increasing, the body of 1200 men began to disperse. Yet Lord George did not give up the cause as hopeless until he received a message from Charles urging the chiefs and men in arms to look to their own safety. At Invergarie Charles himself became almost a solitary fugitive, and began to trust to holes in the rocks and other hiding-places for his safety. All his company took leave of him except O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and one Burke, a common servant, who knew the country well, and was kept as a guide. With this slight attendance Charles stole secretly from Invergarie to Loch Arkaig, in Lochaber, and then to Glenboisdale, where he lurked a day or two, and where he received a message from Lord George Murray, entreating him not to leave Scotland just yet. The Chevalier replied to Lord George that he must go to France, but that he hoped to return soon with powerful reinforcements which he was quite sure of obtaining. He also left a paper, written and signed by himself, containing an account of his designs; but this paper was not to be opened or shown to his friends till a certain number of days after he had embarked for the continent. But to embark was no such easy matter; the English cruisers continued to do their duty well, and no French ship appeared to take off the forlorn adventurer.

Two days after the battle of Culloden, Brigadier Mordaunt was detached into the Frasers' country with 900 foot, and there he seized a great number of cattle and a quantity of oatmeal, said to have been collected for the use of the rebel army. "He

* "I tremble," adds the conqueror of Culloden, "for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family."

† Letters from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, in Coxe's Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.

* Art. in Quarterly Review.

went also," says volunteer Ray, "to Lord Lovat's house, that nest and cage of unclean birds, where much treason and rebellion had been hatched: he only found the nest, for the birds were flown: however, he thought proper to purge it from all pollutions by fire." The Duke of Cumberland advanced to the smoking ruins of Fort Augustus, and established himself there in the very centre of the rebellious districts, sending out parties in all directions to scourge the land, to cut off every Highlander found in arms, and to track them to their hiding-places in their glens and mountains. In a short time all the gaols were crammed, notwithstanding a great number being shipped off for Newcastle; and more were killed or starved than were made prisoners. Every encouragement was given to the fierce passions of the Argyllshire men and the other Whig clans or hereditary enemies of the Jacobite Highlanders; and the worst rabble of the regular army were let loose to plunder and destroy. In many places the dispersed clans were hunted down like wild beasts—tracked to their dens and holes in the hill sides, and either burnt or smothered by combustible materials lighted at the mouths of those crannies, or compelled to come out to fall upon the bayonets and swords of their pursuers. These men were not likely to make a distinction which their royal leader could not or would not make: the duke had declared that blood-letting was the best remedy, that every man that wore the tartan in those parts was a rebel and traitor, whose body, soul, and goods were forfeited;—and so the soldiers slashed and plundered wherever they came, without any attention to guilt or innocence, or to degrees of guilt or degrees of misfortune. In many places they swept the country so bare of every thing that the inhabitants were left to perish with hunger on the hill sides; and, if tradition is to be credited, there were not wanting cases where the horrors of hunger led to the atrocities of cannibalism. The English soldiers, it appears, were allowed to carry off for their own use all the cattle and horses they could find; and Volunteer Ray describes, with disgusting facetiousness, the abundance of the booty and the uses the men made of it.* A host of witnesses of all parties, including even officers in the English army, speak to such atrocities as had not been witnessed in our island since the dark ages. Among these witnesses are bishops and clergymen of the episcopal church, presbyterian ministers and elders, gentlemen of rank and character, who gave in specific cases with names and dates, and their signatures attached to their papers, so that we can scarcely escape from a harrowing and revolting narrative by a comforting doubt in Highland and Jacobite exaggerations. As a last touch to the horrible picture, we may mention what is asserted on indisputable authority, that the Highland women were subjected to the last indignity and brutality, that their children were frequently shot, stabbed, or thrown over the rocks, and that it became a common spectacle to see men, women, and children, frantic with hunger, following in the track of the plunderers, and imploring for the blood and offal of their own black cattle, carried off and slaughtered for the use of the Duke of Cumberland's army. The hangman Hawley distinguished himself in this war of extermination, which lasted without check or pause till the month of July, when his royal highness repaired to London to claim and wear his sullied laurels. He left behind him in Scotland the name of *the Butcher*, and the people of England, disgusted sooner than any other with cruelty, confirmed this title to the hero of Culloden.*

The English parliament had not waited for his arrival to testify their gratitude for the *glorious* victory, both Houses having voted, *nemine contradicente*, letters of thanks to his royal highness for the eminent and very important services performed by him; and the Commons, in addressing his majesty upon this *glorious* occasion, had said in their concluding paragraph, that, being truly sensible of the eminent courage and conduct of his royal highness, they were impatiently desirous and would be found quite ready to give his royal highness such distinguishing marks of public gratitude as should be most agreeable to his majesty. As the king is the fountain of honour, parliament could only give money; and when his majesty, in a message delivered on the 13th of May, recommended to the consideration of the Commons "the settling an additional revenue upon his said son and his issue male," the dutiful Commons prepared to vote the people's money; and on the very next day no less than a sum of 25,000*l.* per annum, payable out of the duties and revenues

* This Cumberland volunteer had no taste for the picturesque. He describes the Highlands, with their black mountains and streams of water rolling down them, as a sight sufficient to give a well-bred dog the vapours; and he assures us that these solitary horrors occasioned numbers of the English to fall sick daily, as well in their minds as bodies. "This," he adds, "might have been still worse, had it not been for the duke's presence.....And, to divert their melancholy, his royal highness and officers frequently gave money to be run for by Highland horses, sometimes without saddles or bridles, both men and women riding: here were also many foot-races performed by both sexes, which afforded many droll scenes. It was necessary to entertain life in this manner, otherwise the people were in danger of being affected with hypochondriacal melancholy. At this time most of the soldiers had horses, which they bought and sold to each other at a low price, and on which they rode about, neglecting their duty, which made it necessary to publish an order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. I saw a soldier riding on one of these horses, when, being met by a comrade, he asked him, 'Tom, what hast thou given for the galloway?' Tom answered, 'Half-a-crown.' To which the other replied, with an oath, 'He is too dear; I saw a better bought for eighteen pence.' Notwithstanding the low price, the vast quantity of cattle such as oxen, horses, sheep, and goats taken from the rebels, and bought up by the lump by the jockeys and farmers from Yorkshire and south of Scotland came to a great deal of money, all which was divided amongst the men that brought them in, who were sent out in parties in search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to rebels' houses who had left them, and would not be reduced to obedience: these sort our soldiers commonly plundered and burnt, so that many grew rich by their share of spoil." The Rev. James Hay, of Inverness, says, in an attestation sent to Bishop Forbes in the month of June, that the women that rode races on horseback, for the amusement of the English camp at Fort Augustus were *naked*, and that, in other particulars, there was the grossest indecency and depravity.

* "The king," says Horace Walpole, "is much inclined to some mercy; but the duke, who has not so much of Cæsar after a victory as in gaining it, *is for the utmost severity*. It was lately proposed in the city to present him with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, then let it be of the *Butchers*."—*Letter to Mann.*

composing the aggregate fund was added to the duke's income of 15,000*l.*, payable out of the civil list. Out of doors this reward seemed sufficiently high, but within doors it was not opposed by a single voice. The patriot Pitt, who was now half a deputy treasurer for Ireland, was himself ready to propose this large annual grant; but the Duke of Cumberland thought that the proposition would come better from the first minister; and so Mr. Pelham made it. As Pitt was on the ladder of *promotion*, as he was about being advanced to the post of paymaster of the forces, we believe he would have asked 50,000*l.* a-year instead of 25,000*l.*, if the king, who really fixed the sum which was represented as the spontaneous offering of the parliament and people of England, had chosen to suggest the larger allowance. The legacy of 10,000*l.* which the old Duchess of Marlborough had left him to encourage him in his *patriotic* opposition, and to enable him to bear life without office, ought to have burned in the great orator's pocket, and to have confused the rolling and sonorous periods of his eloquence; but Pitt seems to have been high above such influences—insensible to shame or contrition on such paltry points, which he, no doubt, considered as unworthy the attention of a man of his transcendant genius. "We have amply prepared for the duke's reception," says Horace Walpole, "by settling on him immediately and for ever 25,000*l.* a-year; . . . . it was imagined that the Prince of Wales would have opposed this, on the reflection that 50,000*l.* was thought enough for him, though heir to the crown, and abounding in issue; but he has wisely *reflected forwards*, and likes the precedent."* The gratitude of the parliament and cabinet seemed to begin and end with his royal highness. On the very day on which 25,000*l.* a-year were proposed for the Duke of Cumberland, we find Duncan Forbes, the lord president, begging and entreating for 1500*l.*, not as a pension to himself, not as a reward for his invaluable services, but to enable him to make payment of sums of money he had borrowed for the service of government. "Above nine months ago," says this able and excellent man, "my zeal led me into this north country to quench a very furious rebellion, without arms, without money, without credit; and if the king's enemies are to be credited, my endeavours were attended with some success. His majesty was pleased to entrust me with the disposition of commissions for raising some independent companies: which I accordingly raised and employed—I hope usefully. The Marquess of Tweeddale, then secretary of state for Scotland, acquainted me, by order, that, for supplying any extraordinary expense, I was to draw on Mr. Pelham; but the total interruption of correspondence made my receiving money on such drafts impossible, and I was forced to supply the necessary expense, after employing what money of my own I could come at in this country, by borrowing upon my proper notes such small sums as I could hear of. The rebellion is now happily over; and the persons who lent me this money at a pinch are now justly demanding payment; and I, who cannot coin, and who never hitherto was dunned, find myself uneasy. The whole of the small sums does not exceed 1500*l.* Now if Mr. Pelham would impress that money into the hands of George Ross, or any other person, to be remitted to me to account; or if he would authorise me to draw upon him, or upon any other person whom he may direct, for that sum, in like manner to account, it would tend much to the quiet of my mind. I have of this date wrote to Mr. Pelham on this subject."* But it was in vain that Duncan Forbes wrote, and his friends and the friends of justice represented his case to a most corrupt, jobbing, and selfish ministry. The amount of his services was known to most men, and it was equally notorious that he had not only begged and borrowed, but that he had expended three years' rent of his own estates in the public cause. He had also exposed himself to more personal danger, and, though a judge, a man of the pen, a quiet domestic man, had undergone far more fatigue, than any general engaged in his majesty's service in Scotland. All this, we say, and more than this, must have been known to ministers, and yet the government, of which the *magnanimous* Pitt was a member, not only left his merit unrewarded, but absolutely failed to pay him either the money he had spent out of his own private fortune or the debts he had contracted. The blood turns back cold to the heart in contemplating this base example of national or rather ministerial ingratitude. An excuse has been found for the king in the supposition that he did not know the whole of the case,—that he knew nothing except by the report of his ministers, who had Forbes entirely at their mercy, and who felt that to have displayed the extent of his services would have been to discover to the sovereign the extent of their own demerit; since their want of foresight and preparation, their selfish intrigues and jealousies, had allowed a paltry danger to become a great one, and had plunged the whole island into doubt, peril, and perplexity.† But if we admit that the truth was concealed from George—and there is a difficulty in the full admission—we cannot allow ourselves to believe that the facts could be disguised from the Duke of Cumberland, though we can very easily credit the hypothesis that his royal highness took a mortal offence when the lord president, like a Scotchman and a man of humanity, tried to make him hold his bloody hand; and, as a consequence of this resentment, that Cumberland, who repeatedly declared that there was not a man in Scotland to be trusted—that all were Jacobites alike—may have given encouragement to the

* Letter to H. Mann.

* Letter from the Lord President to Mr. Scroope, in Addenda to Culloden Papers.

† See Introduction to Culloden Papers.

cabinet to persevere in their foul injustice. It is upon record, that when Duncan Forbes manfully remonstrated with the duke against the enormities committing by the soldiery, and invoked the laws of his country, Cumberland exclaimed, "Laws! what laws? I'll make a brigade give laws!" And when the high-minded Scot made intercession in favour of his old neighbours and friends the Highland chiefs, whose wild schemes he had opposed to the very utmost, and when he endeavoured to show that some allowance, some consideration was due to early education and the force of habit, and that the Jacobitism of the Highland gentlemen might be cured by other means than the gallows and the block, and when he tried to preserve to the Highlanders their picturesque and convenient dress, as fitted to their occupations and manner of life, the ministry filled up their baseness by half suspecting him of disaffection, if not of downright Jacobitism. All these things depressed the spirits and broke the health of the good old man, and he died not long after, at Edinburgh (on the 10th of December, 1747), in the sixty-third year of his age, complaining on his death-bed of his reduced fortune and of "the oppression of power," and advising his son never to think of getting into parliament.* His ample fortune was, indeed, left in a state of such embarrassment, that the best friends of his family saw no prospect of relief, but in saving one of his estates by selling the other and employing the proceeds in discharging the debts he had contracted. "But," says a warm-hearted, admiring countryman, "he left behind him a name endeared even in these days of strife and bitterness, to enemies as to friends, and doubly to be honoured by posterity, for that impartiality which uniformly distinguished between the cause of the country and political party."† We fear, however, that the whole tone of society was too low and mean at the middle of the last century to feel these things very acutely. As for the government, when forty years were passed they were guilty of what has been properly called a sort of posthumous ingratitude; for in 1784 they arbitrarily resumed the privilege of distilling whiskey without payment of duty upon the Forbes barony of Fairintosh, an immunity conferred in perpetuity to compensate Duncan Forbes's father for the losses he had sustained and the exertions he had made at the great Whig Revolution of 1688; giving nothing in return to the family except a most inadequate compensation.‡

While the Duke of Cumberland was being welcomed into London with illuminations and skyrockets, his cousin Charles was wandering from place to place in the most wretched condition, and making himself again interesting, not by his own heroism and address, but by the bravery, exquisite fidelity, and promptitude of others. This course of life lasted five long months, or from April to September; and during all that time not one of the hundreds of poor people he was obliged to trust could be induced to betray him, even by the government offer of thirty thousand pounds. Charles, after hiding for a day or two in Glenboisdale, went to Borradale, the place where he landed on his first fatal coming to our island: MacDonald of Borradale procured him an open boat, with eight oars, at Lochnanuagh, and there Charles embarked, on the evening of the 26th of April, for the Long Island, where he expected to find a French vessel. His tutor, Sheridan, the Duke of Perth, and others had provided for their escape in a better manner, but Charles was still accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke. After encountering a terrific storm and a dark night the party landed in Benbecula, on the Long Island, a solitary spot wholly destitute of the means of sustaining life. They had brought nothing with them but four pecks of oatmeal, and upon this and the water of a brook they were obliged to subsist for two days during which the storm raged. When they put again to sea they were driven from their course by another tempest which drove them into the small island of Glas. Here they were received by a farmer or tacksman, who lent one of the party a boat to proceed to the island of Lewis, where a small trading or fishing vessel was lying. Donald MacLeod got safe to Lewis, hired the little vessel, and sent notice to Charles that he had done so; but when the Chevalier got to the port of Lewis he found that the master of the vessel had discovered who he was, and would not stand to his bargain or take him aboard on any account. Charles and his companions in suffering then returned to the open boat which had brought them from Lochnanuagh, and put to sea, uncertain whither they should go. They had not gone far from Lewis when they saw two men-of-war under sail in the distance, and, taking these ships for English, they put about their helm and ran for the nearest shore, which was a small island to the southward called Issurt. This was a most unhappy mistake—the continuance of an unfortunate move; for the ships were in fact two French frigates which had come over with some money, ammunition, and arms, and which had put into Lochnanuagh only a few hours after Charles had left that place. Had he waited there, or had he ventured near enough to discover what the ships really were, his hardships would have been ended, and he might have got back to the continent early in May, safe and unscathed, save by the reflection that his escapade had cost the lives of many hundreds of brave men, and had plunged into irremediable ruin the warmest, if not the sole, friends of his family in Britain. When the two ships were out of sight he crept along the shores of Issurt and Harris:

* Culloden Papers.

† Walter Scott, Art. in Quarterly Review.

‡ Introduction to Culloden Papers. Robert Burns termed the old privilege which had been enjoyed by the family for nearly a hundred years "Loyal Forbes' chartered boast;" and all the poets and *bons vivants* of Scotland had celebrated the excellence of the Fairintosh whiskey. It was proper to resume the immunity;—the unfairness lay in not giving, as was done in other cases, a proper equivalent.

but here was a fresh alarm!—an English sloop of war lying in a harbour on that coast spied his boat, but before she could get out his boatmen pulled away and got into a small creek on the coast of North Uist. There the party lay hid for many days supporting life with some dried fish which they found in a lone hut. About the middle of May they put to sea again and made the island of South Uist, where the chief or proprietor of the greater part of the island—MacDonald of Clanronald—comforted and restored the royal fugitive, whose health and spirits were breaking, with Spanish wine and proper food, and gave him shoes and stockings—for the last of the Stuarts was almost bare-foot. But his humiliations were not over, and it remained for the young hero, who had come with oaths to conquer or die, to cover his manhood with woman's clothes, and to follow in the train of a young lady as a waiting woman. General Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, had a commission to search the islands and secure the fugitives and the disaffected. With a considerable number of men, and several ships of war and transports, Campbell came to Barra, where he made many prisoners; from Barra he sailed to St. Kilda, and from St. Kilda he returned to Barra, with the determination of going to South Uist and searching the island from end to end. And early in June South Uist was surrounded on every side by ships and boats, while companies of soldiers were put on shore to scour the interior and search every house, cavern, nook, and corner of the island. But Clanronald had pledged his faith, and the islanders were resolute to respect the sacred rights of hospitality and misfortune; and by a combination of ingenuity, activity, and vigilance, which must have been incessant, and exercised at one time or other by nearly every man, woman, and child in the place, they contrived to delude the troops and to conceal their guest from the first to the last week of June, when the generous Flora MacDonald undertook to carry Charles to a safer place, and procure the means for so doing. This young lady, the daughter of MacDonald of Milton, in the isle of South Uist, was nearly related to the Chevalier's host Clanronald, and was on a visit at his house. She was distressed day after day by seeing the danger the Chevalier was running, and by hearing accounts of his distressed condition from his constant attendant O'Neil, who visited the house clandestinely for food and advice. She expressed an earnest desire to see the prince in person, and declared that, if she could in any way save him from his enemies, she would do it with all her heart. Upon this O'Neil ventured to propose that she should take Charles dressed in woman's clothes, as her maid, and conduct him out of South Uist to Skye. At first Flora MacDonald thought the scheme fantastical and dangerous, and positively declined it; but soon after this conversation means were found to introduce to her, at a solitary farm house, the prince in person, and then his sad condition, his thin and wasted habit of body, and his arguments, went to her heart, and removed all scruples; and she went forthwith from this interview to put the scheme into execution. No body could possibly leave the island or escape the cruisers' row-boats and guards without a passport. Flora asked and obtained from her stepfather Hugh MacDonald, who commanded part of the troops assembled in South Uist, a pass for herself and her lady's-maid Betty Burke; and she further induced the captain to recommend to his wife, residing in the isle of Skye, the said Betty as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant. We are following Flora MacDonald's own account of the transaction which is believed to have been written or dictated by herself.* It is said there, or rather it is left to be inferred, that her stepfather was not admitted into the dangerous secret, but deceived by Flora's ingenuity; but neither Captain Hugh MacDonald nor other MacDonalds in South Uist and in Skye were really imposed upon by the young lady. Having obtained the passport, a boat, six boatmen, and some provisions, and sent a dress to Charles, she walked along the sea-shore with Lady Clanronald and met the proscribed Stuart in his female attire. The ladies carried materials for a supper with them; but, as the party were sitting down among the rocks on the sea-side to a hasty meal, a messenger came to Lady Clanronald informing her that General Campbell and some soldiers were in her house searching for the prince. The ladies hurried home. Soon after their departure four armed cutters came round the coast, but Charles and O'Neil escaped the observation of the soldiers and sailors aboard by skulking among the rocks. On the following morning, the weather being calm and serene, Charles, Flora, and the six boatmen set out for Skye. As they were passing the point of Vaternish in Skye, a party of the MacCleod militia ran to the shore with their guns, and levelled them at the boat, but luckily the tide was out, the beach long and rough, and the sturdy boatmen pulled them away before the MacCleods could get near enough to force them to land, or could launch a boat to pursue them. The generous lady and her maid, the prince, landed safe at Mugstole, the seat of the MacDonalds, where Lady Margaret MacDonald was then residing. This lady, who, like her husband Sir Alexander, had once been a Jacobite of the deepest hue, gave the lady and her mock maid a good dinner, and, as her house was open to the visits of officers and troops, she then sent them forward to her kinsman and factor MacDonald of Kingsburgh, more in the interior of the island. Near to this house the Chevalier put on a Highland dress and then Flora left him to the care of Kingsburgh, and went home to her stepfather's house. She says that Charles was then greatly restored to health, had recovered much strength, and was in good spirits; but Kingsburgh found his condition wretched enough. According to a letter from Sir

* Narrative of Flora MacDonald, giving an account of her interviews with Charles, &c., in Home's Appendix.

Flora Macdonald.
From a Painting by Ramsay.

Alexander MacDonald to the Lord President Duncan Forbes, "he (the Pretender) accosted Kingsburgh with telling him that his life was now in his hands, which he might dispose of; that he was in the utmost distress, having had no meat or sleep for two days and two nights—sitting on a rock beat upon by the rains, and when they ceased ate up by flies: he conjured him to show compassion but for one night, and he should be gone. This moving speech prevailed, and the visible distress, for he was meagre, ill-coloured, and overrun with the scab." It should be borne in mind, however, that this letter was apologetic and meant to screen Kingsburgh and Flora MacDonald from the vengeance of government. It enclosed another letter from Sir Alexander's wife, Lady Margaret MacDonald, who, with somewhat more art, deplored the great trouble which had been brought upon the island of Skye "by the indiscretion of a foolish girl, with whom the unhappy disturber of the kingdom had landed"—protesting that she Lady Margaret did not know the Pretender in his disguise—affirming that that unhappy man had intruded himself by night upon her kinsman Kingsburgh, "a man well known for his singular honesty, integrity, and prudence, in all occurrences of life before that unhappy night; a man of such consequence, and so well liked in the country, that if the Pretender's son had done no other hurt to it but the ruin of this single man, it could not but render him odious to their posterity."* Her ladyship implored Forbes to befriend Kingsburgh and contribute his good offices with the Duke of Cumberland and the government:—"His crime," she says, "I will not venture to extenuate; but yet I am certain it was accidental, and proceeded rather from an excess of good nature and compassion upon a miserable person, who threw himself into his mercy, than from any disloyalty or rebellious principles."

The day after his arrival at Kingsburgh's house in Skye, the Chevalier left that island and went over to the small island of Rasay, which was only six miles off. The chief, MacLeod of Rasay, who had fought for the Pretender both at Falkirk and at Culloden, was lying hid somewhere on the mainland, but his sons were at home, and they accommodated Charles in a cowshed. They had no better lodging to give him—there was nothing better left on the island; for a detachment of King George's army had been there a few days before with fire and sword, had carried off all the cattle, and had burnt every house in Rasay. While the Chevalier was lying pinched with hunger in the cowshed at Rasay, his generous deliverer Flora MacDonald was apprehended by some of the militia in Skye, put on board a king's ship, and carried as a prisoner and a dangerous rebel to London. Her secret had been forced from the poor boatmen who

* Culloden Papers.

had ferried her and Charles from South Uist. Kingsburgh also was laid in durance and threatened with nothing less than death. He told General Campbell that he had indeed seen the young Pretender, but in such misery that he could not lay hands on him. He joined, or pretended to join, Campbell in searching for the fugitive—"but the bird was flown." Some women about Kingsburgh's house, being seized and examined, confessed that Charles had been harboured there the whole night. When Kingsburgh was carried to head quarters at Fort Augustus, Sir Alexander MacDonald tried to soften the heart of the Duke of Cumberland. "I used my little rhetoric with the duke," says Sir Alexander, "but he stopped my mouth by saying that this man had neglected the greatest piece of service that could have been done; and if he was to be pardoned it would encourage others to follow his example." In the state in which matters now were, the wisest and best thing to do was to scare the wretched fugitive back to France—to permit and connive at Charles's escape. George II. was not a blood-thirsty prince, and even if his nature had been more severe he would not have chosen to draw down upon himself the odium of Europe and the criticism of every civilised court, by putting to death as a felon and traitor the descendant of many kings. To have kept Charles as a state prisoner either in Scotland or England, or even in the American plantations, would have been very troublesome, and might have proved exceedingly dangerous. For the safety, for the honour of the House of Brunswick, it was better to let him go than to catch him; and we cannot help believing that this was the opinion of a considerable portion of the English cabinet, and of not a few of the officers that were serving in Scotland—though, as for his royal highness of Cumberland, we can easily fancy that he would have sent him to the Tower and the block without compunction.* Kingsburgh, however, was not sent to the Tower, but confined in Edinburgh Castle. Both of these gloomy abodes were by this time filled with unhappy inmates.

After staying some days with the sons of Mac Leod of Rasay, the Chevalier returned to the Isle of Skye, but not to the bounds of the MacDonalds, but to those of MacKinnon of MacKinnon, who had sent his clan to join the rebel army. At parting he gave young Rasay a little case containing a silver spoon, knife, and fork, and desired him to keep it till they met again. The MacKinnons received him with great kindness, procured him a boat, and carried him to Lochnevis, on the main land about twelve miles from Borradale. Here he learned that there were lines of troops with sentinels so placed as to watch every road, every path, by night as well as by day, having fires lighted on the hills at regular distances. But two of the Macdonalds of Glenaladale smuggled him through a gulley or narrow channel worn by a mountain stream among the rocks; and, after crossing the line of posts, they resolved to conduct him out of the Western Islands right into the Ross-shire Highlands, and lodge him among the MacKenzies, who had remained during the war on the side of King George, and were therefore not scourged with the visitations of troops now. The chief of Glenaladale thought that the MacKenzies would not betray the helpless fugitive, and that, notwithstanding their exceeding loyalty to the established government, they would assist in the escape of the son of their old kings. Accordingly Charles and Glenaladale, with two or three attendants, set out on foot for Ross-shire. The journey was long and rough. When they came to the Braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraws, the most barbarous of the Highland clans, they were like to perish for want of food, and were apparently saved only by the timely arrival of another fugitive—a MacDonald—who had fought for Charles at Culloden, from being seized and delivered up; for a Macraw, with whom they had taken up their lodging, exclaimed against the Highlanders who had been in arms, saying that they and those who still protected the young Pretender were fools and madmen, and that they ought to relieve themselves and their country by giving him up, and taking the large reward which government had offered. This new MacDonald, who knew the Chevalier at first sight, was of still further service; for he warned him that some troops had got even into Ross-shire, and he told him of a much safer hiding-place, where he himself had passed the preceding night. This was a cave of the rock in the great mountain of Corado, which lies between Kintail and Glenmoriston. "There," said this MacDonald, "live seven men upon whom the prince may absolutely depend; for they are brave and faithful, and most of them have been in his army." Charles and his companions put themselves under the guidance of this MacDonald, who conducted them to the wildest and most craggy part of the mountain, and into the secret cave, where they found six of the seven men assembled at dinner upon a sheep which they had *lifted* that very day. The dwellers in the cave were, in fact, what would have been called in other countries freebooters, brigands, or banditti; but whether they had adopted that course of life recently under the pressure of their difficulties, or whether they were veterans in the profession, is not mentioned. In the wild parts of the Highlands the laws had never yet been able to put down cattle-lifting; and the only thing that made any distinction in the apprehension of the mountaineers in general between freebooting and fair capture was, when the thing was done by a whole clan, and when it was done by a handful of men who had thrown off their allegiance to their chiefs, and *lifted* on their own account. The seven men of the cave fell upon their knees, for some of them knew the person of

* In a letter dated the 16th May, or just a month after the battle of Culloden, Horace Walpole says, "The Pretender is not openly taken, but many people think he is in their power; however, *I dare say he will be allowed to escape*, and some French ships are hovering about the coast to receive him."

the prince in spite of his sad and ragged condition.* With such hosts his toilet was soon improved, and his diet also. The seven brethren *lifted* some clean linen, by stopping the servants of some English officers who were following their masters from Fort Augustus to Strathglas with their portmanteaus. Food was seized in an equally unceremonious manner, and some comparative delicacies were bought at Fort Augustus under the beard of Cumberland's officers and executioners. That fort was not above eight miles from the cave, and Charles's attendants used to go thither frequently in the night-time to procure what intelligence they could from the Highlanders inhabiting the village; and occasionally these men procured an English newspaper. Charles stayed in the cave with the freebooters five weeks and three days; but then he began to long for better company, and instructed Glenaladale to find out some neighbouring gentleman with whom he might trust himself. The Seven conjured Glenaladale to dissuade the prince from this purpose, saying, that no reward could possibly tempt them, for, if they betrayed the prince, they must fly their country, as nobody would speak to them except to curse them; whereas 30,000*l.* was a great reward for a poor Highland gentleman, who could go away to Edinburgh or London with his money, where his treachery would be unnoticed, and where he would find people enough to eat his meat and drink his wine, and live with him as his friends.† Peter Grant, however, one of the seven, and the most active or most intelligent of the band, submitted to royal orders, and went into Lochaber to find out some gentleman of the name of Cameron. The first Cameron he met was the brave chief Cameron of Clunes, who sent Peter back to the cave to assure the prince that he would meet him at the head of Glencoich, where he, Clunes, had a little hut in a secret place. Charles instantly left the cave and travelled along the tops of the mountains in a very stormy night; but, as he thought it necessary to lie concealed by day, he did not reach Glencoich and the little hut at the time appointed, and when he got there he found neither the chief nor food to eat. Peter Grant, however, supplied both these deficiencies: he killed a deer, and found out Clunes again, who forthwith came to the hut with his three sons. The chief informed Charles, who wanted to get to Radnoch and Badenoch, where the gentle Locheil and Clunie were lurking, that the troops and scouts of government were numerous, and that all the ferries of the rivers and lochs were so strictly guarded that such a journey was, for the present, impossible. It was, therefore, resolved to keep close for a time in or about the little hut in Glencoich. They were in this situation when Mac Donald of Lochgary and Dr. Cameron, Locheil's own brother, penetrated into the district in search of the prince; for Locheil and Clunie had both concluded that he must be somewhere to the north of the lakes. The two messengers, who knew the country and all the passes, found out Charles, and, after many more dangers and hardships, they succeeded in carrying him into Badenoch, where at a place called Mellanauir he met Locheil and Clunie.* The gentle Locheil was still lame, and suffering from the wounds he had received in the battle of Culloden. After staying a day or two in a hut called Uiskchibra, the two chiefs carried the prince to a still better hiding-place in the great mountain of Benalder, which Clunie had fitted up some three months before for his own use and that of his wounded friend, styled very appropriately "the Cage." "It was," said Clunie himself, "a great curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. It was situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and, as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joints and planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were between the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the

* The condition of Charles was thus described by Hugh Chisholm, one of the seven men:—"He had a coat of coarse dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan waistcoat, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues, tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt—and he had not another—was of the colour of saffron." "This Chisholm," says Home, "was at Edinburgh a good many years after the rebellion; and several people had the curiosity to see him and hear his story. Some of them gave him money. He shook hands with his benefactors, and hoped they would excuse him for giving them his left hand, as when he parted with the prince he had got a shake of his hand, and was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the prince again."

† Home,

* These two chiefs were, considering the circumstances, sumptuously provided for at Mellanauir, and Charles fared better than he had done for a very long time. Clunie himself thus recorded the meeting:—"Locheil would have kneeled. . . . . 'Oh, no! my dear Locheil,' said his royal highness, clapping him on the shoulder; 'we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motion, they'll immediately conclude that I am here.' Locheil then ushered him into his habitation, which was, indeed, a very poor one. The prince was gay and in better spirits than it was possible to think he could have been, considering the many disasters, disappointments, fatigues, and difficulties he had undergone. His royal highness, with his retinue, went into the hut; and there was more meat and drink provided for them than he expected. There was plenty of mutton, an anker of whiskey containing twenty Scotch pints, some good beef sausages made the year before, with plenty of butter and cheese, besides a large well-cured bacon-ham. Upon his entry the prince took a hearty dram, which he sometimes called for thereafter to drink the health of his friends. When some minced collops were dressed with butter, in a large saucepan, which Locheil and Clunie carried always about with them, being the only fire-vessel they had, his royal highness eat heartily, and said, with a very cheerful countenance, 'Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince;' though at the same time he was no otherwise entertained than eating his collops out of the pan with a silver spoon. After dinner he asked Locheil if he had always lived here during his skulking in such a good way. 'Yes, Sir,' answered Locheil, 'for near three months that I have been hereabouts with my cousin Clunie, he has provided for me so well, that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank heaven your royal highness has got through so many dangers to take a part.'"—*Clunie's Account of Locheil and himself, after the Battle of Culloden, &c., in Home's Appendix.* The original of this paper, *dictated* by the chief, together with other MSS. and letters relating to the Highland war, was put into Home's hands by Clunie's son and successor.

cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered with fog (moss). This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end, all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage. And by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking." Here the party remained caged till the 13th of September, when a message arrived from Cameron of Clunes, to inform Charles that two French frigates had put into Lochnanuagh, and were waiting there to carry him and his friends off. The Chevalier set out immediately, but as he travelled only by night he did not arrive at the port till the 19th. Other messages had warned other gentlemen lying in concealment up and down the country; and, besides Lochcil, Clunie, and Colonel Roy Steuart, about one hundred embarked with Charles on the 20th of September at Lochnanuagh, the very spot where he had landed fourteen months before. He disembarked at a little port near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September, and thence proceeded to Paris, where he was kindly received by Louis, and enthusiastically greeted by the people on his first appearance at the Opera House—for the Parisians were quite charmed with his romantic adventures.

But, before this time, many of those who had ventured for him had been hanged and beheaded, with the usual and revolting accompaniments of drawing and quartering; and while Charles was showing his face in the French Opera the heads of braver and better men were exhibited at Temple Bar, on the walls of Carlisle, York, and other places. If there had been no glory, nothing at all striking or romantic, in the war which put an end to the rebellion, there was no mercy, no generosity in princely bosoms after the victory; and statesmen and judges seemed but too well disposed to make the law as sharp as Cumberland's sword. It was to be hoped that, in the course of thirty years, the nation would be found to have advanced in humanity; but the severities exercised now were greater than those which had been exercised against the Scotch rebels in 1715,—greater, and less necessary. The Duke of Cumberland continued to be "*for the utmost severity.*" Both in Scotland and in England numerous prisons were crammed with victims, and for some time vast numbers were lodged in the holds of ships of war and transports,—packed, huddled together, like Africans on board slave-ships. Hence arose, in many cases, fevers and diseases, which robbed the gibbets of their prey, and which did not always respect the government soldiers and sailors, but carried off the victors as well as the vanquished, the gaolers as well as the captives.* In Carlisle there were nearly 400 unfortunate Scots crowded into a place not large enough for forty; but the common men were allowed to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, and the rest to be transported to our West Indian plantations without any trial. In defiance of the recognised rights of the courts of Scotland, and in open contravention of articles in the Act of Union, the Scottish prisoners were all removed for trial to England, out of dread of the partiality or compassion of their countrymen. After the rebellion of 1715 an English prelate—the Bishop of Carlisle of those days—had lamented that the lenity of government "gave occasion for seditious insinuations, as if only a few beggars were to be sacrificed for the transgression of their lairds."† There was scarcely any ground for such a complaint now, for lords, and lairds, and gentlemen, both English and Scotch, were executed in plenty. One of the first that suffered was Colonel Townley, the colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was hanged on Kennington Common, had his bowels torn out, and his heart cast into a fire; and eight of his officers and men were treated in the same manner at the same place. Similar executions took place at York, Brampton, and Penrith; and about eighty ghastly heads were kept and exhibited in different parts of the North, as if to drive back the people towards their ancient barbarity. It appears that, in every place, the authorities were most punctilious in executing the treason sentences with all their atrocities. Charles Radcliffe, brother to the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater who had suffered in 1716, had escaped the block then by breaking out of prison, but now he had been lately captured‡ on board a French vessel carrying arms and supplies to the young Pretender in Scotland, and he was put to death without any fresh trial, but upon his former sentence, passed thirty years ago. He pleaded that he was a subject of France,—that he held a commission from the French king; but the court overruled the plea, and rejected an application for delay. He died with the greatest fortitude upon

* Ray mentions that a most malignant kind of sickness was introduced among the Duke of Cumberland's army in Scotland by Brigadier Houghton's regiment coming from sea in ships that had before carried rebel prisoners to London, amongst whom was the gaol distemper. This malady not only made havoc amongst our soldiers, but even among the townspeople of Inverness, great numbers of whom, both young and old, died daily thereof.

† Letter from Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, to Archbishop Wade, in Sir Henry Ellis's Collection. This Protestant prelate draws a frightful picture of the castle where the rebels were then confined, and he urges an immediate trial. "Not," he says, "that I have any jealousy that the prisoners are like to make their escape, but because I apprehend that, if justice be not executed speedily, many of them will leave the world in a less exemplary way than they ought to do." That is, the bishop feared they would die of disease in their horrible dungeons, instead of living to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

‡ When Charles Radcliffe was first taken, his son, who was with him, was mistaken for Charles Stuart's younger brother, the Duke, and afterwards Cardinal, of York. Many private letters of the time said confidently that he was the young Pretender's brother, and that King George and his ministers were greatly embarrassed to know what to do with him.

Tower Hill, and his headless body was interred near the headless body of his brother in St. Giles's church. Elcho and many of the lords and gentlemen had escaped to the continent (the Duke of Perth had died at sea on his passage), but Cumberland's detachments caught and made fast the Earl of Cromartie and his son Lord Macleod, Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, Lord Mordington, Sir Archibald Primrose, and several other persons of distinction; and, last of all, old Lord Lovat, who, after many escapes, was found concealed in a hollow tree in one of the wildest parts of the Highlands. Parliament had passed an act for attainting all that had escaped, and that did not surrender themselves before the 12th of July. The list was long, and included some of the highest names in Scotland, and nearly all the great Highland chiefs. On the 28th of July the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, who claimed their privileges, were brought before the peers in Westminster Hall, where the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had been appointed lord high steward, presided. The scene was solemn and grand. "Three parts of Westminster Hall," says Horace Walpole, "were enclosed with galleries and hung with scarlet; and the whole ceremony was conducted with the most awful solemnity and decency. . . . . No part of the royal family was there, which was a proper regard to the unhappy men who were become their victims. One hundred and thirty-nine lords were present. . . . . I had armed myself with all the resolution I could with the thought of the prisoners' crimes and of the danger past, and was assisted by the sight of the Marquis of Lothian in weepers for his son who fell at Culloden:* but the first appearance of the prisoners shocked me—their behaviour melted me." Cromartie was a timid man, and shed tears; and the other earl, Kilmarnock, though behaving with more dignity, pleaded guilty, as did Cromartie, both expressing remorse for their past conduct, and their present good wishes for the person and government of King George; but old Lord Balmerino, the hero of the party, pleaded not guilty, and took exceptions to the indictment. "He is," says Walpole, "the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw: the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. . . . . At the bar he plays with his fingers upon the axe,† while he talks to the gentleman gaoler; and one day, somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child, and placed him near himself." He proposed to disprove the indictment, by showing that he was not present at the taking of Carlisle; but upon being informed that this was no answer to the charge of his joining the king's enemies there, inasmuch as he had marched into the town at the head of his troop after it was taken by the rebels, he said, with a smile, that he should give their lordships no further trouble. While the peers were withdrawn to their own chamber, previous to delivering their verdict, Murray, the solicitor-general (afterwards Lord Mansfield), asked Balmerino why he had put in a plea which his solicitor had previously informed him could be of no use? The old Scot, who was witty as well as brave, asked the bystanders who this person was; and, being told, he said, in a tone which must have chilled the heart of that able and rising lawyer,—"Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady your mother was of great use to us at Perth!" Murray, indeed, came of a very Jacobite stock; and his elder brother, Lord Dunbar, was minister or secretary to the Pretender. When the peers returned to their places, the lord high steward asked them severally whether Lord Balmerino was guilty or not guilty? and all said,—Guilty, upon honour. He begged their pardon for giving so much trouble; and, as he went away, he said, "They call me a Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard I should have followed it, for I could not starve." He also said that one of his reasons for pleading not guilty was, that so many fine ladies might not be disappointed of their show. If poverty could have excused rebellion, all three lords might have pleaded it. Since the stopping of a pension allowed to him by Sir Robert Walpole, Kilmarnock, though a fourfold earl,—being Earl of Erroll, of Linlithgow, and of Calendar as well as of Kilmarnock,—had often wanted a dinner; and the Earl of Cromartie was not in better circumstances. On being brought up to receive sentence both these earls sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromartie, "is the least part of my suffering; but, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parent hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion." Lord Kilmarnock, who had infinitely more self-possession, and who possessed a fine voice and extremely fine person, and a noble carriage, made what was considered by all an able and impressive speech. He said that he would not deny the extent of his own crime, but that there was some alleviation to it in his having instilled good principles into his eldest son, "who was in the Duke of Cumberland's

* Lord Robert Kerr, who was killed at Culloden, was the Marquis's second son, and one of the most promising young men of the time.

† The axe, in such cases, was always brought from the Tower with the prisoners, and held by the executioner near to them during the trial. In the morning, when the three lords were to be brought from the Tower in separate coaches, there was some dispute in which the axe must go: old Balmerino cried out, "Come, come, put it with me!"

army fighting for the liberties of his country at Culloden, when his unhappy father was in arms to destroy them." [This was true; but, unluckily, his second son was with him in the field, and was now with him in the Tower.] He also considered that he was entitled to take some merit to himself for the great tenderness with which he had treated the English prisoners when the victory was on his side. He spoke so well that Lord Leicester went up to the Duke of Newcastle, and said, "I never heard so great an orator as Lord Kilmarnock. If I was your grace I would pardon him, and make him paymaster to the forces, like Pitt."

The case of the unfortunate lords and others had been prejudiced rather than helped by a very indiscreet letter which Vanhoey, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, had been induced by the French court to address to the Duke of Newcastle, recommending humanity, clemency, and greatness of soul—the latter a quality which was non-existent in court and cabinet. Another letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for the prisoners, but stopped and forwarded to the House of Lords. It contained a plea for the prisoners, objecting that the late act for regulating the trials of rebels did not come into operation till after their crime was committed; but this legal objection was set aside by the Lords, and without any other legal proceedings the Chancellor, as Lord High Steward, pronounced the horrible sentence of death, as traitors, upon the three lords. Great intercession was made for the two earls, but apparently little or none for old Balmerino, who would have excited more sympathy in magnanimous hearts than either of the earls. The Duke of Hamilton, who had never been at court, kissed the king's hand and asked Lord Kilmarnock's life—but, according to an acute observer, Hamilton's intercession rather hurried Kilmarnock to the block. Cromartie found better petitioners and advocates in the Prince of Wales,* and in his own handsome and excellent wife, who was far advanced in pregnancy. It is said that Kilmarnock, with the greatest nobleness of soul, desired to have Lord Cromartie preferred to himself for pardon, if there could be but one saved. A pardon was granted to Lady Cromartie for her husband, and the two others were ordered for execution on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock was not so light-hearted, but old Balmerino continued to be joyous with his pretty young wife almost to the last.† On the fatal morning, just before they came out of the Tower, he called for wine and drank a bumper to the health of King James. Both the lords were made to walk on foot from their prison to the scaffold. Kilmarnock, on account, we suppose, of the superiority of his rank and title walked first, supported by two Presbyterian preachers, and dressed all in black. Balmerino followed, all alone, wearing a blue coat turned up with red, "his rebellious regimentals," a large loose flannel waiscoat, and under that his shroud and grave-clothes. Their hearses were close behind them. They were conducted to a house near the scaffold. Here they parted. "My Lord," said Balmerino, embracing the earl, "I wish I could suffer for both!" But Kilmarnock had scarcely left him before he desired to see him again, and then asked him whether he knew anything of a resolution said to have been taken in the Highland army the day before the battle of Culloden, to put all the English prisoners to death. Kilmarnock replied, "My Lord, I was not present; but since I came hither I have had all the reason in the world to believe that there was such order taken; and I hear the Duke of Cumberland has the pocketbook with the order." Balmerino, who *was* present, rejoined indignantly—"*It is a lie raised to excuse their barbarity to us.*" And, as no such order was ever produced to the world, and as Balmerino, Lord George Murray, the gentle Locheil, and the great majority of the Jacobite officers and chief men were wholly incapable of such a barbarous design, and as the young Pretender himself had never shown a cruel disposition, we must believe that the dying lord spoke the truth. After spending about an hour in his devotions with the Presbyterian clergyman, Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold; he seemed terrified, but yet preserved the dignity of a gentleman. He stood and prayed some time with one of the ministers, who exhorted and encouraged him, but wept the while. His penitence was much admired; he delivered a long speech to the sheriff and stuck to the recantation he had made at his trial, declaring he was satisfied with the legality of King George's title, and that he wished all that embarked in the Pretender's cause might meet the same fate. At last he knelt down "with a visible unwillingness to depart," and the executioner struck off his head at a single blow. The scaffold was then new-strewed with sawdust, the blood on the block was covered, the executioner put on a new dress and took up a new axe. "And then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general." He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, went up to his coffin, read the inscription on the lid, and with a nod and a smile, said, it was all right. He then gazed around him upon the spectators who had assembled in amazing numbers (even the masts of the ships in the river were covered with men eager to catch a distant view), and he read a long paper in an audible voice and gave it to the sheriff. He mentioned George as a good kind of prince, but denied his right to the throne, and declared that Prince Charles was so sweet a prince that flesh and blood could not resist following him. In trying the block he exclaimed, "If I had a thousand lives I

* "The Prince of Wales, whose intercession saved Lord Cromartie, says he did it in return for old Sir W. Gordon, Lady Cromartie's father, coming down out of his death-bed to vote against my father in the Chippenham election. If his royal highness had not countenanced inveteracy like that of Sir W. Gordon, he would have no occasion to exert his gratitude now in favour of rebels."—*H. Walpole.* The reader will remember the strange scene when the antagonists of Sir Robert Walpole brought down the lame, the halt, and the blind, to vote against him.

† "Balmerino," says Horace Walpole, writing on the 12th of August, "is jolly with his pretty Peggy."

would lay them all down here in the same cause." He called up the executioner, felt the edge of the axe, asked him how many blows he had given Kilmarnock, and then gave the headsman three guineas, saying he never was rich—that this was all the money he now had, and he wished it was more.* Two clergymen came up to offer their assistance, but he declined it, saying they had already done him all the good they could. He then pulled off his periwig, took a plaid cap out of his pocket, and put it on his head, saying he would die a Scotchman. He pulled off his coat and gave it to the executioner, whom he patted on the back, and encouraged to do his work like a man. He stretched his neck across the block, and gave the sign instantly "by tossing up his arm as if he were giving the signal for battle." But the headsman, taken by surprise with so much rapidity, gave him a bad blow, and it cost him a third effort to sever the head from the body.†

Old Lord Lovat was not brought to trial till the spring of the following year (1747); for he had not appeared in arms like Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and it was more difficult to prove against him an overt act. It appears, indeed, that the old fox confidently expected he should escape the vengeance of the law by a natural death in the Tower, for he was sinking under his age and his maladies.‡ But John Murray of Broughton, the young Pretender's secretary, saved his own neck by turning king's evidence, and sacrificing his former friends and associates. His ample revelations were quite enough to convict Lovat, and even to fix the guilt of treason or treasonable correspondence upon several English Jacobites of high rank: and if the government of the day had been so inclined they might legally have sacrificed the Duke of Beaufort, Sir William Wynn, and others who had been plotting and corresponding for years. Murray of Broughton produced Lovat's own letters to Charles and other documents; and, remembering the iniquities of the chief rather than the old principle of clanship, several of his kinsmen and clan appeared against him upon his trial. This trial began on the 9th of March and lasted seven days. He complained bitterly to the Lords that the factor appointed to manage his estate had not complied with the order of their house; that Captain Fergusson had not restored his strong box with his money, though ordered so to do, at his Majesty's command, by a warrant from the Duke of Newcastle, and that he had consequently been left destitute of money to support himself in his prison, or to provide for his defence. The Duke of Newcastle said, that, as to the strong box and money which Captain Fergusson had seized, he had been ordered to deliver it up; but that on the captain's representing that he looked on the money as a fair prize, belonging to himself and his seamen, it was considered that it would be hard to rob him of it, till it was known whether it was so or not; "which," added the Duke of Newcastle, "could not be ascertained till the event of Lord Lovat's trial."* In other words Lovat was not to have the use of his own money till it was useless to himself. According to the Scottish eye and ear witness we are following, "he said some strong things with regard to his unhappy situation, and read some strong epithets with regard to Captain Fergusson and the factor"† —epithets which we cannot help fancying were well merited. Nor was it without extreme difficulty that he obtained leave for his agent William Fraser to have access to him in the Tower. It appears, however, that government had some fears, not altogether unfounded, that the old fox might break cover and escape. When he first came to the Tower he said that if he were not so old and infirm they would find it difficult to keep him there. And when they told him they had kept much younger men, he said, "Yes, but they were inexperienced; they had not broken so many jails as I have." He told Williamson, the lieutenant of the Tower, that he would contrive to hang his eldest son, and then marry his second son to Williamson's niece. And this intention of sacrificing his son, whom he had cajoled and driven into the rebellion long before he declared himself, was not said merely as a bon-mot; for the grey-headed sinner capped all his monstrous iniquities by attempting to save himself by accusing and sacrificing his eldest son. According to Horace Walpole, who seems not to have missed one moment of the trial,‡ Lovat's behaviour was the strangest that had ever been witnessed in any court or anywhere else. We believe we shall not go far wrong in adopting the theory of the great Scotch writer, that there was a touch of madness in the old man's composition.§ But seldom was madness allied with so much caustic wit. "At his trial," says Walpole, "he affected great weakness and infirmities, but often broke out into passions, particularly at the first witness who was his vassal; he asked him how he dared to come thither? The man replied, to satisfy his conscience. Murray, the Pretender's secretary, was the chief evidence, who, in the course of his information, mentioned Lord Traquair's having conversed with Lord Barrymore, Sir Watkyn Williams, and Sir John

* A gift of the kind was regular,—Kilmarnock had given the headsman five guineas.

† Hor. Walpole's Letters to Mann.—Ray.

‡ At first, however, Lovat fancied that the air of the Tower agreed with him; and he told his physician "that the Tower was a better cure than all his draughts and pills."

* Letter from Normand MacLeod to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.

† Id.—Lovat had previously petitioned the House of Lords touching the strong box and the money. "There was," says Sir Andrew Mitchell, "neither gravity nor decency in his behaviour: he appeared quite unconcerned; and what he said was ludicrous and buffoonish; *but his petition was bold and well-worded*, which, however, would have been passed over without notice, had not Lord Granville bounced and Lord Bath vapoured, and procured an order to be entered in the Journal, and have by that acquired to themselves a sort of popularity which you know they very much wanted. No Scots noblemen spoke on this occasion; *they are prudent and cautious. God bless them!*"—*Letter to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.*

‡ Walpole opens the letter containing this account with the words "I have been *living* at old Lovat's trial." The Duke of Cumberland attended this trial, though he had kept away from that of the other lords.

§ Walter Scott.

Lord Lovat.
From a Drawing made by Hogarth the morning before his lordship's execution.

Cotton, on the Pretender's affairs, but that they were shy. He was proceeding to name others, but was stopped by Lord Talbot, and the court acquiesced — I think very indecently. It was imagined that the Duchess of Norfork would have come upon the stage. The two knights were present, as was MacLeod, against whom a bitter letter from Lovat was read, accusing him of breach of faith; and afterwards Lovat summoned him to answer some questions he had to ask, but did not. It is much expected that Lord Traquair, who is a great coward, will give ample information of the whole plot. When Sir Everard Falkener had been examined* against Lovat, the lord high steward asked the latter if he had anything to say to Sir Everard? he replied, No; but that he was his humble servant, and wished him joy of his young wife." The two last days of the trial he behaved ridiculously; and he joked and made everybody laugh even at the awful crisis when sentence was pronounced. To Lord Ilchester, who sat near him, he said, in the words of an old French song—

Je meurs pour ma patrie,
Et ne m'en soucie guères.

And in withdrawing from Westminster Hall he exclaimed, "Farewell, my lords: we shall never meet again in the same place!" Both before and after trial he made his prison echo with his jests, and he carried the same spirit to the block. Perhaps the greatest weakness and folly he committed was in writing a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, endeavouring to excite his compassion by reminding his royal highness how often he had carried him in his arms as a child. Still there was even in this letter a touch of his cunning and remorselessness—a stroke that was likely to tell with the Butcher of Culloden—for he offered to make such discoveries as would be a hundredfold more useful to government than the chopping off his old grey head. "He says he will be hanged," says Walpole; "for that his neck is so short and bended, that, if beheaded, he should be struck on the shoulders. I did not think it possible to feel so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle, but tyranny and villany, wound up by buffoonery, took off all the edge of concern."* He ate heartily during his whole confinement, even the morning of his execution; and

* He was secretary to the duke, whom he had attended into Scotland during the rebellion.

* Letters to H. Mann.

he declared the day before he died he was never in better spirits. He said he should die as a Christian, and as a Highland chief should do—that is, *not in his bed.** On the morning of the 9th of April he was led to the scaffold. He said one of his predecessors five hundred years ago had died in the same way for his principles; that his principles had been constant and invariable; that in the course of his life he had never betrayed them nor anybody; nor should any peer or commoner be hurt from what he should say now.† Some short time before he got to the place of execution, a great scaffold near the bars on Tower Hill, being overloaded with spectators, broke down, and by this accident about eighteen persons were killed, and many more so hurt that they died afterwards. "So that, as he caused much destruction in his life, the like fate attended him on the day of his death."‡ He had desired that Mr. Baker, a Romish priest attached to the Sardinian embassy, might attend him in private till his execution; and this favour had been granted him. Yet he professed himself not an orthodox Catholic, but a Jansenist, and denied the infallibility of the pope. He made no set speech, but sat down a little while in a chair on the scaffold, and talked to the people nearest to him, lying most deliberately, and quoting Horace. He said he was glad to suffer for his country—*dulce est pro patriâ mori;* that he did not know how it was, but he had always loved his country—*nescio quâ natale solum*, &c.; that he had never swerved from his principles, and that this was the character of his family, who had been gentlemen for five hundred years. It seems to us that the burlesque could not go farther; but our great letter and anecdote writer says, "he died extremely well, without passion, affectation, buffoonery, or timidity, his behaviour being natural and intrepid." He quietly laid his head down on the block and gave the sign quickly; and, notwithstanding the awkward shortness and twist in his neck, he was dispatched at a single blow.

A few circumstances remain to be noticed in connexion with this unhappy civil war. Sir John Cope, after being most virulently abused, caricatured, and put into ballads, was brought to trial by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. According to Walpole, he came off most gloriously, his courage being ascertained, and even his conduct as a general, which everybody had given up, being fully justified. Two of his generals, Lascelles and Folkes, came off also, but not so happily in the opinion of the world. Hawley, who deserved a court-martial far more than Cope, escaped the ordeal through the friendship and protection of the Duke of Cumberland, who continued to treat him as an ornament to the service. Flora MacDonald was released after twelve months' confinement, and went back to the Highlands with some 1500*l.* in her pocket, which had been collected for her, chiefly among Jacobite ladies in London.*

As soon as the storm had blown over, ministers seemed to act as if it had never existed or had never been more than a joke; they were too busy with their own party cabals and intrigues to be able to spare time to attend to Scotland and correct the abuses which had led to or extended the rebellion. Duncan Forbes, though in a bad state of health, travelled up to London with a most admirable plan of pacification for the Highlands, and he exerted himself to the very utmost in order to win or force the attention of the cabinet; but he was obliged to return with the disheartening conviction that he had done little good in this direction; and, as late as the end of December, 1746, his friend Sir Andrew Mitchell, who had remained in the capital, was forced to confess to him that little or nothing had been done. "As to the affairs of Scotland," writes Mitchell, "I am convinced that no man in the administration has had one serious thought about them since you left this place; one only excepted, whose labours for the *good of his country* are incessant; but as he chooses to *work in the dark* I can give no account of his progress, only that I fear he will be successful."† After many delays, however, and, alas! too many executions, ministers prepared an act of indemnity, granting pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion except some *eighty* individuals named—a wide and ungenerous exception. This act was passed without opposition through parliament, which subsequently confirmed with equal facility—a bill not only for disarming the clans, but for restraining the use of their national garb;—a bill making it imperative on the master and teacher of every private school in Scotland to swear allegiance to King George, his heirs and successors, and to register their oaths;—a bill to check the episcopalian divines, who in Scotland were all Jacobites, and to restrain nonjurors in general;—a bill to abolish for ever the system of heritable jurisdictions, by which many Scottish lords and lairds had been allowed, on their own estates, to administer law in their own way. At the same time some encouragement was given to the High-

* Sir Arthur Forbes to the Lord President, Culloden Papers.

† Id.

‡ Ray.—It is said that the old sinner exclaimed, "Ay, Ay, the mair mischief the better sport." Horace Walpole says—"A scaffold fell down and killed several persons; one a man that had rid post from Salisbury the day before to see the ceremony; and a woman was taken up dead with a live child in her arms." But Walpole, who took great pains to collect every particular, does not mention the demoniacal expression just noticed; nor does Volunteer Ray, who writes as if he had been on the spot.

* Chambers's Hist.—Walter Scott, Tales of a Grandfather.—Flora MacDonald afterwards married the son of Kingsburgh. At the time when she smuggled the young Pretender in her train she was about twenty-four years old. Dr. Johnson saw her in the year 1773, when Boswell contrived to get the great moralist to the Highlands and to the Isle of Skye. Flora, or, as she spelled the name, Flory, was then past her seventh climacterie; but Johnson describes her as "not old, of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour;" and his companion Boswell sets her down as "a little woman of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred." Johnson says, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, "She was carried to London, but dismissed without a trial, and came down with Malcolm Macleod, against whom sufficient evidence could not be procured. She and her husband are poor, and are now going to try their fortune in America—Sic rerum volvitur orbis." They did emigrate to America, but returned to Scotland during the war of independence; and Flora died in the Isle of Skye on the 4th of March, 1790.—*Boswell's Life of Johnson, with Mr. Croker's notes.*

† Culloden Papers.

landers to emigrate to our American colonies, or to enlist in the army; and, by virtue of all these and other measures, and the slow but sure effects of time and custom, the strong remnant of the feudal system in Scotland was rent into pieces, and clanships and distinctive Highland customs were destroyed, with all their evil and with all their good.

Badly as it had ended for the Stuarts and those engaged with them, the Scotch war of 1745 had been a most advantageous diversion for the French, who, while the English were intent upon putting it down, had been marching from conquest to conquest, and at the time when the battle of Culloden was fought were threatening Holland with annihilation. When the Duke of Cumberland came so hastily up to London from the North, it was with the hope of obtaining the supreme command of the allied armies in Flanders, and of measuring his sword with Marshal Saxe, who was commanding the armies of Louis XV.; but the duke found that that post had been given to Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Queen of Hungary's brother-in-law, without any notification to George. Both king and duke were greatly offended; and at the same time the English parliament took it into their heads that the Dutch were privately negotiating with France—a fact which, if true, would not have been unaccountable or very blamable, seeing how little able England had been to assist them. Cumberland had, therefore, staid at home to recommend severity against the Scots; and our military achievements abroad were this year confined to a paltry expedition to the coast of Brittany under the command of General St. Clair, Admiral Lestock, and a prostitute, old Lestock's mistress, who went with him in his ship, and who ruled and advised even in matters of war. The strange trio did not take Port L'Orient, but they plundered and burnt a few fishing villages, and returned home without much loss. Some troops, however, were sent back to Holland, and great conquests were spoken of, to be made at some future day over the French in Canada; and Sir John Ligonier and the English cavalry, though they could not prevent the defeat of the allies at the battle of Roucoux, on the Yaar, saved Prince Charles of Lorraine's army from destruction. Our foreign negotiations were as complicated and as unsatisfactory as our campaign was inglorious; but, fortunately, the French were greatly weakened by the death of Philip V. of Spain, which happened in the autumn of 1746, and by the great reverses they sustained in Italy, where the armies of Austria and Sardinia recovered Milan, Parma, and many other places, obtained a great victory over the French and Spaniards near Piacenza, and finally drove the forces of Louis XV. beyond the Alps. Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, entered into some separate negotiations with England, and arrangements were made for a congress at Breda to settle the terms of a general peace. But Frederic of Prussia refused his co-operation; and the ministers of Louis XV., *dazzled by the brilliant* successes they had obtained in the Low Countries—the capture of Brussels, the capture of Antwerp, &c.—were glad to continue the war.

The dissensions in the English cabinet continued on the increase. The discussion of them would occupy volumes, but the great present result was, that Pitt continued to rise—though by slow and uncertain steps—in power and influence; that Lord Harrington was succeeded as one of the secretaries of state by Lord Chesterfield, who had been for some time governing Ireland as lord-lieutenant, with rare ability and a most rare liberality; and that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother disagreed in many particulars.

The parliament had re-assembled on the 18th of November, when his majesty expressed his determination never to abandon his allies, and requested the Commons to make up the deficiency in his civil list, which, he said, had for several years fallen short of the amount contemplated by parliament. Though the rebellion was suppressed, and the chief rebels executed or driven to starve abroad, the peers unanimously passed a bill, introduced by Newcastle, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for three months longer. This bill was opposed in the Commons by the violent Tories and Jacobites, and apparently by none other, for it was finally carried by 143 to 34. Pitt continued paymaster of the forces, and Fox secretary at war; and it was their duty to announce, and to congratulate parliament on the fact, that his majesty had effected an annual saving of seventy thousand pounds by dismissing two troops of his life-guards and reducing three heavy cavalry regiments to dragoon regiments; and the Commons voted an address of thanks upon this great occasion. Now and then the feeble voice of opposition was heard to murmur that the nation was beggared and ruined; but the fact appears to be, that, in spite of the increased expenditure of the government, England was richer than she had ever been before, and that, notwithstanding the mistakes of those who governed them, the English people were advancing rapidly in wealth and civilization.

A.D. 1747.—The jealous prohibitions of parliament had stimulated public curiosity, and several periodical publications, without the fear of the House of Commons before their eyes, had for some time ventured to give sketches of the debates and proceedings of both Houses. The Gentleman's Magazine and the London Magazine published, in the month of March this year, an account of Lovat's trial, with Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's speeches on the occasion. The Lords instantly resented this as a flagrant breach of privilege, brought the poor printers to the bar on their knees, committed them to prison, and would not liberate them till they had abjectly expressed their contrition, promised to offend no more, and paid very heavy fees. These high-handed proceedings had an effect; the writers in magazines and other papers were frightened into silence, and the great body of the people

were kept in the dark as to what was said or done in the Upper House. And, in fact, but for the notes taken by Horace Walpole, and communicated to the public half a century later, and but for the notes left by Lord Hardwicke and one or two others who had seats in parliament, we should at this day know next to nothing of any debate in the Lords for some twenty or thirty years after this castigation of the two magazines. There were not wanting men in the Commons who would have been as severe as the Lords; and many members complained of being put into print "by low fellows;" but Pelham had the good sense and the good humour to observe, "Let them alone; they make better speeches for us than we can make for ourselves:"* and so the debates of the Commons continued to be given occasionally, but vaguely and badly reported, and always under fictitious names; for to have said that Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox said such and such things in any given debate would have been a stretch of audacity beyond the boldness of even news-writers or newsmakers in those days.

To quicken the Austrian sluggishness, 100,000*l.* were added to the Queen of Hungary's subsidy, and the session was terminated on the 17th of June, when his majesty intimated his intention of appealing to his people by a speedy dissolution and fresh election. Vast expectations were entertained of this year's campaign. Lord Sandwich, as ambassador to the States-General, had smoothed some difficulties, and the Duke of Cumberland repaired to Holland to take the chief command of the allied armies. Between Dutch, Flemish, Bavarians, Austrians, and English, nearly 100,000 men were collected, in the month of March, under our English prince, who, however, soon testified that he was not the general destined to vanquish Marshal Saxe. There were, it is true, many unfavourable circumstances: the allied army consisted of many unamalgamating parts, and the number of native British troops fell far short of what had been agreed upon; yet still it must remain indisputable that Cumberland, compared to Saxe, was as a bold dragooner to a consummate general. The latter, from his cantonments, intercepted the duke's provisions and supplies; and when he took the field it was to move to certain victory; for Cumberland had put his army into some of the worst positions that could have been chosen; and the allies were thoroughly beaten at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, on the 2nd of July, when the gallant Ligonier, with the British cavalry, again checked the advance of the French, and preserved the allies from destruction. But, generally, the fighting of the British troops, both horse and foot, was as good as Cumberland's generalship was bad. Each reached the extreme. While the Dutch in the centre gave way and fled, and the Austrians on the right would not or could not come into action at all, the British on the left stood the brunt and strewed the field with 10,000 Frenchmen before they retreated. Saxe himself afterwards confessed to Ligonier that his victory had cost him in killed and wounded 8000 foot, 1000 horse, and a great many officers. "The duke," says Walpole, "was very nearly taken, having, through his short sight, mistaken a body of French for his own people. He behaved as bravely as usual; but his prowess is so well established that it grows time for him to exert other qualities of a general. . . . . A French officer said to an English private who had been made prisoner, 'Had there been 50,000 such men as you, we should have found it very difficult to conquer.' 'There were men enough like me,' was the reply; 'but we wanted one like Marshal Saxe.'" After this battle the French continued to take fortresses with wondrous facility till they sat down before the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom, where they lost a vast number of men, and where they must have failed entirely but for the indolence of the Dutch governor, an old man in his eighty-first year. With the surrender of this famous fortress the campaign in the Low Countries ended, and both armies went into winter quarters, the French triumphantly, the allies accusing one another and quarrelling. Nor was the war more favourable to the allies on the side of the Alps. Having driven the French out of Italy in the autumn of the preceding year, the Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by the British fleet, made an invasion of the South of France, and laid siege to Antibes; but they were soon compelled to retreat, were followed by the French, were forced to give up Genoa, and were so irritated by their many failures that they, too, began to quarrel among themselves. A second French force, however, commanded by the brother of Marshal Belleisle, was stopped in the narrow defiles of Savoy, as it was attempting to open its way to Susa and Turin, was defeated with great loss, and driven back without its brave commander, who was knocked on the head at the barricades of Exilles. But the English navy did something this summer. Admiral Anson fought a gallant battle off Cape Finisterre, took six ships of the line, several frigates, and the best part of a numerous French convoy; Admiral Hawke, off Belleisle, captured six ships of the line out of nine; Commodore Fox took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies; and other successes were obtained at sea in various parts of the world, from the Bay of Bengal to the British Channel. The French trade was completely paralysed, and great want, suffering, and dissension were the consequences. Thus, in spite of their successes under Marshal Saxe in the Low Countries, the cabinet of Versailles began to sigh for peace; and the more when they ascertained that Ferdinand VI., the new King of Spain, was determined to conclude a treaty with England with or without France. Mr. Pelham was equally anxious to treat; but his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, sided with the king and the Duke of Cumberland in recommending a continuation of hostilities. Pelham, however, stuck to his point, main-

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.

taining that either Frederick of Prussia must be secured as our ally or peace must be concluded on the best terms that could be procured, as we had absolutely nothing to hope from the weak, selfish, and divided allies with whom we were acting. Marshal Saxe made certain indirect overtures to the Duke of Cumberland, hoping that his royal highness would receive full powers to treat. Cumberland, as a fighting man, still preferred the chances of another campaign; but, if peace was to be made, he was desirous of having the honour of making it. The king was ready to gratify his favourite son; but the cabinet took fright; they had no notion of the duke's abilities as a diplomatist, and they prevailed upon George to consent that Lord Sandwich should go to head-quarters to *assist* his royal highness. After some very ingenious tricks on the part of the French, Sandwich proposed that matters should be referred to a congress to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, and to this the Marquis de Puisieulx assented. The able diplomatic pen of Lord Chesterfield was employed by Mr. Pelham in drawing up conditions and the outlines of a treaty; communications were made to our allies, the States-General, the King of Sardinia, and the empress-queen, who were invited to concur; and an active intercourse was set on foot between Paris and London. It soon appeared, however, that our allies, who had been making war at the expense of English money and English blood, were not over anxious for peace.* At the moment of danger, the Dutch had chosen to appoint the Prince of Orange, who had married Anne, daughter of George II., their captain-general, admiral, and hereditary stadtholder, hoping that this William Charles Henry Frizo would serve them as King William had done at a like crisis. And, though this Prince of Orange was ignorant of military affairs, he was anxious to signalise himself in war, and begged his father-in-law not to think of making peace until they had tried their fortunes in at least one more campaign; and the King of Sardinia and Maria Theresa were, upon other grounds, equally anxious for another throw of the dice, for the former wanted to swallow up the republic of Genoa, and the Austrian knew she would be required to make sacrifices in Italy to set up the Spanish infanta, Don Philip. But, as it happened that without the assistance and the subsidies of England these potentates were powerless, they, too, were obliged to entertain the propositions, and to agree to send ministers to the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Prussia was kept quiet by the guarantee of Silesia, which was formally pledged to him by England and Holland.

The new parliament assembled on the 10th of November, soon after George's return from Hanover. The Prince of Wales, who was constantly smarting under the preference shown to his brother the Duke of Cumberland, and who was as inveterate against the Pelham administration as ever he had been against that of Sir Robert Walpole, had put the whole strength of his party into play at the late general election; but the returns, on the whole, were very favourable to the ministry. The opening speech from the throne passed lightly over our reverses in Flanders, but dwelt upon our naval victories and the mischief we had done to the navy and trade of France; it alluded to the arrangements making for a pacifying congress; but at the same time it called for powerful armaments and good supplies, as the only means of securing an honourable peace. Each House was as compliant as possible; the Commons voted above thirteen millions of money almost without opposition; and in the whole course of the session there was not a single division in the House of Lords against any ministerial proposal whatsoever. Yet there was a clause in their Lordships' address that was highly honourable to that House. In speaking of the best means of extinguishing the spirit of rebellion and anarchy in the North, Lord Chesterfield had recommended "schools and villages to civilise the Highlands;"* and the peers, in their address, declared that *the diffusion of knowledge among the people would be the best safeguard of their loyalty and tranquillity.* But it unfortunately was not deemed essential by either House, by cabinet or by country, to make any proper provision for national education; and, though ministers could raise loans of millions for the purposes of war, and could squander annually hundreds of thousands in court pensions, they could spare little or nothing for the greatest and most glorious of all national objects.

A. D. 1748.—The king closed this complacent session on the 13th of May, by announcing the cessation of hostilities and the recent signature of preliminaries of peace. But the cabinet had scarcely been so tranquil as the parliament, and it was growing every day more apparent that ministerial jealousy, selfishness, and intrigue were becoming more and more fierce and shameless as parliament became more moderate. The voice of faction ceased, the great struggles of parties on broad and opposite principles of government terminated, and were succeeded by private personal contests for power and place, almost without any of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory. The Duke of Newcastle, alarmed at Chesterfield's successes as a diplomatist, and still more at an intimacy which that accomplished and intriguing lord had formed with the king's mistress, the German Lady Yarmouth, resolved to get rid of him at all costs; and Newcastle retained influence enough with the king, who disliked Chesterfield for what he considered his too great eagerness for peace, to make the court so uncomfortable a place for him that his lordship resigned on the 6th of February. Then there was a fresh cabal to decide who

* Louis XV. had observed, after the last campaign in Flanders, that the British not only paid for all, but fought for all,—that the Austrians were benevolent spectators of battles.

* Diary of Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in Marchmont Papers.

should succeed Chesterfield as secretary of state. The Duke of Newcastle wanted to bring in his friend Lord Sandwich—a very convenient kind of political jobber, whose private morality and public honesty were pretty nearly on a par. Fox, still secretary-at-war, says, in a humorous letter, "Lord Sandwich was the man his grace of Newcastle intended. . . . . The Duke of Newcastle, who, I think, never could mean to make the Duke of Bedford his colleague, thought of making him a shoeing-horn to Lord Sandwich: he talked of the Duke of Bedford for the place; and then said, he was sure his grace would expect it, and would acquiesce in nobody but our friend Lord Sandwich. He was right in the first; but as to the last, the Duke of Bedford meant Sandwich only in the second place, and himself in the first, which I think might easily have been foreseen; and, though his grace of Bedford says he takes it only for six months, nobody who knows him and the king thinks Sandwich has a better chance for his nomination six months hence, than he had now." * The Duke of Bedford thus became joint-secretary of state with Newcastle, who, in six days, became as jealous of him as he had been of Chesterfield. By a sudden handy-dandy trick Newcastle changed his province and took the secretaryship which was more immediately concerned with foreign affairs, leaving home concerns to Bedford. All this occurred before the preliminaries were signed; and for some weeks Newcastle paid his court to the king and the Duke of Cumberland, by maintaining a very warlike tone.† Lord Sandwich was soothed by his appointment to be first lord of the admiralty; and John Stanhope, the resigning and retiring Lord Chesterfield's youngest brother, was, at Chesterfield's own prayer, put at the board of admiralty under Sandwich. In the mean while Mr. Pitt continued to rise in consideration, and as we suspect, began to discover, through the chasms caused by the frequent disagreements between Mr. Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, a rough and tortuous road for himself to the ministerial pinnacle. He was consulted by both the brothers and put in the always tempting position of an arbiter or mediator in their cabinet quarrels. Some months after this we find Pelham writing to his brother the Duke—"I have had a long discourse with Pitt. He seems mighty happy with an opinion, that his interposition and his truly friendly offices have had a good effect in bringing you and me nearer to one another. I let him think so; it may probably keep him nearer to us both; but I would not have you think so, for I should be sorry that it was your opinion that the interposition of any one, especially of so new an acquaintance, could influence me in your cause more than my own reason or natural affection for you would do. However, I most sincerely desire you to go on in your correspondence with him, with all the frankness and cordiality you can; I do so in all my conversations with him; I think him besides the most able and useful man we have amongst us; truly honourable and strictly honest. He is as firm a friend to us as we can wish for; and a more useful one there does not exist."* We shall see more of Pitt's frankness, true honour, and strict honesty hereafter; but it is to be noticed that even at this moment some of his contemporaries would not give him credit for these qualities. In the course of the last session Sir William Stanhope had fallen most violently upon the "Cobhamites" and the "Cousinhood," and had pointed out Pitt as one likely to revel on the spoils of Pelham and Newcastle. Stanhope described the Cobhams and their family connexions as men who coloured over ambition with patriotism and disgraced every virtue by wearing it only for mercenary purposes—as men who, from being the most clamorous incendiaries against power and piece, had become actually possessed of more employments than the most comprehensive place-bill could possibly include—as a family who had raised themselves from obscurity by the petulance of the times and the timidity of the two ministers. "The elder ones," cried Stanhope, "already riot in the spoils of their treachery, and the younger "——. Here Stanhope was called to order; but before he sat down he said that he hoped the House would have more spirit than submit to be made tools of this faction, agents of their jobs, instruments of their malice, and dupes of their self-interested politics. Pitt rose and replied to this irritable man with as much irritability, calling Sir William Stanhope's assertions false assertions, scandalous inventions, scurrilous abuse, and so forth.† Pitt, however, persevered in the look-out for better things, and supported, in the mean while, every ministerial measure, however opposite it might be to the principles he had formerly proclaimed when in opposition and engaged in hunting down Sir Robert Walpole. All this, added to his hot and unguarded expressions in parliament, his towering pride, and cold repelling manners, made him exceedingly unpopular both with parliament and people. One who had been his ardent admirer and his close ally says, that he sunk to a level with Pulteney when he became Earl of Bath.‡ But Pitt remained in the Commons, and by powers of oratory infinitely superior to those of Pulteney in his best days, he soon rose buoyant from this state of depression and forced those who never could love the man to fear and respect the orator.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle had assembled early in the spring, and the conferences were opened on the 11th of March; but it was not until Marshal Saxe had invested several places,

* Letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, envoy at Dresden, in Hanbury Papers, as quoted by Coxe, in Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.

† "The Duke of Newcastle, who is going greater lengths in everything for which he overturned Lord Granville, is all military, and makes more courts than one by this disposition."—*Horace Walpole to Horace Mann.*

* Illustrative Correspondence in Coxe's Pelham Administration.

† Parl. Hist.

‡ Glover's Memoirs.

the Prince of Orange had failed in his warlike engagements, and thirty thousand Russians, subsidised by England, had proved that they could not come up in time to be of any service, that the notion of the renewal of the war was really given up, and that George consented to sign the preliminaries; and even after this he put the peace in jeopardy by insisting upon little advantages for his family, such as the reversion of the bishopric of Osnaburg, &c. But while the king went to Hanover his minister at Aix-la-Chapelle continued to attend the congress, which came to a final settlement after numerous delays and difficulties in the month of October, upon the principle of the *status quo ante bellum*, with some exceptions. In other words, after a long and bloody war, every one was to keep what he had before the war began, and (save the exceptions) to get no more. The arrangement was most imperfect, and many clauses of the treaty were conceived in such loose terms as to allow of double or treble interpretations, and to furnish grounds for new disputes and fresh wars as soon as either party should consider itself ready to take the field. The King of Prussia was guaranteed in the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; the Queen of Spain's second son, Don Philip, obtained Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; the King of Sardinia had some trifling conquests confirmed to him; but England not only gave back all she had taken, but submitted to the indignity of sending two noble hostages to France—the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart—to ensure to Louis the restitution of our recent conquest, Cape Breton. The original causes of the war on our part seemed to be wholly forgotten, and yet Pitt, who had so materially helped to drive on the war against the inclination of Sir Robert Walpole, and who had graced a hundred harangues with the declaration that peace ought never to be made with Spain until that power renounced the right of search, continued to act with and to be part of a ministry that hurried on the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and after that, began and concluded a separate Spanish treaty, without once mentioning this odious right, which, therefore, as far as diplomacy was concerned, was left on its old footing. Nor did the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle contain any satisfaction of the commercial claims England had upon Spain, nor did it in any degree throw open the Spanish main to our trade and shipping; it did nothing commercially, but revive for four years the assiento, or our odious privilege of supplying Spanish America with African slaves.* Old Walpole might have turned himself in his grave, and, after a groan for the blood and treasure which had been thrown away, might have smiled in pity or contempt at these doings of his successors. But by this time Pitt was professing a veneration for Walpole's ashes, and taking frequent occasion of eulogising the wisdom of that great minister, and of excusing his former petulance and opposition to him on the score of his youth; and when he was attacked in parliament for justifying ministers about that *essential point*, he coolly declared that the British claim of no search could never be conceded by Spain,—that he had, indeed, at one time thought otherwise, but now he was ten years older, and had considered public affairs more deliberately.*

By an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis XV. bound himself to give up the cause of the Pretender and exclude the Stuarts from France. On the return of the young Pretender from Scotland Louis XV. had behaved to him with considerable liberality, supplying him with money for his own necessities, and giving commissions in the French army or pensions to the bravest of his Scotch followers—as Locheil, Lord Ogilvie, and others; but at the same time Louis absolutely refused to supply him with men, money, and materials of war for another invasion of Scotland. Thereupon Charles turned his eyes in other directions; and early in 1747, unknown to, and against the inclinations of, the French court, he stole across the Pyrennees and went to Madrid to solicit aid from the impoverished Spaniards and their timid and pacific new king, Ferdinand VI. On his arrival he saw, in private, Carvajal, the prime minister, who at midnight introduced him to the king and queen, who, according to Charles's own account, showed him a great many civilities, but, at the same time, desired him to go back to France as soon as possible; and when he asked the king leave to see the queen-dowager and the rest of the Royal family, his majesty answered there was no need for it.† He attempted to draw the indolent and cautious Ferdinand into discussions of the war and of his business; but Ferdinand referred him to his minister and bowed him out. "I found by that," says the Chevalier, "that he had got his lesson, and was a weak man, just put in motion like a clockwork." At the door of the royal apartment he encountered Farinelli, the Neapolitan *musico*, decorated like a duke, and wearing the cross of Calatrava; for the emasculated warbler had fascinated both king and queen, and was in reality more their prime minister than Carvajal or any one else. "He took me by the hand with effrontery," says Charles. "I first thought, as with reason, it was some grandee or captain of the guards that had seen me in Italy, and was never so much surprised as when he

* "This," says Horace Walpole, with more truth than always accompanies his diatribes, "was the conclusion of the Spanish war I fomented, to overturn Sir Robert Walpole, by Lord Granville, who had neglected it for a French war: by Lord Sandwich, who made a peace that stipulated for no one of the conditions for which it was undertaken; by Pitt, who ridiculed and condemned his own orations for it, and who declared for a peace on any terms; and by the Duke of Newcastle, who betrayed all the claims of the merchants and the South Sea Company."—*Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.*

* From letters in the recently published correspondence of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, it appears that, before making this last speech, he had consulted old Horace Walpole (the brother of Sir Robert), who had formerly twitted him with his youth and inexperience: and it appears at least probable that old Horace himself prompted this speech.—See also an article on the life of Chatham, in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 131.

† Letter from Charles to his father, dated Guadalaxara, March 12, 1747, as given by Lord Mahon, in Appendix to Hist. from Peace of Utrecht.

named himself." On leaving the *musico* he went to the minister, who pressed him ardently "to go out of the town of Madrid and away immediately." Charles begged for a little delay—for a little time to rest, and explain and settle things; but Carvajal assured him that it was absolutely necessary to do the king this pleasure and quit Madrid the next day; and this Charles was obliged to do.* He went back to France with the intention to keep himself absolutely in private till the season should be favourable for another attempt; to leave no stone unturned, and to trust to Providence for the rest.† It appears, however, that as early as this he had begun to give himself up to that hard drinking and debauchery which stupified the little wit he had ever possessed, and disgraced all the latter part of his life. He had chosen for his confessor and boon companion an Irish cordelier, named Kelly, who drank even more than Irish cordeliers in general, and who was said at one and the same time to govern his conscience and regulate his diversions; so that his royal highness's character in point of sobriety was a little blemished on this friar's account.‡ In the mean while Charles's younger brother, styled the Duke of York, who had come into France, and who, during the civil war, had been expected to land in Scotland, had given up all thoughts of English crowns and principalities, and, unknown to his brother, had quitted Paris, and gone back to Rome to enter the church. One very prominent circumstance in their history is, that these members of the House of Stuart were always masking their intentions and deceiving one another. When Charles was expecting no such thing, he received at Paris a letter from his father, dated Albano, June 13, and importing that his brother would be made a cardinal the first day of next month! The whole proceeding, and the entire letter, was singularly characteristic of the old Pretender. "Naturally speaking," says he, "you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but as the duke your brother and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and that we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it would be showing you more regard, and that it would be even more agreeable to you, that the thing should be done before your answer could come here, and to have it in your power to say it was done without your knowledge and approbation. It is very true I did not expect to see the duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but, after I had seen him, I soon found his chief motive—for it was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself, with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered; and, as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting the will of God, and acting directly against my conscience, if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him." After mentioning the sin of forcing people's conscience in matters of religion, and professing a toleration which he was too superstitious a man to feel, James confesses that motives of conscience and equity had not alone determined him in this particular, and that if the Duke of York had not had the vocation in himself, he, as his father, should still have used his best endeavours and all arguments to have induced him to embrace the state and condition of a Catholic priest, as the best means of securing to him that tranquillity and happiness which he felt it was impossible for him to enjoy in any other state. He assures Charles that his brother could never possibly have been of any use to him by remaining in the world; and then adds—"But let us look forward, and not backward; the resolution is taken, and will be executed before your answer can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it, and do not approve it, I shall not take it amiss of you; but for God's sake let not a step, which naturally should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days, become a subject of scandal and *éclat*, which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. Your silence towards your brother, and what you writ to me about him since he left Paris, would do you *little honour* if they were known, and are mortifications your brother did not deserve, but which cannot alter his sentiments towards you."* But, unmoved by this letter, Charles did make the business a matter of scandal and *éclat:* he and his friends declared that the making young York a cardinal was of much worse consequence to the cause than even the battle of Culloden: he broke off all corre-

* Letter from Charles to his father, dated Guadalaxara, March 12, 1747, as given by Lord Mahon, in Appendix to Hist. from Peace of Utrecht.

† Letter from Charles to Lord Clancarty, dated Paris, March 26, 1747.

‡ Letter from Paris to Murray, Lord Dunbar, the old Pretender's minister at Rome, in Stuart Papers. It appears, from this curious letter, that the Irish monk was distributing satires directed against the old Pretender and his friends at Rome, and was in the habit of saying that James was a fool, and Murray a traitor. "It were to be wished," says the writer of the letter, "that his royal highness would forbid that friar his apartment, because he passes for a notorious drunkard. The opinion prevails here that the cordeliers in general are great drinkers, yet even among them this Kelly is infamous for his excesses; in fine, the wine of the prince's table is termed Friar Kelly's wine."

* Stuart Papers, in Lord Mahon's Appendix.—Several parts of the letter are touching, and excite a sympathy for the old Pretender at the expense of the young one, who before this great breach had been accustomed to browbeat and bully his weak, helpless father. "You must be sensible," says James, "that on many occasions I have had reason to complain of you, and that I have acted for this long while towards you more like a son than a father. But I can assure you, my dear child, nothing of *all* that sticks with me, and I forgive you the more sincerely and cordially all the trouble you have given me, that I am persuaded it was not your intention to fail towards me, and that I shall have reason to be pleased with you for the time to come, since all I request of you hereafter is your personal love and affection for me and your brother. Those who may have had their own views in endeavouring to remove us from your affairs have compassed their end. We are satisfied, and you remain master; so that I see no bone of contention remaining, nor any possible obstacle to a perfect peace and union amongst us for the future. God bless my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace. I am all yours."

spondence with his brother, and from that time forward scarcely treated his father with common filial decency. A few months after his brother had taken holy orders, and become a prince of the Roman church, a member of the conclave, with a chance of becoming pope himself, Charles endeavoured to marry a Protestant princess, and to strike up an alliance with Frederick of Prussia, who entertained an equal contempt for all religions or modes of faith. He sent Sir John Graham to Berlin with his instructions to propose, "in a modest manner," a marriage with one of the Prussian princesses—Frederick's sisters or nieces—for that great captain had no children, and was not likely to have any; to declare that he never intended to marry any other than a Protestant; and, if his majesty should decline his alliance, "to ask advice whom to take, as he was known to be the wisest prince in Europe." But this unpromising mission came to nothing, though Frederick, when it suited his purpose, continued to profess a friendship for Charles, who, seven months after this proposal, was driven out of France. There were many circumstances in his conduct likely to irritate Louis XV.; and the English government at the same time urged his most Christian majesty to observe the recent treaty. He, however, would have treated the Chevalier mildly and generously; but Charles would not listen to his proposals, and refused to leave Paris when entreated so to do. The French court begged the old Pretender to make use of his authority, but Charles set at nought his father's letter and still refused to go: nothing, therefore, was left but force. On the evening of the 11th of December, as he was going to the opera his coach was stopped by a company of the French guards, who seized him, bound him hand and foot—for he had arms about his person, and threatened to use them—and carried him with a single attendant to the castle of Vincennes, where, according to his own account, he was most rudely treated, and thrust into a dungeon. But he did not lie there long, for in a few days he was conveyed to the frontier of Savoy, and there left to go whither he might choose. For some time he disappeared altogether from the eyes of the world, and, bearing many names and many disguises, he continued a dissipated wanderer till the year 1766, when his father died, and he returned to Rome to seek a reconciliation with his brother, the cardinal. During this strange vagabond life he came, at least once, into England. It is certain that he visited London in the year 1754, and it has been affirmed that he was here again in 1760, and was actually present at the coronation of George III.

A. D. 1749.—The public rejoicing for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was soon succeeded by loud complaints that ministers had sacrificed the interest and honour of England; but the overbearing eloquence of Pitt kept the House of Commons in order, and the feeble voice of opposition in parliament was almost hushed. This fiery patriot of former days seems to have stuck at nothing that was recommended by the court. When the Pelhams and Sandwiches, as if ashamed of their own work, preserved a silence about the recent treaty, Pitt stood forward and defended it as one of the best treaties that had ever been made; and when the king, the Duke of Cumberland, and ministers wanted to extend the operation and increase the severity of the Mutiny Bill, Pitt was there to advocate the measure and to carry it by a large majority. A clause was introduced subjecting military officers on half-pay to martial law, and it was enacted that all members of a court-martial should be bound by oath not to disclose any of its proceedings unless required so to do by act of parliament. Admiral Byng, who was so soon to feel the sting of this martial law, voted for it. As for Pitt he proclaimed in the course of the debate that martial law must be made comprehensive and severe, that the crown must have more authority over the army and navy—"that the existence of English liberty depended on the *moderation* of the sovereign, and the virtue of the army"—"that, without these virtues, should the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution." In the course of this session he mentioned repeatedly his great fear of Jacobitism and his dread of popular innovation, and declared that he was determined to lead his political life with the present ministry. Mr. Hampden ventured to criticise his inconsistency, to bewail the mischief which rhetoric had brought upon the nation, and to allude to the effects which place and public money had wrought upon the orator; but Pitt made him feel that he was indeed an orator, and that the House of Commons was not yet rhetoric-proof—he crushed Hampden under a mountain of words and led the House as before. Hampden would have resented his personalities by an appeal to arms, but the speaker interfered. Of the two brothers that divided the chief authority of government between them, Mr. Pelham, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was incomparably the superior in point of ability, being in fact thoroughly a man of business and one of the best financiers and managers of an office; and yet Pitt, the arbiter of their quarrels, generally sided not with Pelham but with Newcastle. It has, indeed, been suspected that he had an eye to Pelham's place of chancellor, and thought that the Duke of Newcastle would be glad to have him in that office instead of his brother, and make him his leader in the House of Commons. In this very session while Pelham was carrying a rigorous reduction of the army and navy, and trying to relieve the country by reducing the interest of the national debt, he more than once found himself opposed by Pitt. The army, however, was reduced to 19,000 men and the navy to 8000, and Pelham succeeded in reducing the four per cents.

to three and a half for seven years, after which they were to be farther reduced to three.

A. D. 1750.—During the session several bills were passed for the encouragement of our trade, and for the establishment of fisheries which might compete with those of the Dutch; and not perceiving how useless are such regulations and restrictions, parliament made a law prohibiting the abduction of British artificers into foreign states, and the export of implements used in the British woollen and silk manufactures. Some considerable attention was also paid to the subject of internal communication, and sundry bills were passed for the formation of new roads and for the improvement of the city of London. With the return of peace the intelligence, capital, and spirit of the nation were turned in these directions, and the effect was soon seen in many admirable works. The session was closed on the 12th of April when the king spoke of the sincere disposition manifested by foreign powers to maintain the peace of Europe—a piece of state insincerity; for his majesty must have known at the time that several of those powers were taking the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to pieces, and were looking out for early opportunities of renewing the war. George then prepared to go as usual to Hanover, and the government was vested as usual in a regency of Lords Justices. The king's back was scarcely turned when fresh dissensions broke out in the cabinet, for the Duke of Newcastle was anxious to liberate himself from his intractable colleague the Duke of Bedford, who, by means of Lord and Lady Sandwich, had secured the favour and protection of the Duke of Cumberland and his sister the Princess Amelia, who had taken offence at Newcastle's paying too much court to Lady Yarmouth. But worse followed; the king's mistress had far more influence over him than his daughter Amelia, and the Duke of Newcastle found to his great surprise that Lady Yarmouth was of opinion that it would not be safe or prudent to dismiss the Duke of Bedford, because he was a man of great consequence, and because it would make the king uneasy. The plain truth was, Lord and Lady Sandwich, who had no previous acquaintance with Lady Yarmouth, had formed a sudden intimacy with the mistress, and filled her ear with reasons or arguments for keeping Bedford in his place in spite of his jealous colleague.

In the course of the summer a strong British colony was settled in Nova Scotia, and the troops withdrawn from Cape Breton were sent to its support. The town of Halifax, fortified with a palisade, began to rise in the waste, and, as reduced officers and soldiers continued to flock to that part of America, Nova Scotia soon became a very important colony, to the great mortification of France, which pretended that such an establishment was an infraction of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Nearly at the same time some bodies of English and Scotch began to settle on the Mosquito coast, in the gulph of Mexico, and this caused equal or greater irritation to the court of Spain. A French ambassador at Madrid worked upon this discontent with the view of inducing Ferdinand VI. to join in a new war against England; but the Spanish king was exceedingly pacific; his consort Barbara, a Portuguese princess, was strongly attached to the English; and our envoy Mr. Keene, one of the best negociators of the day, and one that knew Spain and the Spanish character thoroughly, succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty with the court of Madrid. By this treaty, which was signed on the 5th of October, 1750, the British were restored to various privileges and put on the footing of the most favoured nations; we renounced the remaining term of the Assiento Treaty, and obtained 100,000*l.* to compensate the claims of our South Sea Company; but not a word was said about the right of search! The Spaniards in the new world, when strong enough, insisted on the right; and the English, when strong enough, set them at defiance. Hence there was a perennial well-spring of quarrel and ill blood, and it was pretty constantly supplied with strong under-currents occasioned by our seamen, who did not respect treaties sufficiently to give up the profitable occupation of cutting logwood in Campeachy Bay and smuggling on the Spanish main; nor was it ever in the power of the British government wholly to suppress these irregularities. At the same time Maria Theresa, dissatisfied with the terms she had procured, and unmindful of her former and vast obligations to England, was making overtures both to France and Spain, and taking every opportunity of showing her animosity to the court of St. James's. We avoid entering into the complicated intrigues which were carrying on in Germany, where princes who had been subsidised by England as yesterday were ready to take the pay of the best bidder as to-morrow, and where Frederic of Prussia was determined to carve for himself with the sword. George was naturally solicitous and anxious about Hanover; but, where so many other fruitful causes of quarrel existed—in America, in both Indies, on the African coast, in the Mediterranean, about Gibraltar and Minorca, it was a vulgar falsehood—though at times a popular one—to say that the king's affection for his hereditary dominions was the sole cause that was leading us fast to another waste of blood and money. The French at this very moment were advancing claims to a part of Nova Scotia, and were refusing to give up the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which they were bound by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to evacuate. While the king was at Hanover, whither Newcastle had accompanied him, he began to complain of the silence of the Duke of Bedford, who hardly ever wrote to him, and to say that he had an easy office of it—that he received his pay without doing any work. In effect Newcastle had taken the principal management of foreign affairs into his own hands, and had excluded his colleague as much as possible from all other affairs; and Bedford, irritated at

being thus reduced to a cypher, neglected the little he had to do, and seldom or ever put his hand to a dispatch. He is described as a proud, resentful man; but if his pride had been of the right kind he would have resigned at once, and would not have continued to take five thousand a-year for doing nothing. At length the king made up his mind to remove Bedford from the office of secretary of state; but sundry difficulties were started by Lady Yarmouth, and it was feared that the Duke would not be satisfied with the post of master of the horse, which was vacant by the death of the Duke of Richmond, and which George thought of offering to Bedford. These things are tiresome to write and most tedious to read, but the business of three nations was delayed and perplexed by them, and it is necessary to have some notion of what forms the materials of a large part of the history of this reign.

The king returned and found Mr. Pelham greatly embarrassed as to the direction of the House of Commons, and anxious to reconcile his friend Bedford and his brother Newcastle. Pitt continued to court the favour of Newcastle, but Lord Cobham and Pitt's nearest friends and relations were labouring to aggravate the dissensions in the cabinet, and were secretly caballing with the Prince of Wales, who, for some time past, had been in close connexion with Bolingbroke and the factious men that frequented his lordship's house at Battersea. The prince's chief manager was Bubb Dodington, who, upon a careful calculation of interests and chances, had thought it advisable to relinquish the treasurership of the navy and resume a place in the prince's household. Most of the speeches in opposition to government were concocted either at Leicester House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, or at Lord Bolingbroke's at Battersea. Fox, who never travelled in the same path with Pitt, continued to attach himself to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Pelham.* Bedford, it appears, would now have resigned his secretaryship and taken the mastership of the horse; but upon the unpalatable condition that he should be allowed to name Lord Sandwich for his successor. According to Horace Walpole, Sandwich had first worked himself into the affections of the Duke of Bedford "by intrigues, cricket-matches, and acting plays." The only important change which immediately followed his majesty's arrival from Hanover, was the sudden and uncourteous removal of Lord Harrington, who was succeeded in the lieutenancy of Ireland by the Duke of Dorset, then president of the council.

A. D. 1751.—Parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king announced that he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria for the better security of peace on the continent. The effect of recent deliberations at Battersea and Leicester House was made evident at once. Lord Egmont, one of the Prince of Wales's men and a fluent speaker, opposed the address on the ground that it approved of useless treaties and ruinous subsidies (for, as a matter of course, Bavaria was to be subsidised); and he was followed by Bubb Dodington, Dr. Lee, and others of that party; but the address was carried by a majority of 203 to 74. In the course of the morning on which parliament met great numbers of inflammatory papers were dispersed through London by the Penny Post, and by being dropt secretly into the areas of houses. The chief of these papers was entitled "Constitutional Queries," and was levelled at the Duke of Cumberland, whose defeats in Flanders had sadly overshadowed his victory at Culloden, and whose unpopularity was now extreme and extended even to the army, which he had disgusted with his severity and his martinet notions of discipline. In these queries the duke was compared to "John of Lancaster and crook-backed Richard." As it was a great measure of the Prince of Wales's opposition to attack his brother, the Jacobites bore but half the suspicion of being authors of this libel, which was indeed generally ascribed to the pen of Lord Egmont.* On the 22nd of January the Duke of Marlborough with great heat moved in the House of Lords that the Constitutional Queries should be burned by the common hangman. The motion easily passed there, but it gave rise to some unpleasant debates in the Commons. Sir Francis Dashwood thought that some of the charges in the Queries were not unfounded, particularly the complaints about the dismission of old officers and the substitution of new men who had no stake in the country and no character to lose. Colonel Richard Littleton insisted that the Duke of Cumberland had employed troops very improperly in and about London, without regard to municipal privileges and regulations. Lord Egmont, the suspected author of the paper, made "an extremely fine and artful speech." Among other things his lordship said that he disliked such methods of proceeding against libels for two reasons;—he did not approve of parliament taking the business of the law upon itself, and he knew that such motions only tended to spread the libel the more. But he owned that

* Writing in the month of November the caustic Horace Walpole says, "The ministry is all in shatters . . . . . The ground of all, besides Newcastle's naturnal fickleness and jealousy, is, that the Bedford and Sandwich have got the Duke of Cumberland. A crash has been expected, but people now seem to think that they will rub on a little longer, though all the world seems indifferent whether they will or not. . . . . The only difficulty is, who shall succeed them; and it is even a question whether some of the old discarded must not cross over and figure again. I mean it has been even said, that Lord Granville will once more be brought upon the stage. If he should, and should push too forward, could they again persuade people to resign with them? The other nominees for the secretaryship are Pitt, the Vienna Sir Thomas Robinson, and even that formal piece of dulness at the Hague, Lord Holderness."—*Letter to H. Mann.*

* Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George II.—The imputations conveyed in the queries were, that Cumberland had disgraced or dismissed old officers, men of family and property, to make way for slaves, boys, and beggars—that he had acquired an absolute power over the army, and was endeavouring by a factious connexion to make himself master of the fleet—that he had shown in Scotland that an army might usurp a dominion over law—that the omnipotence of a commander joined with the faction, stupidity, and corruption of the times, might be able to stifle and baffle all regular proof of notorious acts of arbitrary power, &c.—and that the right of succession was in danger from him.

no censure could be too severe upon a paper which was calculated to sow division between two brothers of the blood royal, where he hoped there was no such thing! In the end the resolution of the Lords was agreed to *nemine contradicente*—the Queries were burned by the hangman, and an address was presented to the king requesting his majesty to take effectual means to discover the author, printers, and publishers of the Queries.

The next matter of interest arose out of a petition from several of the electors of Westminster against the return of Lord Trentham, son of Lord Gower, who, by means of the high bailiff, "had attempted to violate the maiden and uncorrupted city of Westminster."* Crowle, a lawyer, was brought to the bar of the House, charged with having spoken disrespectfully of their privileges, and with having called their anger a *brutum fulmen;* but he avoided further persecution by submitting to the word of command, and falling down on his knees to hear the speaker's reprimand. But, being a wit and a punster, Crowle took his revenge by saying, as he rose from the ground and wiped his knees, "This is the dirtiest house I have ever been in." The high bailiff was brought to the bar of the House, and so was Mr. Alexander Murray, a Scotch Tory, and brother of Lord Elibank, whom the bailiff charged with threatening his life during the heat of the election. Murray desired counsel, and was allowed a respite; but Gibson, a Tory electioneering upholsterer, was sent straight to Newgate. After five days Mr. Murray appeared again at the bar, and the high bailiff produced eight winesses to prove that he had been guilty of menaces and seditious behaviour during the election, in order to make people vote for Sir George Vandeput, the Jacobite opponent of Lord Trentham. Murray, who had smiled on hearing himself taxed with calling Lord Trentham and the high bailiff a couple of rascals, said that several of the things alleged against him were true, and that he was ashamed of nothing he was accused of having said, but calling Lord Trentham a rogue to a chimney-sweeper, which was below him to have done. At twelve o'clock at night it was carried by a majority of 210 to 74 that Murray was guilty. It was then moved that he should be sent close prisoner to Newgate. Sir John Cotton divided on the word *close*, but he found himself in a minority of only 52 to 169. Colonel Littleton and Lord Coke, not satisfied with the close confinement in what was then a most unhealthy and pestiferous prison, moved that Murray should be brought to the bar on his knees; and, this being carried by 163 to 40, the proud Jacobite Scot was called in. As he advanced to the bar the speaker called out "Your obeisances! Sir, your obeisances!" and then—"Sir, you must kneel." He replied, "Sir, I beg to be excused; I never kneel but to God." The speaker repeated the command with great warmth. Murray replied, "Sir, I am sorry I cannot comply with your request; I would in anything else." The speaker cried, "Sir, I call upon you again to consider of it." Murray answered, "Sir, when I have committed a crime, I kneel to God for pardon; but I know my own innocence, and cannot kneel to anybody else." The speaker ordered the serjeant to take him away and secure him. He was going to reply; the speaker would not suffer him.* The speaker then said that there would be an end of the dignity and power of the House if such contemptuous behaviour were allowed to pass without the severest punishment. Mr. Harding quoted three precedents where members had received their sentence on their knees. Mr. Fox so far lost his constitutional good nature as to speak of a horrible dungeon in the Tower, called "Little Ease." Sir William Yonge suggested that the close confinement in Newgate would not now be enough, unless he were debarred the visits of friends and the use of pen, ink, and paper. Pitt hinted at a bill to be passed against him if he would not comply and come to his knees; but Pelham declared against over severity, and mildly proposed a committee to search for precedents, and Admiral Vernon made an outrageous speech against the whole proceedings, desiring to have Magna Charta referred to, and going such lengths that he was several times called to order by the speaker, and was on the brink of falling under the sentence of the House himself. Mr. Coke went out and tried to persuade Murray to submit, but Murray swore that he would rather cut his throat. The speaker himself proposed the question on Murray's contempt, which being carried and inserted in the votes, the House broke up at two o'clock; and at five in the morning Murray was carried in a hackney-coach, strictly guarded, to Newgate, which was crammed with prisoners, and had been only a few months before visited by a malignant gaol-fever. Horace Walpole jests at the captivity, but, in sober truth, a close confinement in such a prison at such a time was no joke; and the illness with which Murray was visited almost immediately after his committal may very well have been not a fiction, but a reality. In a recent session at the Old Bailey the gaol fever had caused the death of more than twenty individuals; and what was strong enough to kill judges, undersheriffs, criminal lawyers, and aldermen of the city of London, might surely be strong enough to make the brother of a Scotch lord fall sick. Murray, indeed, said he was very ill, and must have a physician; and the House in two days permitted Lord Elibank to visit him with a physician and an apothecary; and, in five days more, grew so tender

* Westminster had been hotly contested at the last election, and a scrutiny upon the return had lasted five months in the preceding year. Lord Trentham, who had accepted office under the present ministry (he had a seat at the board of admiralty, and kept it as long as the Duke of Bedford remained in office), was detested by the Jacobites, on account of his father, Lord Gower, who had abandoned their party. Lord Egmont had set up a Jacobite to oppose Trentham, and then got up the petition to show that violence and unfair means had been employed by Trentham's friends.

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II.

as to indulge him with the company of his sister, a nurse, and his own servant. Notwithstanding his taint of Jacobitism, the prisoner was commiserated, and the conduct of the House of Commons was condemned as harsh and arbitrary. Another paper, entitled "New Queries," or "Queries offered to the serious consideration of every true Englishman," was printed and circulated; but, though this paper stated that in the case of Mr. Murray the House of Commons had assumed a power they had no right to, had proceeded against him in an unconstitutional, unprecedented manner, and had brought a lasting dishonour upon the British parliament, they did not choose to take any notice of it. Walpole, continuing his jests, says that the Commons were not eager to have more prisoners to nurse! On the next day Gibson, the upholsterer, applied from his cell in Newgate for his enlargement, making use of penitent and submissive expressions. He was ordered to attend on the morrow, when he was reprimanded on his knees and discharged. On the 18th of February, ten days after Murray's committal, Sir William Yonge read the report of the committee appointed to search for precedents bearing on his case. This report was ordered to lie on the table, and Sir William moved that, if Murray should not submit this session, the consideration of his case should be resumed in the next. Mr. Pelham still recommended moderate proceedings. Mr. Fox complained that Murray had been allowed pen, ink, and paper, and had been writing an apology for some part of his conduct, and then moved that the physician and apothecary should attend that day se'nnight with an account of Mr. Murray's state of health, which was agreed to. At the appointed time Dr. Lamont was called in and asked several questions. The doctor affirmed that Mr. Murray was, indeed, suffering from fever, and had been so bad from a cramp in his stomach, to which he had been subject these seven years, that it was expected he would have died; that he (the doctor) thought close confinement, without riding, dangerous for him; that he had advised Mr. Murray to petition the House for his liberty, and that Mr. Murray had replied in a passion, he would take his prescriptions, but not his counsel. Sir William Yonge then moved to restrain everybody except the physician, apothecary, and nurse from visiting the prisoner; and after a hot debate this was agreed to by a majority of two to one. But, on the 2nd of April, when Murray had been nearly two months in Newgate, it was moved and carried, in a very thin House, that he should be transferred to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, on account of his bad health, and that the speaker should give permission to whomsoever he thought proper to visit him. In fact, by this time, Lamont, the physician, had represented to the House that Murray had caught *the gaol distemper!* On the following day the deputy sergeant-at-arms reported to the House that Dr. Lamont had told him that the prisoner could not then be removed from Newgate, or bear the motion of a carriage, without danger; and that, when he, the deputy sergeant-at-arms, had acquainted the prisoner with the gracious indulgence of the House, Mr. Murray had replied that he would not come out of Newgate, and that it was mean and paltry in his brother to petition for his enlargement. The Commons, falling into a corresponding passion, sent for the doctor again, examined and cross-examined him, and then voted a total revocation of the preceding indulgence to the prisoner. But on the 26th of April Sir John Philips moved the King's Bench for a habeas corpus for Murray, which was granted; and on the morrow the prisoner was brought by his habeas corpus into that court: but, as three judges allowed the validity of the commitment, he was remanded to Newgate. As, however, it exceeded the privilege and power of the House of Commons to extend their imprisonment beyond the term of their own session, Murray was released on the 25th of June, the instant the parliament was prorogued. His friend Sir George Vandeput, the unsuccessful candidate for Westminster, Lord Carpenter, and the *two sheriffs* went to Newgate and conducted him in triumph to his own house. A few days after his liberation a strong account of his case was published. The author of this paper, generally believed to have been Paul Whitehead, a very indifferent poet, escaped; the printer was taken into custody. But the parliament had scarcely reassembled (in the month of November) when a meeting was called at the speaker's to consult about further chastisement, and punishing the sheriffs for their behaviour; but *nothing* was decided, except that Murray should be recommitted to Newgate. And, accordingly, on the 20th of November, Lord Coke, in a vehement speech, moved that the former votes against Murray should be read and revived in all their rigour. Coke was the more bitter against Murray and against Scotchmen in general, because he had got a Scotch wife of his own—a daughter of the late Duke of Argyll—whom he mortally hated, and from whom he had recently separated in a scandalous manner. Lord Duplin seconded the spite of Coke; but Lord Egmont, who thought himself obliged to speak with great caution, and even to apologise for undertaking the cause—so furious was the feeling against Murray—said, "This man has demonstrated the insufficiency of the power of this House; his imprisonment will not put a stop to pamphlets; the public, who cannot judge as the House of Commons does, will think the whole an election matter—a point in which they are most jealous. Mr. Murray has already suffered greatly; to revive the sentence will be inflicting banishment, which will be no further voluntary, than as he will prefer it to imprisonment in Newgate. Then this sentence must be renewed every session; and it may be found that the Commons, though but a third part of the legislature, will be exercising the power of banishment, which is unknown to the crown itself.

Such a stretch of authority would be most unpopular; . . . . and this prosecution cannot be pursued without injustice, as it must be stopped somewhere, and it will be unjust not to proceed as far hereafter on any election complaint." And at the end of this speech Egmont moved to adjourn. But Coke said it would not be moderation but weakness to discontinue the prosecution of a criminal who was pluming himself on his defiance, and who was the patron of a lost, fallen, unanimated cause. Mr. Pelham said that, if the House of Commons had not all the authority it wished, it ought at least to exert all it had; and the motion for adjournment was rejected, and the resumption of the sentence agreed to without a division. Lord Coke then moved that Murray should receive the sentence on his knees; and that the pamphlet, called *his Case*, might be read. To bring Murray to his knees was beyond the power of the House, inasmuch as he had got beyond the Straits of Calais, preferring, as Egmont hinted he would, exile to imprisonment. But his Case *was* there, and was read, and unanimously voted a false, scandalous, and seditious libel. And then Lord Coke moved an address to the king to order the attorney-general to prosecute the author, printer, and publisher; adding, very considerately, that he would not move any censure on the sheriffs, but hoped their conduct would be a warning to the city in their future choice of magistrates. A day or two after Lord Coke moved to call in the sergeant-at-arms, who reported in form that Murray had absconded. Coke then moved for a red-hot proclamation with a reward for his apprehension. This was opposed by Vyner and Sydenham. The latter, who is described by Horace Walpole as "a mad high-church zealot," made a long speech on the occasion, comparing the fugitive Murray to the prophet Daniel, who would not kneel to Nebuchadnezzar's idol. Alderman Jansen took occasion to defend the city from the reflections of Coke, and said that to have touched the sheriffs merely for accompanying Murray from his prison to his home would have raised a tumult. But at the end of the long debate a reward of 500*l.* for apprehending Murray was voted by a majority of 98 to 26. To complete this strange story we may mention here that when the pamphlet which was entitled, "The Case of the Honourable Alexander Murray, Esquire, in an appeal to the people of Great Britain," was brought into a court of justice, and the cause of Owen the printer and publisher was heard before Willes the lord chief-justice, the jury, considering it as an appeal against oppression, returned a verdict for the defendant![*]

[*] Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George II., and Letters to H. Mann.—Bubb Dodington's Diary.— Dodington says, under date of July 6th, 1752—"Owen tried and acquitted for publishing Mr. Murray's Case. This is the third *great* case, where the juries have insisted on judging the matter of law as well as of fact. The first was of Bushell, the Quaker, reported by Lord Chief Justice Vaughan: the second was that of the bishops in the reign of James II."

While this privilege war at its hottest, and many months before it terminated, the Prince of Wales was removed by death from factious struggles and the expectation of that crown which had so long seemed to be within his grasp, and of which he had made so sure, through the illness of his father, fourteen years ago.[*] On the 18th of March it was reported in the House of Commons that the prince was dangerously ill. He had been suffering some time from an attack of pleurisy, but on the 12th he had considered himself sufficiently recovered to attend the king to the House of Lords. On leaving the House, which was exceedingly crowded and heated, he went to Carlton House, unrobed there, put on a light frock coat, and proceeded to Kew, where he walked about for some time in the gardens. Returning to Carlton House in the evening, he lay down upon a couch for three hours in a cold damp room, and caught a fresh cold, which brought back all the worst symptoms of his recent malady. On the 18th he was thought better, but on the 20th he was worse and had a severe fit of coughing. One of the physicians told him the cough would do him good; but Hawkins, the surgeon, said in coming out of the room—"Here is something I do not like." This was about ten o'clock at night; the cough continued; and soon after the prince laid his hand upon his chest and said, "*Je sens la mort.*" His favourite German valet-de-chambre felt him shiver, and cried out, "Good God, the prince is going!" The Princess of Wales, who was in the room, snatched up a candle and rushed to the bed-head; but before she got there he was gone. An imposthume in the breast had burst and had caused this almost instantaneous death.[†] His constitution had never been a good one, and his habits of life had not tended to improve it. The little that has been related of the conduct of Frederick is not calculated to conciliate any esteem for his memory; but, as usual with princes, his character was neither so bad as it was painted by his enemies, nor so good as it was represented by his friends. He appears to have been weak rather than vicious, and more pettish and passionate than headstrong and malignant. His early education, at Hanover, had been exceedingly bad; and from the first moment of his arriving in England he had been purposely initiated into irregularities and excesses, and made the tool of a faction. His incontinence was scarcely deemed a matter of consequence in those days; and, though

[*] At the time of his death the prince was forty-four years old—the king, his father, sixty-six. Not one of the political jobbers seems to have calculated that the hale temperate father might possibly outlive the frail intemperate son!

[†] Letter of Mr. Fox and Mr. Paris to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, in Coxe's Pelham Administration.—Horace Walpole's Memoirs of George II., and Letters to H. Mann.—Bubb Dodington's Diary.—Bubb, though he well knew the crazy state of the prince's health, the little care he took of it, and the family obstinacy, does not hesitate in attributing the death to the medical attendants.—He says—"His physicians, Wilmot and Lee, knew nothing of his distemper; as they declared, half an hour before he died, that his pulse was like a man's in perfect health. They either *would not see* or did not *know* the consequences of the black thrush, which appeared in his mouth and quite down into his throat. Their ignorance or their knowledge of his disorder renders them equally inexcusable for not calling in other assistance.'

he had a succession of mistresses, he was considered as a good husband to his easy, uncomplaining wife. Like his grandfather, his immorality in this respect was accompanied with very bad taste, for his mistresses were all ugly, and one or two of them old. Frederick was also addicted to gambling, and is said to have been mean enough to cheat. He appears to have borrowed money from every friend that could lend it; and a story is told of his boasting how he had "nicked" Bubb Dodington out of 5000*l.*—by nicking he meant borrowing! Unlike his father, he was free and lavish of his money, indulging his generosity at the expense of justice, for he borrowed and took with one hand what he gave away or spent with the other. He was accused of insincerity and indifference to truth; but we should remember, in pity, that he lived in an atmosphere of intrigue, treachery, and lies. He was fond of the society of men of wit, affected to be a protector of literature and the arts, and wrote two or three very bad songs himself. But at the same time he was accused of being addicted to practical jokes, low sports, and very unseemly company, being at times to be found at Hockley in the Hole! And yet Bubb Dodington, who is said to have got the promise of being made not merely a peer but a duke and prime minister, when Frederick should come to the throne,* ventures to describe him as a prince without a blemish—the delight and ornament of the age he lived in—the hope and expectation of England—the refuge of the distressed, and the balm of the afflicted—the patron of the arts, the graces, and virtues of society.† Though never popular—not even when heading the strong opposition to government in Sir Robert Walpole's days—the people were generally disposed to prefer him to the Duke of Cumberland; and just after his death ballads were sung about the streets wishing that it were but his brother; and some on Change were heard to say, "Oh that it were but the Butcher." Since the reconciliation effected between father and son in the year 1742, though they had often met, the king had scarcely ever spoken a dozen words at once to the prince; and the recent attempt of his royal highness to set up the banner of opposition had not tended to awaken any affection for the first-born—a feeling which George never knew, and the want of which and his partiality to his second son ought to be taken into account among the circumstances which had tended to make Frederic what he was. The old king, however, was shocked at the sudden death, which was announced to him by Lord North, who found him looking over a table where Princess Emily, the Duchess of Dorset, and the Duke of Grafton, were playing at cards. When his surprise allowed him to speak, his majesty said, "Why, they told me he was better!" He sent back Lord North with a very kind message to the princess, promising that everything should be done that she could possibly desire, and he then went down immediately to the apartment of his mistress, Lady Yarmouth, looking extremely pale, and only saying to her ladyship—"*Il est mort.*" On the following morning he sent another message by the lord in waiting, and assured the princess in writing of his affection and goodwill towards her and her children. The princess had eight young children, and was far gone with the ninth. It was said bitterly that the king recovered from the shock in a day, and that except the princess's, and that of the prince's creditors, the grief of no one was very sincere or lasting. The amount of Frederic's debts is differently stated; but there is no doubt as to the fact that they were *never* paid either by his father or by his son and successor. The greater part of them, it is true, probably did not deserve to be paid.*

Bubb Dodington, and the men of intrigue acting with him, instantly called a meeting to know what was to be done "under this fatal change of situation."† Dodington spoke of the military interest—of the sad certainty of having the Duke of Cumberland forced upon them as regent in case the old king should die—and recommended bold measures. But the Princess of Wales, after speaking in private with Lord Egmont‡ and Dr. Lee, burned all the prince's papers, and made up her mind to trust wholly and solely to the king, without any reliance on those factions and cabals which had brought nothing but mischief to her husband. "The king and she both took their parts at once; she, of flinging herself entirely into his hands, and studying nothing but his pleasure, yet winding what interest she got with him to the advantage of her own and the prince's friends: the king, of acting the tender grandfather; which he, who had never acted the tender father, grew so pleased with representing, that he soon became it in earnest."§ The Leicester House faction was thus utterly disconcerted, and compelled to look

* Bubb, who, only two years before, had thrown up the profitable post of treasurer to the navy, to return to the prince's service, to become *his* treasurer with 2000*l.* a-year as a salary, and to join "the patriot band" in opposition, in the House of Commons, does not allow that he ever bargained for such high promotion as a dukedom and the premiership: all that he owns to is, that the prince promised him a peerage with the management of the House of Lords, and the seals of secretary of state for the Southern province, and made him kiss hands upon it.—See *Diary*.

† Bubb was in sundry ways sorely disappointed. Finding that the banner of opposition newly raised by the Prince of Wales attracted few recruits, he had been organising a great scheme which he flattered himself must be attended with complete success. He says in his Diary—"When this unfortunate event happened, I had set on foot, by means of the Earl of Shaftesbury, a project for an union between the independent Whigs and Tories, by a writing renouncing all tincture of Jacobitism, and affirming short but constitutional and revolutional principles. I had given his lordship this paper: his good heart and understanding made him indefatigable, and so far successful, that there were good grounds to hope for a happy issue. These parties so united were to lay this paper, containing these principles, before the prince, offering to appear as his party now, and upon those principles to undertake the administration when he was king, in the subordination and rank among themselves, that he should please to appoint.—Father of mercy! thy hand, that wounds, alone can save!"—*Diary*.

* Horace Walpole says that people talked of 1,400,000*l.* on post obits; but he mentions this merely as a rumour.

† Diary.

‡ Horace Walpole says that Egmont called a meeting of the faction at his own house at a very early hour in the morning after the prince's death. "All was whisper! At last Egmont hinted something of taking the princess and her family under their protection, and something of the necessity of harmony. No answer was made to the former proposition; somebody said, it was very likely indeed they should agree now, when the prince could never bring it about; and so everybody went away to take care of himself."—*Letter to Horace Mann*.

§ Walpole, Memoirs of George II.

out for some new game. As soon as Frederic was interred in Westminster Abbey* some of these honourable gentlemen offered their services to the Pelhams, for their dread of the Duke of Cumberland was a lasting and reasonable passion, and they suspected that, if the Duke of Bedford and the other members of the government opposed to the Pelhams were permitted to gain the ascendancy, Cumberland would be put at the head of the regency. In the course of a few days Prince George (afterwards George III.), Frederick's eldest son, was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and had a household settled for him. Lord North was dismissed, and Lord Harcourt, a very inferior man, was appointed governor to the prince, as being more devoted to Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle; for these personal objects were kept closely in view in selecting the persons who were to be intrusted with the education of the future sovereign,—an education which had been hitherto so much neglected, that Prince George, at eleven years old, could hardly read English. Stone, a man of ability, who had long been private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, and who had ingratiated himself with the king during the frequent journeys to, and residences at, Hanover, was appointed sub-governor.† Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, and reputed to be a natural son of Blackburn, a somewhat free-living archbishop of York, was named preceptor. The Bishop of Norwich was good-humoured, sensible, and attached to the constitution as established by the Revolution of 1688, and believed to be devoted to the Duke of Newcastle: but he had for his assistant, or sub-preceptor, one Scott, a high Tory and decided Jacobite, who had been strongly recommended to the prince and princess by that great mischief-maker Lord Bolingbroke. It was strange to leave the young prince chiefly in the hands of this Scott, who was ready to teach the boy arbitrary principles of government, if he did not venture to hint to him that his family had no right to the throne; but the fact is, that the young prince *was* so left, and that his intellectual and moral training depended almost entirely upon the Jacobite tutor and his well-meaning but ill-informed mother. "The princess-dowager of Wales," says Lord Waldegrave, "was reputed a woman of excellent sense by those who knew her very imperfectly; but, in fact, was one of those moderate geniuses who, with much natural dissimulation, a civil address, an assenting conversation, and a few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety so long as they are conducted by wise and prudent counsellors. Her secretary, Cresset, had been hitherto her principal adviser; a cautious man, uncommonly skilful in the politics of the back stairs, trusted by Lady Yarmouth," &c.* A plan of regency was drawn up by the Pelhams, who seemed determined to exclude the dreaded Duke of Cumberland; and on the 7th of May the Duke of Newcastle brought the bill into the House of Lords. This bill proposed, simply, that the Princess-dowager of Wales should be guardian of the heir-apparent and regent of Great Britain, in the event of the reigning sovereign's dying before his successor had attained the age of eighteen. The second reading was appointed for the 8th (the very next day); but, previously to that reading, Newcastle appeared with a message from his majesty, recommending the settlement of a council of regency to co-operate with the princess-regent, and to be headed by Cumberland. The cabinet had disagreed among themselves, and had not been unanimous on any one clause of the bill; the hatred and fear of the duke seem to have been balanced by the consideration that all the great officers of the crown were appointed to have seats in this council of regency;† and though there was some declamation —little, but loud—against the danger of placing an ambitious uncle, with the army at his command, in such a tempting situation,‡ and, against the complications and delays which must arise from a division of authority, the suggestions of the king were adopted, and the Regency Bill was passed in that form in the House of Lords by a majority of 106 to 12, and in the Commons by about 270 to 90.§ There were several objectionable clauses and provisions in the bill; but, as George II. did not die till his successor had attained the age of royal majority, and as it was consequently never acted upon, they may be passed over in silence.‖ The

* Dodington complains bitterly of the whole ceremonial of the funeral, and of the sad fact that the lords of the bedchamber and all the prince's gentlemen were obliged to pay for their own dinner. Bathos can scarcely go lower. These are Bubb's memorable words—"There was not the attention to order Green Cloth to provide for them a bit of bread; and these gentlemen, of the first rank and distinction, in discharge of their *last sad duty to a loved and loving master*, were forced to bespeak *a great cold dinner from a common tavern* in the neighbourhood. At three o'clock, indeed, they vouchsafed to think of dinner, and ordered one; but the disgrace was complete—the tavern dinner was paid for, and given to the poor. ..... N.B.—The Duke of Somerset was chief mourner, notwithstanding the flourishing state of the royal family."

† Andrew Stone, styled, by Horace Walpole, "a dark, proud man, very able and very mercenary," was the son of a banker: his brother was primate of Ireland.

* Memoirs of James Earl Waldegrave (one of the best of authorities), a book in which every syllable seems as if it had been written upon oath, or upon the honour of a truly honourable and upright man. The Princess of Wales's secretary, Cresset, was related to the royal family by a Duchess of Zell, who was daughter of a private French gentleman, and mother to Sophia Dorothea, the unhappy wife of George I.

† The royal message recommended that the council to the regent should include the persons who should, at the time respectively hold the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, or First Lord of the Treasury, Lord President, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, or First Lord of the Admiralty, the principal Secretaries of State, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

‡ Horace Walpole, who frequently laughs at the violent prejudice, tells the following anecdote to show in what light the duke appeared at his sister in-law's court:—"Soon after the Regency Bill Prince George, making him a visit, asked to see his apartment, where there are few ornaments but arms. The duke is neither curious nor magnificent. To amuse the boy, he took down a sword, and drew it. The young prince turned pale and trembled, and thought his uncle was going to murder him. The duke was extremely shocked, and complained to the princess of the impressions that had been instilled into the child against him."—*Memoirs of George II.*

§ The majorities varied upon different clauses of the bill, but the average may be taken as about 270 to 90.

‖ One of the clauses continued *the sitting parliament to the end of the minority.* This was strongly opposed by Fox, George Townshend, and a few others. Townshend said there was nothing so dangerous as to inculcate into a young king that he owes his safety to anything unconstitutional; and Fox hinted that, if the present parliament were, by the king's death, to sit on for eight or nine years, they might possibly think of prolonging their existence after his successor came of age. But the clause was carried by 258 to 81.

merits and demerits of the bill were attributed entirely to the king and the chancellor Hardwicke. George had declared that, upon consideration, he was terrified at the prospect of leaving public affairs in the hands of women and children. "I have a good opinion of the princess," said his majesty, "but I don't quite know her. . . . . The English nation is so changeable! My affection is with my son Cumberland. I don't know why they dislike him. It was brought about by the Scotch, the Jacobites, and the English that don't love discipline; and by all this not being enough discouraged by the ministry."*

The public were astonished at the great ease with which this regency bill had been passed; and people, who had neglected that kind of prayer before, now earnestly prayed that the life of the old king might be spared till his grandson came of age, in order that *they* might be spared from the *discipline* of the Duke of Cumberland. In other directions death was busy with the royal family this year. The Prince of Orange, who had so recently got the stadtholdership made hereditary in his family, and who was married to George's eldest daughter, died of a fever, after five days' illness, in the month of October; and his death was the more felt by his father-in-law, as it was likely to embarrass some of his foreign negotiations. The Queen of Denmark, his majesty's youngest daughter (who resembled her mother, Queen Caroline, in many circumstances of life and fortune, and in the malady which caused her death), expired in the month of December; and in addition to these losses George was well nigh losing his grandson, Prince Edward, and his son Cumberland. The duke had a fall as he was hunting at Windsor, was taken up speechless, and, refusing, with his usual obstinacy, to be bled, he grew so dangerously ill that he was at one time given over by the physicians. George showed much feeling; yet in the tears he shed he seems to have been thinking and feeling more as a king than as a father; for he continued to deplore to everybody that was in his confidence that the nation would be undone—left to nothing but a woman and children!

Another death to be noticed was that of the Proteus Bolingbroke, who died at Battersea, of a cancer in the heart, on the 15th of December, having employed some of his last hours in blackening the memory of his late friend Pope. Between the demise of the Prince of Wales and the departure of Bolingbroke the voice of faction was almost hushed, and opposition in parliament all but extinguished. The only battle that was fought was fought in the cabinet; and there the victory remained with the Pelhams; for early in June the king dismissed Lord Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford resigned the next day. The two posts of master of the horse and president of the council, which had both been kept open for the acceptance of Bedford, if he could have been induced to give up his seals of secretary of state, were now filled;—Lord Hartington got the first, and Lord Granville the second. This ex-premier had lost none of his fire or confidence—his hard drinking had apparently affected neither his health nor his intellect. "Lord Granville," says Horace Walpole, "comes into power as boisterously as ever, and dashes at everything; . . . . . he is actually lord president, and, by all outward and visible signs, something more; . . . . the king's favour to him is visible, and so much credited, that all the incense is offered to him." Lord Holderness got the Duke of Bedford's place, and Lord Halifax, at the head of the Board of Trade, endeavoured to get the colonies subjected to that Board, and to be nominated a third secretary of state for the West Indies and America; but George would not consent to part with any of his authority in that quarter. In delivering the seals to Holderness, he charged him to mind only the business of his province, telling him that of late the secretary's office had been turned into a mere office of faction.* The Leicester House party, headed by Bubb Dodington, made overtures to the Pelhams, offering, upon what Bubb calls "proper conditions," to join them with all their force, and to increase their majorities to such an extent that the displaced Bedford party would be absolutely crushed; but the Pelhams did not consider them worth buying, as they knew that, through the indolence of the Duke of Bedford and the weakness of his party, they would rarely be disturbed by a division. The Duke of Newcastle, however, kept Bubb Dodington in play, looking forward to future elections and changes; for, as Bubb returned five or six members, and was a practised hand in canvassing, bribing, and otherwise influencing boroughs, he might possibly be useful to the ministry. In the autumn session the only breath of opposition proceeded from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who objected to the words in the address—"our flourishing condition." The navy was raised from 8000 to 10,000; ministers saying that they did not think so large a number always necessary, but that *circumstances made them so now.* Mr. Fox proposed the same army as last year, as *there was no alteration of circumstances.* A faint proposal was made to reduce it to 15,000; but then it was urged by ministers that *the situation of affairs abroad and at home was greatly altered* by the deaths of the Prince of Wales and the Prince of Orange, and by the recent birth of a Duke of Burgundy. Lord Egmont thought it would be very absurd to increase our army whenever there was an heir born to the crown of France; and he complained more of the expense than of the number of our land forces, saying that our small army cost very nearly as much as that immense one of the King of Prussia. But these were mere whispers from the diminutive faction of the deceased Prince of Wales; and some new subsidising treaties were recognised by both Houses with little difficulty.

* Horace Walpole, Memoirs of George II.

* Walpole, Memoirs of George II.—Letters to H Mann.

The avowed object of these burdensome engagements was to secure the election of Maria Theresa's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans! It would, with the most microscopic eye, be difficult to detect what interest or concern England had in this mighty matter; but it is evident that George took the greatest interest in it, and his eagerness is accounted for—at least in good part—by his jealousy of his nephew of Prussia, who had taken several recent opportunities of insulting his uncle. "Indeed," says Walpole, "it was a constant war of piques and affronts between the king and his nephew of Prussia. The latter had insisted upon the recall of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who had sacrificed to the ruling passion of the uncle by treating the character of the King of Prussia, in his public dispatches and private letters, in the strongest terms of satire."* So little, however, was there estimable in the character of that cynical tyrant, Frederick, so revolting was the state of his court, and so deplorable the condition of his kingdom (which he was turning into one vast camp) that it was not easy even for a wit and practised satirist like Hanbury Williams to exaggerate the truth.† Apart from his brilliant operations in the field, and one or two civil reforms, the great Frederick is one of the most disgusting objects in modern history, and is convicted of some of the meanest acts recorded of any sovereign. He would insult and browbeat a foreign ambassador by day, and stop and steal that ambassador's dispatches by night! Williams had his revenge; for, returning to Dresden, he concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland (one and the same potentate), who engaged with George to traverse the designs of Frederick and to give his vote for the Archduke Joseph. Frederick lost no time in reviling his uncle, whom he called the last and youngest of the electors. His animosities were seconded underhand by the French court, which, if not very anxious at this moment about the election, was very desirous that George should be involved in difficulties, and that the money of England should continue to be thrown into the gulf of German politics. As for the Elector of Saxony and the other electors generally, their only object was to prolong the doubts and jealousies in order to fatten upon our subsidies.

In the course of the present year (1751) the calendar was changed, upon the motion of Lord Chesterfield, and the Gregorian was adopted in order to make our computation of time harmonise with that of the rest of civilised Europe. The Duke of Newcastle said he was averse to disturb that which was at rest, and did not love new-fangled things; but his grace was laughed at. A liberal bill was introduced for facilitating naturalization to all foreigners being Protestants that might settle in Great Britain; but, after being treated with indecent indifference—the House of Commons adjourned on one occasion at three o'clock in the afternoon, to go and see a play acted at Drury Lane "by people of some fashion"—and being found unpopular in the city, where numerous prejudices were opposed to it, advantage was taken of the death of the Prince of Wales, which happened on the day appointed for the third reading; and the bill was let drop.

A.D. 1752.—The displaced Duke of Bedford seemed so far from meditating opposition, that he came up from Woburn on the re-opening of parliament to ask the king for a pension for Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, his wife's sister. It was understood that the Pelhams would have pressed the king to grant this trifling boon, were it only to silence Bedford's murmurs and to keep him, by the weight of an obligation, quiet in the House of Lords. But the feeble opposition corps wished to fix Bedford against the court, and to engage him to speak against the Saxon treaty; and they succeeded in inflaming the duke, "whose warmth was most impetuous."* The House had met after the Christmas recess on the 7th of January; on the 16th Mr. Pelham produced the treaty with Saxony; and on the 28th the Duke of Bedford opened the opposition to it with much spirit and considerable ability. After professing his great regret that the treaty should have been the act of the king—"that good king whom he had served seven years"—and his fear of being misrepresented to his majesty for what he was now about to say, he declared that in conscience he could neither acquiesce nor be content with silently opposing subsidiary treaties in time of peace, and the dangerous practice of wasting the money we ought to be saving. He said that, by paying the German electors for their uncertain votes for the Archduke Joseph, we were purchasing advantages for our allies, and instructing those princes who took our money never to unite with us but for money; that it must be a measure most unpopular with the English people to tax them for money to be sent into Germany when they could not possibly discern how it touched their own interest; that the Elector of Saxony was no more to be depended upon than the Elector of Cologne, who, after signing and subscribing, had openly renounced the subsidiary treaty; that thirty or forty of the College of Princes might be found to take money and do nothing for it; that Holland was too poor to share in our expenses; that Russia, though she had taken our money, failed to earn it; that France had threatened to interfere;

* Memoirs.

† The letters of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams from Berlin, which Walpole gives in the Appendix to his Memoirs, contain nothing about Frederick but what has been related in bitterer terms by many others. The *iron* rod with which this nephew of George ruled is no invention, no satire, but simple truth. The miserable valet-like slavery of his ministers of state, the poverty to which he had reduced the gentry, the oppression exercised on the people, the general constraint, and the diffidence he saw painted on every face, were things seen, and described too by others than Williams.

* Horace Walpole says that he himself was most active in engaging the Duke of Bedford to speak against the treaty, "which would either prevent him from soliciting the pension, or, by touching so tender a point as a German subsidy, would provoke the king to refuse his request." In either case they calculated that Bedford would be confirmed and quickened in opposition.

that, if we were fortunate enough to avoid a war on our other grounds of quarrel with France and Spain, this German business might engage us suddenly in a war that had no English or national object; and that if the minister had yielded to the Saxon treaty against his will he had acted with extravagant imbecility. The duke concluded by moving for an address to represent that subsidiary treaties ought never to be concluded in time of peace, especially after a long and costly war, and that they were neither necessary at present, nor likely to procure any real advantage. The speech fully proved that, if the Duke of Bedford chose, he could make himself a very formidable and able debater. Lord Sandwich, the close ally and dependent of Bedford, and who had left office with his grace, took the strange course of voting for the treaty and censuring the Pelhams in the same breath. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Halifax, and the Duke of Argyll defended the treaty; and Lord Granville put an end to the debate by saying that, as our army was limited at home, we ought to have the faculty of making in one day 18,000 men 50,000; that, if we no longer took German princes into our pay, we had a bridge without complete arches; and that we must count upon our power of subsidising as the best means of checking France, &c. The motion was rejected in the Lords without a division. The next time the Duke of Bedford went to court the king took no notice of him. The subject was renewed in the Commons, where Lord Harley made a motion against subsidies in time of peace. Several strong things were said, and some of them in a good manner; but they were all said purely for party purposes and without any real patriotic feeling. It was urged that when the subsidies were all granted the Electoral College would postpone the election; that France would be furnished with a plausible pretext for asserting that the liberties of the empire were invaded by bribery and corruption, and that she was called upon, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to undertake the defence of the Germanic constitution against English gold and Hanoverian intrigue. Mr. Hampden said, sarcastically, that he approved bribing electors, as he saw by other instances how it had contributed to quash opposition. Old Horace Walpole spoke on one side and voted on the other—a kind of parliamentary behaviour not without recent precedent. But in the end the motion was rejected by 180 to 52. The Duke of Newcastle was "flustered" by the Duke of Bedford's unexpected activity:—his brother Pelham tried to provide against it, and met Bubb Dodington by appointment. "I then asked him," says the unblushing Diarist, who seems never for a moment to have thought that he was doing anything mean or wrong, "whether there was any real inclination in the Duke of Newcastle and himself to accept of us into their friendship and protection, if objections could be removed? . . . . . I told him I desired to live with him and his as their attached friend and servant; that I desired no rank which could justly create envy in my equals, or any sort of power that might occasion suspicion in my superiors; reserving only, that, if he gave me a musket, and ordered me to a post, I should certainly fire; and that, if clouds should arise, I was not afraid at all to meet the *great geniuses* now on the stage." [By the great geniuses, Bubb meant the Pitts, the Foxes, the Grenvilles, &c., whom he fancied to be moved by much the same motives as his own; and we are not prepared to say that in this the turncoat was much deceived.] Pelham said, in reply, that he and his brother had real good wishes and goodwill for Mr. Dodington—for nobody more—but that there were difficulties, and great ones, with the king, on account of his quitting his service for the prince's. "I replied," says Bubb, "that I was aware of such a prejudice; but that I believed, when it was represented to the king that I could be of some utility to his majesty's service, by my own and by the weight of my friends, *particularly in choosing several members*, it would be the means of removing all prejudices against me." Pelham acknowledged Bubb's great weight in boroughs, and assured him that he had already attempted to remove his majesty's prejudices.* Bubb's members, he said, would be of the more importance, as he and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, had made up their minds to have a new parliament—"a parliament that should be all of a piece—such a parliament as might serve the king if he lived, and be steady to put the young king in the right way, if the old one died—he meant a thorough Whig parliament; for when there were factions, though a wise man was obliged to avail himself of them as well as he could, yet they were not desirable nor what he liked; but he wished to have a thorough Whig parliament, all of a piece." Bubb, who had votes to sell, humbly said that he thought that the offers he now made from himself and his friends might contribute to facilitate that great end. Pelham admitted that it was to that end he was negotiating with him; for that, though he and his brother were without competitors, and as well with the king as they could hope to be, he knew that all this depended upon nothing but upon the ease with which they carried on his majesty's service in parliament. The boroughmonger said that he had a most sincere wish to attach himself to ministers, and to end his life with those with whom he had begun it. "I told him," adds Bubb, "that I was desirous to

* The words which Bubb here puts into the mouth of the prime minister are curious enough:—"Upon my coming to Kensington, on a Sunday, some time after the prince's death, the king said, I see Dodington here sometimes, what does he come for? To which Pelham replied, that he did not know, indeed, but he did not believe that I had any particular views, because he never had the least hint of any; which, if I had formed any, he thought he should, sooner than another have heard of them, from the long acquaintance between us: that he was sure my coming to court was to show my duty, and that I desired to live in his favour, and he supposed that I might wish for his (Pelham's) protection, and desire to come into his service; but that was guess only: the king replied, *No, there has been too much of that already*—and the conversation did not end well."—*Diary.*

serve my country, and chose to do it with the good liking of the king—but, if his majesty should shut up that way, that then I must endeavour to do it by such way as should offer in the course of things." This meant that, if the king would consent to receive Bubb Dodington kindly at court, and give him a place, he would join the ministry with tongue, boroughs, and votes; but that if he would not so gratify him he would turn patriot and do his best to prevent Pelham's "thorough Whig parliament all of a piece." The minister, who knew what he had to contend with in the obstinacy and aversions of his royal master, gave Bubb more flattering assurances, and invited himself, "in a most gentlemanlike and obliging manner," to dine with him at his gorgeous but tasteless mansion at Hammersmith. But the minister carefully avoided binding himself in any specific promises, and Bubb, being too old a bird at court and parliament to take his chaff, avoided just as carefully the doing anything for him. In justice to the bargainer it should be stated that his pretensions were not immoderate: the place he wanted *in præsenti* was merely the one he had held before, or that of treasurer to the navy. The dinner at Hammersmith did not bring about a conclusion to the bargain, and several other meetings ended with nothing more solid than expressions of mutual esteem. "In short," says Bubb, "the minister spoke a little Pelham, but intelligible enough to those who are acquainted with the language." In one of these conversations Bubb spoke cunningly of dissensions in the ministerial quarters, and of "somebody fastened upon them," who was not always in a humour to obey their orders. Pelham said quickly, "Who, Pitt?" Bubb said No, he thought it was Fox; and then Pelham, with great signs of uneasiness and discomposure, repeated in a low tone, "Oh, Mr. Fox."

In the mean while the Duke of Bedford continued to make a phantom of opposition in the Lords. A bill which had passed the Commons without opposition, and which was designed to soften the severity of military law, was thrown out in the Lords, who could discover nothing wrong even in the Mutiny Bill, which was marked all over with the sanguinary genius of the Duke of Cumberland.* An attempt to dimish the necessity of a standing army, by making the militia more effective, failed altogether. The king and his son, the duke, always spoke with contempt of an English militia. A bill for annexing to the crown the estates forfeited in Scotland by the late rebellion, and making provision, out of the rents of those estates, for establishing colonies and trade, and industry in the Highlands, met with better success. Legge, whose first promotion as a diplomatist had been favoured by Pitt, and who was rising in consideration as the ally of the great orator, declared that the system would have more effect than all that had been done about dress and jurisdiction, or that had been imposed by force; that we must either improve the condition of the Highlanders or exterminate the disaffected by fire and sword. "What is loyalty or disloyalty here," said Legge, "is there food or starving? Feed the clans and they will obey; starve them and they must rebel. The means of eradicating this spirit in the common people are obvious: Civilise them! Introduce the arts of peace among them!" This Scotch bill was passed in the Commons by a majority of 134 to 39. The Duke of Cumberland, who would have preferred the exterminating process, was furious; his resentments against the Scots were not softened by the implacability of their hatred to him, and he was still farther disgusted at having been totally unconsulted upon the measures proposed by the bill. Yet he would not risk the king's displeasure by opposing it openly; and, as the best means of traversing the design, he secretly communicated to Horace Walpole the younger—the witty author of the Letters, Memoirs, &c.—what he called "some very extraordinary anecdotes on Scotch affairs," and the whole burden of which was, that, ever since the rebellion, government had been guilty of monstrous imprudence and a disgraceful and dangerous lenity. The Duke of Bedford was persuaded to accept and make use of this information, without knowing from whom it originally came; and when the bill was brought up to the Lords his grace delivered a strong speech against it. He denounced the bill as an extensive job, and he told all the anecdotes which the Duke of Cumberland, by means of Horace Walpole, who never let a story lose in his way of repeating it, had put into his mouth. Lord Bath joined in the opposition, and accused the government of partialities to the Scotch; but the bill was passed by a majority of 80 against 12. The Duke of Cumberland was present during the debate, but did not venture to vote; yet he took occasion immediately after to deliver to the king a paper purporting to be a list of sixty notorious Jacobites who had been preferred in Scotland since the rebellion. This was meant to frighten the king; but it appears that George, or at least his ministers, had come to the conclusion that there was no longer much to be feared from putting a few Jacobites into the excise and customs, and that the best way to un-Jacobitise the Scots was to give them places.*

On the 11th of March a petition was presented from the city of London, complaining that many foreigners had lately come into England, and, having procured advantages in trade, by private naturalisation bills, had returned to their own countries, where they placed their gains, and were exempted from contributing to our public burdens. The prayer of the petition was, that this abuse

* The severities in the Mutiny Bill, where, as Horace Walpole expresses it, "the penalty of death came over as often as the curses in the Commination Act on Ash Wednesday," were generally attributed to the Duke.

* The king, however, put the Duke of Cumberland's black list and a private report on the state of Scotland, which probably proceeded from the same quarter, into the hands of the prime minister, ordering him at the same time to attend the duke and enter into an examination of the matter.

might be prevented, by confining the benefit of naturalisation to the time during which such foreigners should reside within the realm. The request was deemed reasonable, and the proposed restrictive clause was inserted in a private naturalisation bill then pending; and it still continues to be inserted in all acts of that description. To the honour of the Pelhams they this session got an order passed for printing the Journals of Parliament. Mr. Pelham also prosecuted his plan for financial reforms, and by means of a bill which was carried through both Houses, he consolidated the several classes of annuities into five stocks chargeable on the sinking fund, and made transferable at the Bank and South-Sea House respectively. Previously to this measure there were no less than fourteen different stocks—a multiplicity which occasioned great perplexity, both public and private.*

On the 26th of March George prorogued parliament with a gracious speech, and then went over to Hanover. He was attended, as usual, by the Duke of Newcastle, who resumed his negotiations with the German electors, undeterred by the opposition speeches of the Duke of Bedford and his small party. Bavaria, Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatinate, were the chief scenes of Newcastle's negotiations; and tempting subsidies were held out to nearly every court in Germany, great or small. At the same time, George found himself involved in a double dispute with his nephew Frederick. Both Prussia and Hanover claimed possession of East Friesland (the English people hardly knew there was such a country), and George, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, proposed that the question should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council of the empire; but the King of Prussia would not submit to this arbitrament, and spoke of vindicating his rights with his dragoons and grenadiers. Nor did Frederick stop here: he complained that certain Prussian vessels had been seized and plundered by English cruisers during the last war, and he seized the revenues of certain mines in Silesia, which had been mortgaged to some English subjects by the late Emperor Charles VI., for a loan of 250,000*l*. Frederick himself, in obtaining from Maria Theresa the cession of Silesia, had guaranteed this mortgage in public treaties; but when his animosities or interests were concerned he cared little for public or private faith, and he answered the English memorialists, who represented the debt as due to *private* individuals, with insolent invectives. A cabinet correspondence ensued on the subject of the ships and the mines; and, as a complete revolution was working in our foreign politics, and as Frederick saw he might be placed in a situation to court and need the alliance of his uncle, he dropped his claims as to the shipping, and resumed the payment of the interest upon the loan. We had, in fact, by this time come almost to an open breach with the House of Austria, who had treated our ambassador, Lord Hyndford, with insolence and arrogance, and had refused to admit the arbitration of the King of England in claims and other matters relating to the Elector Palatine. George, by the mouth and pen of the Duke of Newcastle, denounced the court of Vienna as ungrateful and impertinent, and threatened to form a connexion with France and with Prussia, if they did not instantly comply with his ultimatum. Lord Hyndford, in fact, was recalled; but, as he was taking his leave, Maria Theresa's imperial husband, who was much less imperious than herself, made use of strong expressions of gratitude to England, and offered in his own person to place 500,000 florins at the disposal of King George, towards the liquidation of the claims of the Elector Palatine. George insisted that he ought to have 700,000 florins; the court of Vienna then offered 600,000 —we feel as if we were detailing the dealings, not of great nations and empires, but of a set of pedlars and trucksters—but George stuck to his 700,000, and the quarrel with Vienna, fanned by France, grew hotter. The Duke of Newcastle thought it necessary to declare that the honour of the king his master and the reputation of the people of England were at stake! But, while this game was playing above board, George, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, and without the knowledge of the Duke of Newcastle, was playing another little game under the table—he was requiring, in secret memorials, that the court of Vienna should allow some fiefs belonging to the palatine to be attached to his Hanoverian states, and thus giving Maria Theresa and the emperor the opportunity of proclaiming his meanness and justifying their own. But, after wearisome negotiations, a conditional treaty was concluded between the Elector Palatine and the King of England, which was to be ratified *if* Austria would consent to be a party to it; but, as Austria never would become a party, it remained a dead letter; and George and the Duke of Newcastle came back to England with the uncomfortable feeling that they had been losing their time, and that the emperor and empress queen were determined to oppose rather than go into the great Germanic scheme of electing their son, the Archduke Joseph, king of the Romans.

George found no relief from these continental embarrassments in the squabbles which had broken out in his own family, or in the household of the young Prince of Wales. The princess dowager had taken an aversion to Lord Harcourt, the governor, and the Bishop of Norwich, the preceptor of her son, and had been at no pains to conceal her feelings either in her own house or elsewhere.* She had peculiar notions of education, and does not appear to have considered that, if she failed in respect to her son's instructors, he was very likely

* Coxe's Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.

* In the month of July Horace Walpole writes—"The tutorhood at Kew is split into factions; the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Harcourt openly at war with Stone and Scott, who are supported by Cresset, and countenanced by the princess and Murray (*the solicitor-general, and afterwards Lord Mansfield*); so, my Lord Bolingbroke dead, will govern, which he never could living."—*Letter to H. Mann.*

to follow her example. She told Bubb Dodington, whom she consulted and admitted very frequently to her society both at Kew and at Leicester House, that she had a very poor opinion of the prince's preceptors; that she really did not well know what they taught him, but was afraid not much; that they were in the country, and followed their diversions, and did little else that she could discover; that Lord Harcourt and the prince agreed pretty well, but that she thought that her son could not learn much from his lordship; that Scott, in her opinion, was a very proper preceptor; but, as for the good bishop, he might be, and she supposed he was, a mighty learned man, but he did not seem to her very proper to convey knowledge to children. She asked Bubb what use there was for princes in logic and books; and Bubb said, not much. "I said," adds Bubb, "that I did not much regard books,—that what I the most wished was, that his royal highness should begin to learn the usages and knowledge of the world; be informed of the general frame and nature of this government and constitution, and of the general course and manner of business, *without descending into minutias;* and she said she was of my opinion."* But what Bubb thought the most essential part of the prince's education was to instil into him a warm regard and affection for the friends and companions of his deceased father; "because he was now bred in a manner, and in hands so totally unacquainted with the late prince, and with those who had been about him, that he might very easily be brought to forget them." [Bubb had subsequently the satisfaction of finding that the young prince did not forget *him*—for it was George III. that gratified his ambition by creating him Lord Melcombe.] The princess confessed that the Bishop of Norwich had complained strongly of being disregarded, and had shown the great necessity of a preceptor's being respected and supported; but that, as for Lord Harcourt, he hardly ever spoke to her at all. It appears, from other quarters, that, while Lord Harcourt was obliged to hire a house at Brentford, Stone, the sub-governor, had a residence provided for him close to Kew Palace; that in sundry little disagreements the princess had taken part with Stone and with Scott, the sub-preceptor, against Lord Harcourt and the bishop; and that it was no unusual thing for Harcourt, a proud punctilious courtier, to be left waiting in the hall at Kew among the servants. Prince George, moreover, gave all his confidence to Stone. Horace Walpole, who disliked the man, describes his lordship as being over minute and strict in trifles;† and the bishop as being sincerely honest and zealous in the education of the two princes, but as too apt to thwart the princess, who, "as an indulgent, or perhaps a little, as an ambitious mother," was desirous of relaxing application, or giving the boy too many holydays. Lord Harcourt was so annoyed with these jars, which broke out openly as soon as the king went to Hanover, that he determined to request his majesty's interposition as soon as he should return, and the Bishop of Norwich joined with him. The king arrived on the 18th of November, and in the beginning of December his lordship intimated to the king *not* only that he had been obstructed in the fulfilment of his duty, but that improper means had been employed to fill the young prince with wrong and dangerous notions of government. The king deputed Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, and Potter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to hear his complaints; but Harcourt told them that they were not proper to be told except to the king himself. The Bishop of Norwich saw the archbishop, and told him that he must either speak with the king in private or resign his unthankful office of preceptor. It appears that the bishop had one day found prince George reading Père d'Orléans's *Révolution d'Angleterre*, an ultra-absolutist work, written under the direction of the expelled James II., to justify his arbitrary measures;* that Stone, upon being charged with putting the book into the prince's hands denied having seen the work for thirty years; but that at last it was confessed that the prince had really had the book, *which his younger brother, Prince Edward, had borrowed from his sister Augusta.* According to Bubb Dodington, the princess dowager declared to him "that the stories about the History of the Père d'Orléans were false; the only little dispute between the bishop and Prince *Edward* being about Perefixe's History of Henry IV." It is not very probable that George II., who hated all books but books of account, ever read or ever cared much about Père d'Orléans or Père Perefixe. He admitted Lord Harcourt to a private audience in his closet on the 6th of December, declined entering into the subject of his complaints, and accepted his resignation at once; and, when the archbishop waited upon him to know whether he would be pleased to see the Bishop of Norwich, or accept his resignation from his (the archbishop's) hands, his majesty chose the latter. Lord Harcourt had complained before this, by letter and otherwise, that dangerous notions and arbitrary principles were instilled into the prince, and that he could be of no use unless the instillers of these doctrines—Stone and Scott—were dismissed; and the princess dowager actually confessed to Dodington that she knew and had long known Stone for a decided Jacobite! The subject caused a great excitement beyond the purlieus of the court; nor is it easy to conceive a matter in which the people at large could be more interested than in the education of

* Diary.

† "Lord Harcourt was minute and strict in trifles; and, thinking that he discharged his trust conscientiously if on no account he neglected to make the prince turn out his toes, he gave himself little trouble to respect the princess, or to condescend to the sub-governor."—*Memoirs of George II.* But the princess had no right to complain of Harcourt's formality; for she had declared that she looked upon a governor to her son "as a sort of pageant—a man of quality for shows, &c."—*Dodington's Diary.*

* James had even furnished the priest with documents and materials for his history.

their future sovereign. A anonymous letter was sent to Dr. Newton, a popular preacher, setting forth the dangerous way the prince's education was left in, and putting it to him as a sacred duty to take notice of it in the pulpit. Another anonymous letter on the same subject was sent to General Hawley, the hero of Falkirk Muir, whose own education had been so sadly neglected that it was said of him he could scarcely read and write. Hawley carried the letter, which ran in the name of the Whig nobility and gentry, to the Duke of Cumberland, who laid it before the king. Great pains were taken to find out the author of it, but they were taken in vain. Many years after the fact Horace Walpole let the public into his confidence,* confessing that he wrote a letter "pretended to be signed by several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and fortune," and sent it himself "to five or six particular persons," and to General Hawley and to Lord Ravensworth among the number. The points in this letter or memorial were strongly put; the chief of them were—That the education of a Prince of Wales concerns the whole nation, and ought always to be entrusted to noblemen of unblemished honour, and to prelates of virtue, learning, and unsuspected principles; that the misfortunes which this nation formerly suffered or escaped under King Charles I., King Charles II., and King James II., were owing to the bad education of those princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power; that, it being notorious that books inculcating the worst maxims of government, and defending the most avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the Prince of Wales, it cannot but affect the memorialists with the most melancholy apprehensions, when they find that the men who had the honesty and resolution to complain of such astonishing methods of instruction are driven away from court, and that men who have dared to teach such doctrines are continued in trust and favour; that, the security of this government being built on Whig principles, and the establishment of the present royal family being settled on the timely overthrow of Queen Anne's last ministry, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs to hear of schoolmasters of very contrary principles, and to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord Bolingbroke entrusted with the education of a prince, whose family that lord endeavoured to exclude from the throne of these kingdoms; that, there being great reason to believe that a noble lord has accused one of the preceptors of Jacobitism, it is astonishing that no notice has been taken of the complaint, and that the accused person has been continued in the same trust without any satisfaction being given to the governor and preceptor, who, though a nobleman of the most unblemished honour, and a prelate of the most unbiassed virtue, have been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant in the family; and that whosoever advised the refusal of an audience to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, who was so justly alarmed at the wrong methods which he saw taken in the education of the prince, is an enemy to his country.*

Vexed by these clamours and beset by the Princess Dowager, who begged for the appointment of Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, the king hardly knew whom to choose either as chief preceptor or as governor; and when he made a selection he found that one lord after another declined the invidious post. "Many," says Walpole, "were named, and many refused it. At last, after long waiving it, Lord Waldegrave, at the earnest request of the king, accepted it, and after repeated assurances of the submission and tractability of Stone. The earl was very averse to it; he was a man of pleasure, understood the court, was firm in the king's favour, easy in his circumstances, and at once undesirous of rising and afraid to fall. He said to a friend—If I dared, I would make this excuse to the king—'Sir, I am too young to govern and too old to be governed.' But he was forced to submit."† Lord Waldegrave was indeed a man of strict honour, a most faithful and attached servant to the king, of an amiable disposition and excellent understanding, a scholar, and a gentleman in the highest acceptation of the latter term; but he had few exterior graces to recommend him, and, what was of more consequence and somewhat strange in the eye of the public, was, that the blood of James II., through an illegitimate channel, ran in his veins: his family were all Papists, and his father had been but the first convert to the established church.‡ The Whigs took fire and criticised this choice severely. The preceptor finally fixed upon was Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough, against whom it appears there was nothing to say. Horace Walpole, who had written the Memorial, seems to have admired and loved Lord Waldegrave, who subsequently married his niece, as much as he was capable of loving and admiring any one; but the effect produced by his paper could not be effaced, and Lord Ravensworth, "reckoned," as Walpole says, "one of the warmest and honestest Whigs in England," to whom he had sent a copy of the Memorial, brooded over it, and became so alarmed as to think it necessary to bring the matter before the council, on some words spoken to him by a drunken country attorney.

A. D. 1753.—Lord Ravensworth posted up to

* In Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George II., where the memorial is given at length, and where he says, in a foot-note, "It was written by the author of these Memoirs."

* It was broadly hinted in the Memorial that Murray, the solicitor-general, was the person who had given this advice, and who had the chief management of the whole affair. Many men (and Horace Walpole, the writer of the Memorial among them) could never forgive Murray his country: and it was certainly not easy to forget the Jacobitism of Murray's family and nearest connexions.

† Walpole's Memoirs.

‡ Lord Waldegrave's grandmother was a daughter of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister to the great Duke of Marlborough. His grandfather, a zealous Papist, followed his king and father-in-law into exile, and died in Paris in 1689. Waldegrave's father became a Protestant in 1722, to the great scandal of the Jacobites and fury of his uncle, the Duke of Berwick. After his conversion he was employed both by George I. and George II. in important embassies, and he died an earl and a Knight of the Garter in 1741.—*Introduction to Memoirs from 1754 to 1758, by James Earl Waldegrave, K. G.*

town and acquainted Mr. Pelham that he had strong evidence of Jacobitism to produce against Stone, the sub-governor, Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, who had been recommended as preceptor, and Murray, the solicitor-general. Mr. Pelham and Lord Granville would gladly have overlooked the matter, but it could not be stifled, as Ravensworth had told his story to the Duke of Devonshire and many others; and the cabinet was compelled to hear the important revelations, which amounted to this, and no more—that Fawcett, an attorney, had told his lordship, at Durham, that Dr. Johnson, the new Bishop of Gloucester, had drunk the Pretender's health twenty times with Mr. Stone, Mr. Murray, and himself. The cabinet council was occupied for three whole days in hearing Lord Ravensworth and the Dean of Durham; and then, on the 16th of February, the attorney himself was brought into the council chamber and examined. Fawcett was in extreme terror and confusion; but with reluctance and uncertainty he confessed that the words he had uttered at Durham were true, and admitted that "about *twenty* years ago, Murray, then a young lawyer, Stone then in indigence, and himself, had used to sup frequently at one Vernon's, a rich mercer, a noted Jacobite, and a lover of ingenious young men;—the conversation was wont to be partly literature, partly treason—the customary healths, *the Chevalier* and *Lord Dunbar*." He did not mention the Bishop of Gloucester as being of these convivial parties, in which a few needy young men seemed to have enjoyed themselves by flattering the tastes and prejudices of the rich old citizen—though probably in those days of *their* poverty and discontent their Jacobitism might not have been altogether an affectation or a condescension. The attorney hesitated and trembled about signing his deposition, and said he was fitter to die than to make an affidavit. Stone upon being called in, said he was ready to swear that he *never* drank the Pretender's health, even when in the most Jacobitish companies—"not even when he was a student at Oxford." Murray, the solicitor-general, proudly objected to having the depositions read to him, saying, that be they what they might they were lies, as, being aware that suspicions might arise from his family and connexions, he had lived a life of caution beyond even what his principles would have dictated. And when he had heard the attorney's deposition he took a solemn oath that the charge was absolutely false. When this contemptible business had occupied the council nine or ten days they unanimously reported to the king that Fawcett's account was false and scandalous. But the Duke of Bedford would not let the matter rest there, and on the 22nd of March he moved for the papers relating to the examination of Stone and Murray; and by this means the Lords were led into a terrible long debate, the best part of which was the Duke of Bedford's denunciation of the strange proceedings in the council, which he compared to a revived star-chamber—an inquisition—"different, indeed, from the inquisition in one point, for the heretics of this court were the favourites of it! Before this court the accused had been admitted to purge themselves upon oath, the minutes had been secreted, and the witnesses made to tremble and held in a state of confinement." At a late hour Lord Ravensworth put a period "to this solemn mummery:" he said that he was satisfied—that at least his own honour was cleared—that he would leave it here; and so left the House! A silence of some minutes ensued—nobody rose to speak—and the rest of the lords went away without coming to a division.*

The Duke of Bedford had declared in his speech that no objection could be taken to the appointment of Lord Waldegrave—that the choice was the more acceptable as it was his majesty's own, who always acted right when he acted himself, &c. But, though Waldegrave might be considered fit for the place, he soon found that the place was not fit for him. His royal pupil would not give him his affection or confidence, and the Princess Dowager hated him because he was appointed by the king, and chose always to consider that he was placed as a spy over her.† "I found his royal highness," says the plain-speaking, and, as we believe, thoroughly veracious Lord Waldegrave ‡ "uncommonly full of princely prejudice, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bedchamber women, and pages of the back stairs. As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies."§ His lordship, in speaking of the Prince of Wales afterwards, when his royal highness was entering into his twenty-first year, says, that great allowances should be made on account of his *bad* education; for that, though the Bishop of Peterborough the preceptor, Mr. Scott the sub-preceptor, and Mr. Stone the sub-governor were men of sense, learning, and worth, they had but little weight and influence; the mother and the nursery having always prevailed against them. His lordship found the prince uncommonly indolent, as indifferent to pleasure as to study, and with few lively affections. The Princess Dowager told Bubb Dodington that he cared little for anybody except for his brother Edward; that he conversed little with people of the world, and had no associates of his own age, because she was averse

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II.—Letters to Horace Mann.

† According to Horace Walpole the Princess of Wales "took for a spy a man who would even have scorned to employ one."

‡ We have expressed before our conviction of the truthfulness of Lord Waldegrave's pen. His lordship in opening his Memoirs, says, "I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be unprejudiced." We will not venture to say more for his lordship than he ventured to say for himself, but we feel assured that he was as impartial as human nature can be, and never misrepresented a fact.

§ Waldegrave's Memoirs.

to the young people of rank on account of their excessively bad education and the bad example they might set the prince. On another occasion she said that the young people of quality were so ill educated and so very vicious, that they frightened her.* It cannot be denied that the prevailing immorality among young people of fashion was sufficient to justify a mother's fears; but it was shrewdly surmised that there was a mixture of ambition, and love of power and controul, in these moral apprehensions; and that the Princess Dowager gave her son a bad opinion of everybody else, in order that she might the better keep him to herself, and prolong her own sway over him. Yet, on the other side, it may be assumed that the care with which she kept him, up to the age of manhood, from evil communications contributed to form those habits of morality and decency which George III. afterwards displayed and enforced in his court. Lord Waldegrave, who was unfashionably grateful to his master George II., was compelled to listen to bitter sarcasms and complaints against his majesty at Kew Palace and Leicester House. We know from Bubb Dodington that one of the standing complaints was about money. When Bubb thought proper to speak of his majesty's great civility to her royal highness and great kindness to her children, the Princess Dowager said, "she wished the king would be less civil, and put less of *their* money into his own pocket —that his majesty got full 30,000*l.* per annum by the poor prince's death;—if he would but have given them the Duchy of Cornwall to have paid the debts, it would have been something;—should resentments be carried beyond the grave?—should the innocent suffer?—was it becoming so great a king to leave his son's debts unpaid?" †

Lord Waldegrave laboured hard to restore harmony and union in the royal family—or rather to create it, for it had never existed;—and, having free access to the king, he had frequent opportunities of doing good offices to the inmates of Kew Palace and Leicester House. "I was," says his lordship, "a very useful apologist whenever his majesty was displeased with his grandson's shyness, or want of attention; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young prince's behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction. He continued at his difficult post as chief governor for nearly three years, and was treated with, at least, civility, till the princess and her son conceived that enthusiastic affection for Lord Bute which brought about fresh revolutions in court and cabinet.

In his opening speech the king had informed parliament that he was continuing his negotiations, and should require no money beyond the ordinary supply. Lord Egmont got up a debate upon the address, and proposed striking out the approbation of his majesty's foreign policy. "I believe," said Egmont, "that his majesty's measures are well intended; but they will prove unsuccessful. The College of Princes is averse to the election of a King of the Romans; and the proceedings of the King of Prussia, though outwardly referring to the Silesian loan, are, in reality, prompted by his disapprobation of our conduct in promoting the election." Several other members inveighed against the whole system of foreign affairs; but they were too few to press for a division. Lord Egmont, however, renewed his opposition, when Mr. Fox, as Secretary-at-War, moved that the land forces should be continued at 18,857 men. His lordship expressed his surprise at seeing gentlemen professing Whig principles voting for so great a standing army in time of peace. Pelham replied in a well-reasoned speech, in which he insisted upon the necessity of a competent force, and maintained that no danger to liberty was to be apprehended from a native and Protestant army paid and provided for by parliament. Lord Egmont had said that King George, like Queen Elizabeth, might point to the people in the streets and say, "These are my guards;" and that the old pretence of danger from Jacobitism and conspiracy had ceased altogether. In reply, Pelham said—"In reference to the disaffected, I must observe, that in the interval from 1715 to 1745, during the greater part of which I was in parliament, in all debates concerning them the Jacobites were represented by gentlemen in opposition as a dispirited, contemptible party, which had for ever ceased to be dangerous; and yet, in 1745, we found this party again in rebellion, defeating our troops, and advancing on our capital." Upon a division ministers had a majority of 253 against 65.

For nearly a century, or ever since the Restoration, the Jews, persecuted everywhere else except in Holland, had enjoyed a kind of toleration in England; and many of the old superstitions and hatreds had been gradually forgotten by the English people.* In the reign of Queen Anne the

* Bubb Dodington's Diary.—She also told Dodington in the month of October, 1752, "that the prince was very honest, but she wished that he was a little more forward, and less childish at his age."

† Diary. The princess dowager said that the debts her husband had left were inconsiderable. Bubb asked what she thought they might amount to? She said that she could not say exactly, though she had endeavoured to know as near as a person could properly inquire, who, not having it in her power, could not pretend to *pay them*, but that she thought there was about 90,000*l.* owing to the *tradespeople and servants*, a private debt due to the Earl of Scarborough, and about 70,000*l.* owing abroad.

* A negotiation, indeed, was begun for permitting the return of the Jews in the time of the Protectorate; and in Spence's Anecdotes there is a curious account of Cromwell's proposing to grant them permission to have a synagogue in London. "They offered him, when Protector, 60,000*l.* for that privilege. Cromwell appointed them a day for his giving them an answer. He then sent to some of the most powerful among the clergy, and some of the chief merchants of the city, to be present at their meeting. It was in the Long Gallery at Whitehall. Sir Paul Ricant, who was then a young man, pressed in among the crowd, and said he never heard a man speak so well in his life as Cromwell did on the occasion. When they all met he ordered the Jews to speak for themselves. And after that he turned to the clergy, who inveighed much against the Jews, as a cruel and accursed people. Cromwell, in his answer to the clergy, called them 'Men of God,' and desired to be informed by them, whether it was not their opinion that the Jews were to be called, in the fulness of time, into the church. He then desired to know whether it was not every Christian man's duty to forward that good end all he could. Then he flourished a good deal on religion prevailing in this nation, the only place in the world where religion was taught in its full purity: was it not, then, our duty, in particular, to encourage them to settle where they could be taught the truth; and not to exclude them from the light and hear-

Jews had even offered Lord Treasurer Godolphin half a million of money, if he would obtain for them permission to purchase the town of Brentford, with full privileges of trade, &c. The agent from the Jews represented to his lordship that such a measure would bring the richest of the Jew merchants into England, and cause an addition of more than twenty millions of money to circulate in the nation. The offer was tempting—the Jews, it is said, would have doubled it—and the prospect of the attendant advantages more so; but Godolphin was deterred, and let the scheme drop, because "he foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation—the *clergy* and the *merchants*." Godolphin, perhaps, knew not the arguments of Oliver Cromwell; but Mr. Pelham, whether he knew them or not, seems to have considered that the time was come when the experiment upon bigotry and prejudice might be carried out; and he introduced, as a ministerial measure, a bill for permitting the naturalisation of foreign Jews. This bill passed through the House of Lords without exciting a murmur even from the bench of bishops; but, upon being sent down to the Commons, it encountered a fierce and formidable opposition. It was read for the first time on the 17th of April; but, on the 7th of May, when the question was put for the second reading, the great combat took place—the factious opposition being greatly encouraged by the abuse which the bill encountered out of doors. Men not hitherto noted for any zeal for religion began to fight under the banners of prophecy, proclaiming that to give the Jews a settlement anywhere would be an impious attempt to oppose the will of the Almighty as signified by the prophets, who had foretold the eternal dispersion of that accursed race. The Scriptures were quoted to prove that the Jews were and must remain scattered over the world as vagabonds and outlaws without a country, without a home; and, in the *red-hot torrent of declamation, all our* penal enactments made against the Jews in the most barbarous times were applauded as things tending to work out the will of Heaven; and every mark of favour shown to them was denounced as execrable, and ascribed to the policy of an usurper or the self-interest of a tyrant. Mr. Pelham replied like a philosopher and a statesman. He could not allow himself to believe that the church of England could be in any danger, or that he was bound to deem every man his enemy who differed from him on a point of religion. "We have less danger," said the minister, "to apprehend to our church from them than from our dissenters, because they never attempt to make converts, and because such an attempt would be peculiarly difficult: the strict tenets of their religion exclude every man who is not of the seed of Israel; and as they cannot intermarry with a strange woman, we need not fear that they will have any success in converting our countrymen. Our ecclesiastical establishment, therefore, is in no danger from them; and, as to our civil establishment, the Jews are sufficiently excluded from all participation in it by existing laws; for, unless they become Christians—unless they take the sacrament—they cannot even be excisemen or custom-house officers." Pelham's speech made some impression, and the second reading was carried by 95 against 16. But the men who had made the question merely a handle for factious opposition and party strife, continued the combat, and loaded the table of the House with petitions from the corporation of London, from merchants, and traders; and procured council to be heard and witnesses to be examined. When the third reading was proposed Lord Egmont moved an adjournment, and made a long speech, telling those who voted for the bill that they would experience the ill consequences to themselves at the approaching general election, when they would be made to feel the national resentment. "When that day comes," exclaimed his lordship, "I shall not fear to set my foot upon any ground, as a candidate, in opposition to any one man among you, or any new Christian, who has appeared or voted for this bill." This was a strong argument; yet, with the fear of the hustings before their eyes, ninety-six honourable members voted against fifty-five; the adjournment was negatived; and the bill, after passing the House, received the royal assent. During its whole progress the House was thinly attended, as all who could seem to have been anxious to escape the odium of voting for the Jews.

Complaints had arisen among the country gentlemen that the old laws were insufficient for the preservation of game, and that poaching was greatly on the increase; during the session a new game act was carried through both Houses, but it had not the effect of tranquillising our little Nimrods, and our jails continued to be crowded as before with unqualified sportsmen, who there became qualified for the commission of much more serious offences.

The law of marriage had hitherto been so loose that all kinds of hurried and clandestine unions could be formed all over England with more facility than they are now at Gretna Green. No notice or publication of banns was required, no license was looked for, and any parson might perform the ceremony at any time or in any place, without consent of parents, or any other preliminary conditions whatsoever; and the worst or the most needy of the clergy would often forward the most rash or disgraceful marriages for the sake of the paltry fee. The great temple of the pseudo Hymen was the Fleet prison. Parsons confined for debt, scoundrels fuddled with gin and tobacco, would marry in three minutes, and for the small charge

them among false teachers, papists, and idolaters. This silenced the clergy. He then turned to the merchants, who spoke of their falseness and meanness, and that they would get their trade from them. 'And can you really be afraid,' says he, 'that this mean despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants in the world?' Thus he went on till he had silenced them too; and so was at liberty to grant what he desired to the Jews." Lockier, Spence's informant, received his information from Sir Paul Ricaut himself.

of two shillings, any couple that presented themselves. "In walking along the street in my youth," says Pennant, "on the side next to this prison, I have often been tempted by the question, *Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married?* Along this most lawless space was hung up the frequent sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with *Marriages performed within*, written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop; a squalid profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid nightgown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin or roll of tobacco."* To put a stop to these crying abuses a bill was prepared by the judges under the auspices of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and brought into the Upper House. It provided that all marriages should henceforward take place either by banns published on three successive Sundays or by license granted in a regular manner; and that all other marriages should be void, and the parson that solemnised any such transported for seven years. Every class of society had felt the mischief of the old system; but the provisions of Hardwicke's Marriage Act, on the other hand, were thought to be intended and contrived to keep together the wealth and family connexions of the aristocracy, to raise too many obstacles to matrimony, and to place too much power in the hands of the chancellor. It excited some severe criticisms in the House of Lords, particularly from the Duke of Bedford; and numerous amendments were introduced by their lordships. But when it reached the Commons it encountered far greater opposition: the Speaker, Mr. Nugent, Charles Townshend, and Mr. Fox, spoke with great acrimony against it, the last of these gentlemen declaring that from the beginning to the end of the act no principle predominated but pride and aristocracy. In the heat of debate Fox spoke of the chicanery and jargon of the lawyers, called Chancellor Hardwicke their proud Mufti, and drew a very severe character of the head of the law and the keeper of the royal conscience. In the course of one of his harangues Fox held up a copy of the bill, on which he had marked with red ink various erasures, alterations, and additions that had been made to it since it came down from the Lords. The attorney-general exclaimed—"See how bloody it looks!" Fox retorted in the words of Macbeth to the Ghost of Banquo—"Thou can'st not say I did it." He then parodied the lamentation of Mark Antony over the robe of Cæsar, and exclaimed, pointing to the attorney-general—"Look what a rent the *learned* Casca made;"—and then, alluding to Mr. Pelham,—"through this the well beloved Brutus stabbed." But in the end of his speech Fox apologised for his attacks on the chancellor, and disavowed any personal feeling against that lord. The bill with its amendments was not returned to the Peers before the 6th of June, and the prorogation was fixed for the 7th. Softened as it was the Duke of Bedford attacked it with undiminished severity, and styled it a faulty and obnoxious law forced through parliament to gratify the prime minister. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke reluctantly concurred in the amendments, though he declared that several of them weakened the bill—a bill, which he held, could not be wrong since it had been maturely deliberated, prepared by the judges, improved by the whole House of Lords, and sanctioned by all the bishops. Hardwicke then alluded in the plainest terms to the attacks made upon him in the Commons by Charles Townshend and Mr. Fox. He was content to treat Townshend as an amorous, hot, and inexperienced young man; but he could make no allowance for so grave a personage as his official colleague Mr. Fox. Choosing to overlook the circumstances which had attended Mr. Fox's own marriage, and which might, in themselves, have been sufficient to render the bill unpalatable in that quarter,* he attributed his opposition to dark intrigue and faction. And unsoothed by Fox's apology he declared that he "despised his scurrility as much as his adulation and recantation."† Fox wished that the session was not to be closed on the morrow, for then he would have made an ample retaliation upon the lord chancellor. We have seen how adroitly Bubb Dodington had insinuated to Mr. Pelham a distrust of Fox; and it appears that Fox at this moment was closely connected with the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Bedford, that he had many personal friends and more political followers, that the distribution of military preferment had added greatly to his strength, and that he was looked upon as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers.‡ He told the Duke of Cumberland that he was ten times stronger than Pelham; and his royal highness, in reply, said that Pelham had neither candour, honour, nor sincerity. Cumberland could never forgive the Pelhams, the Chancellor Hardwicke, and the Solicitor Murray, for their behaviour on the Regency Bill, and Fox as well as Bedford were anxious to promote his animosity and revenge. In the course of the following session Bedford brought in a bill to postpone the operation of the Marriage Act till it should be maturely considered and amended; but the chancellor opposed the motion dictatorially, and it was rejected by a majority of fifty-six to ten. The peers were inclined to extend the operation of Hardwicke's bill to Scotland, and an order was even given to the Lords of Session to prepare a measure to that effect: but strong objections were raised by the Scottish lawyers and the Scottish representative peers in parliament; the plan was silently abandoned, and thus Gretna Green remained open to all such Englishmen as

* Some Account of London.

* Mr. Fox's own marriage with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond had been clandestine.

† Horace Walpole's Memoirs, and Letters to Horace Mann.—Parl. Hist.

‡ Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.

had money enough to make the journey. In the course of a few years Hardwicke's bill became exceedingly unpopular with all classes; but no amendment was made in it till our own day.

During the present session a bill was brought in by Mr. Potter, son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, to establish a general register of the population; but, after struggling with difficulty through the Commons, it was thrown out by the Lords, who trumpeted all kinds of popular prejudices, and proclaimed that it would be dangerous to the constitution and destructive of the people's liberties to take a census, or register the number of free-born Englishmen. Among various, and, for the most part, laudable measures of domestic policy adopted during the session, a bill was passed for preventing the depredations committed on wrecks, and the infamous cruelties inflicted on shipwrecked persons, which had increased to an enormous degree on the coast of Cornwall and other parts of the kingdom. With unwonted liberality parliament enabled the commissioners of longitude to pay 20,000*l.* to Mr. Harrison for his improvements on chronometers; and they also passed an act empowering the crown to raise money by lottery to purchase the Sloane Library and Museum, the Harleian Manuscripts, and Montague House, in Russell-street. Such was the origin of the British Museum, to which Mr. Pelham, greatly to his honour, contributed very zealously.

But while parliament was yet sitting ministers manifested something like a return to their old fears and their old cruelty; and the day on which it was prorogued—the 7th of June—London witnessed another horrible execution in the person of Doctor Archibald Cameron, brother to the gentle Locheil. The doctor, a man of learning and humanity, had done his best to prevent Locheil's engaging in the rebellion of 1745; but, upon seeing his beloved brother join the young Pretender, he followed him to the field, though he had a large family, and he attended Locheil throughout the war, and cured his desperate wounds when the conflict was over. We have seen him traversing the mountains of Badenoch to rescue Charles Stuart, and living in "the Cage," in the great mountain of Benalder with his lame and suffering brother, with Clunie and the Pretender;* and it appears he escaped with them in the French frigates that put into Lochnanuagh. When Louis XV. gave the gentle Locheil a regiment, the doctor was appointed chief surgeon to it, and he thus remained in the French service, universally respected, till the spring of the present year (1753), when he unwisely ventured back to his native land. He was presently discovered, seized, and brought up to London.† As he had been excepted in the Act of Amnesty and included in the Acts of Attainder, ministers and judges held that, as usual in the like cases, he might at once be executed as a traitor without any legal proceedings; and the king was accordingly asked to sign the death warrant. It is said that old George exclaimed—"Surely there has been too much blood spilt upon this account already;" and that he signed the warrant with extreme reluctance. Doctor Cameron behaved like a hero and a worthy brother of the brave Locheil. His parting with his wife the night before his execution was tender and heroic at the same time: he let her stay with him till the last moment, and then told her she must go, as they were about to lock the gates of the Tower for the night: she fell at his feet in an agony of grief; but he said to her, "Madam, this was not what you promised me," and, embracing her for the last time, he forced her to leave that dismal prison: he then stood at the window looking at her coach with seeming firmness; but when it was out of sight he turned away from the window and wept. At the place of execution he was as firm as a man could be. "His only concern," says Horace Walpole, "seemed to be at the ignominy of Tyburn: he was not disturbed at the dresser for his body, or at the fire to burn his bowels. The crowd was so great, that a friend who attended him could not get away, but was forced to stay and behold the execution."* It had been reported that Doctor Cameron had been sent over to Scotland by the young Pretender and the *King of Prussia* to feel the ground and organise a new rebellion; but this incredible story was never supported by anything like evidence. Another and a much more probable account is, that he came to recover a sum of money. His fate was deplored by all who saw him suffer.

For some time the much misgoverned people of Ireland had been in a state of discontent and uneasiness, and the Irish parliament complained of the administration of the Duke of Dorset and the ascendancy of the protestant primate, who was accused of meddling with the House of Commons. On some occasions the government were left in a minority in the House—in others they found their majorities reduced to twos and threes. "As the parties were so equally balanced," says Walpole, "their animosities did not flag, but proceeded to great extremities, both in the English manner of abuse, and in the Irish of duels."†

The English parliament re-assembled on the 15th of November. It was notorious to every one that paid the least attention to public affairs that a new war was brewing—nay, that hostilities had actually been commenced by the French on the confines of Canada and Nova Scotia. Yet the royal speech expressed a confidence that peace

* See ante p. 547.

† On the 27th of April Horace Walpole writes—"He is just brought to London; but nobody troubles their head about him, or anything else, but Newmarket, where the duke is at present making a campaign, with half the nobility and half the money of England attending him: they really say that not less than an hundred thousand pounds have been carried thither for the hazard of this single week."—*Letters to Mann.*

* *Letters to Mann.*—Walpole adds a horrible and almost incredible circumstance:—"But what will you say to the minister or priest who accompanied him? The wretch, after taking leave, went into a landau, where, not content with seeing the doctor hanged, he let down the top of the landau for the better convenience of seeing him embowelled!"

† Memoirs of George II.

would be preserved, and congratulated parliament upon the fact that there had been no important change in our foreign relations. It was easily understood that this tone, so much at variance with truth, proceeded from the fear of the approaching general election; and other matters presently introduced were calculated to conciliate the popular feeling that was about to express itself around the hustings. The Jew bill, passed a few months before, had inflamed the nation and excited the bigotry of the people to a degree which had not been witnessed since the affair of Doctor Sacheverel. The bishops had concurred in the bill, but the little curates and the country parsons preached against it everywhere, and the common people were led to believe that England would be made to partake in the curses pronounced by prophecy on Jerusalem and the Holy Land. If the parliament had not been so near its close ministers might possibly have braved the storm; but as matters stood they resolved to allay it by throwing the bill overboard like another Jonas. On the very day the Houses met the Duke of Newcastle moved to repeal the bill, which, he said, had been merely a point *of political policy*. Drummond, bishop of St. Asaph, in a manly speech, said the bishops could not have opposed the bill without indulging a spirit of persecution, abhorrent from the spirit of the Gospel. The Bishop of Oxford said that his brethren had never much liked the bill, and were glad to have it repealed to quiet the minds of good people. Lord Temple said that the daily papers had got up this storm; that popular clamour ought not to prevail; that the voice of the people was not always the voice of God; and that the approaching general election had given the first foundation to this uproar. The Duke of Bedford, who had been against the bill, was now against the repeal, which he called "an effect of the imbecility of the administration." In the Commons a similar motion for repeal was made on the same day by Sir James Dashwood; and, in the end, the Lords' bill was adopted and carried without a division. Nor did the war against the Jews stop with this repeal. By a clause in the Plantation Act, which had subsisted thirteen years, foreign Jews as well as foreign Christians might become free denizens of Great Britain, after having resided seven years in any of his majesty's plantations or colonies in America. Lord Harley moved to bring in a bill to repeal this clause, and was seconded by Dashwood and supported by Lord Egmont. But ministers made a stand here, Pitt made one of his fine speeches, and Harley's motion was rejected.*

A.D. 1754.—On the 7th of February Sir John Barnard, professing great horror at the perjuries constantly committed on elections, made a motion to repeal the bribery oath; but it was considered that this would be avowing permission of bribery, and the motion was rejected without a division. The rest of the business of parliament was not very important, and the session was drawing tranquilly to a close, when death deprived the king of his prime minister. Mr. Pelham, who had been in a bad state of health for many months, died rather suddenly on the 6th of March, in the sixty-first year of his age.* His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, an older man, and a far less able minister, resolved to step into his place, and, after deluding and balking Pitt and Fox, who both aimed at the treasury, he succeeded in gratifying his ambition, for the king continued his personal dislike to Pitt, and Newcastle had art enough to drive Fox into declarations which displeased his majesty. The solicitor-general, Murray, who was a better orator than Fox, and superior in argumentative debate to Pitt, might have made the duke's victory uncertain, if it had not been for the Jacobitism of his family, and his own fixed determination to stick to his profession as a lawyer, and to aspire to nothing more than the highest honours of the law. He was now on the verge of promotion, and soon became attorney-general. The Duke of Newcastle made himself first lord of the treasury, gave his place of secretary of state to Sir Thomas Robinson, and appointed Mr. Legge, originally the *protégé* of Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt and Fox, left in their subordinate places, soon forgot their old rivalry in their common spite against Newcastle. But Pitt carefully concealed his resentment for some time, and continued to court the duke, whose creature or instrument he had repeatedly called himself. Newcastle, on his side, represented that, though Pitt had been left out, most of his friends were let in; thus, Lyttelton was treasurer of the navy, and Grenville cofferer. And at the same time Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, at the duke's request, wrote a long letter to pacify Pitt. Hardwicke, touching lightly on that delicate subject, the king's aversion to Pitt, artfully instilled into the great orator motives of jealousy against Fox, who was described as hungering after promotion, and as being sure of obtaining it at Pitt's expense, if the latter should betray any inconsiderate resentment.† The orator affected a tone of melancholy regret and broken-hearted submission; but he hoped that his grace of Newcastle would eventually bring forward "an instrument of his own raising," and effect "some degree of softening in his majesty's mind." On the 6th of April, just one month after Mr. Pelham's death, Pitt wrote a letter to the chancellor. It was meant

* The chancellor, who defended the repeal of the recent Jew Bill, was opposed to any thought of repealing this part of the Plantation Act. He said that as the Jews were chiefly concerned in remittances, it would undo our colonies to repeal what was done in favour of that people.—*Walpole's Memoirs of George II.*

* The candid Lord Waldegrave says of this much abused minister, "He had acquired the reputation of an able and honest minister; had a plain, solid understanding, improved by experience in business, as well as by a thorough knowledge of the world; and, without being an orator, or having the finest parts, no man in the House of Commons argued with more weight, or was heard with greater attention. He was a frugal steward to the public, averse to continental extravagance and useless subsidies, preferring a tolerable peace to the most successful war; jealous to maintain his personal credit and authority, but nowise inattentive to the true interest of his country." Even the uncharitable Horace Walpole confesses that Pelham "lived without abusing his power, and died poor."

† Hardwicke MSS., as cited in Quart. Rev., No. cxxxi.

to be pathetic, but it will appear in our days affected and mean. It would be well for the fame of that brilliant man if this epistle stood by itself; but in the turns and changes of his political course he wrote many such, and some still more base; and the recent publication of his own correspondence darkens the brightness of his fame and genius with a cloud that can never pass away, even in the eyes of those who are disposed to make the most liberal allowance for the low spirit of the age, and the unspeakable baseness of most of his political contemporaries. After a prelude of respect, veneration, gratitude, sensibility, &c., Pitt says to Hardwicke—"It is very kind and generous in your lordship to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to a future. But, my lord, after having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing a load of obloquy for supporting the king's measures, and never obtaining, in recompense, the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all consideration by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of irremovable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under; it must crush any man; it has sunk and broken me. I succumb; and wish for nothing *but a decent and innocent retreat*, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I will presume upon your lordship's great goodness to me to tell my utmost wish:—it is, *that a retreat, not void of advantage or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as practicable, be opened to me.* In this view I take the liberty to recommend myself to your lordship's friendship, as I have done to the Duke of Newcastle's. Out of his grace's immediate province accommodations of this kind arise, *and to your joint protection, and that only, I wish to owe the future satisfaction of my life.*"*

At the same time, Pitt, who might easily have obtained a seat from his family or his friends, accepted from Newcastle his grace's borough of Aldborough. The elections passed off more quietly than had been expected, and the new parliament was essentially a Pelham parliament. It met on the 31st of May, and sat for five or six days in order to pass one bill, and to constitute itself a parliament; "for," says Walpole, "by the regency bill the last parliament that should sit in the life of the king was to revive on his death; and the new one was too acceptable to the ministry not to be ensured." The lord chancellor informed the Houses that his majesty would not call their attention to foreign affairs until they met in winter. Those affairs were becoming more and more involved: the Spaniards were ordering their governors in the West Indies to fall upon our ships, and lending money to the French, who were building forts on some disputed territory, harassing Nova Scotia, and arming the wild Indians against the British settlers. But for internal dissensions in France about taxes and the Bull Unigenitus, the court of Versailles would have made or permitted greater exertions, in the belief that the Duke of Newcastle was too pacific or too weak to venture upon a war. The Earl of Albemarle, who was our ambassador, remonstrated and memorialised; but the French in Canada continued their encroachments, and with a body of Indians fell upon Major Washington, who was erecting a little fort on the Ohio to protect the British territory. Washington, though then a very young man, displayed conduct as well as courage, but he was finally compelled to capitulate. The French continued erecting their forts, hoping to establish a chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, and to starve out the British colonies; and, while Lord Albemarle was negotiating at Paris, the French court sent out reinforcements to Quebec. At the same time collisions between the English and French were constantly occurring in the East Indies and on the coast of Africa. The preservation of peace seemed an impossibility.

The new parliament re-assembled on the 14th of November; and then the king demanded supplies for the preservation of our rights in America; still, however, speaking as if all our differences with France and Spain might be accommodated by negotiation. But, in the debate upon the address, several members declared that Spain would never fulfil her promises, nor France cease her aggressions, until compelled by cannon-balls. Mr. Beckford said that now was the time to exert our naval strength, instead of looking out for alliances,—that our subsidised allies in the last war had run us thirty millions in debt,—that Queen Elizabeth, in her distress, did not go about begging and buying alliances.

A.D. 1755.—It was not, however, till the month of March that ministers frankly announced to parliament that a war was inevitable. Sir Thomas Robinson, the new secretary of state, who was a bad orator, and whose speeches were generally laughed at, acquainted the Commons, by his majesty's command, that France was making preparations, and that our forces must be instantly augmented. In the fears that were felt for Ireland, which was still dissatisfied and turbulent, all the officers on that establishment were ordered to their posts. The committee of supply eagerly voted a million for the defence of our American possessions; and Admiral Boscawen was sent with a good fleet towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept a French fleet which had been prepared in the ports of Rochfort and Brest, and which was carrying reinforcements to the French Canadians. Boscawen was to fall upon the French, and, if possible, destroy them. He took post off the

* Hardwicke MSS., as cited in Quart. Rev., No. cxxxi.

banks of Newfoundland; but the French admiral, Bois de la Mothe, passed him in a fog without seeing him, and got safe into the river St. Lawrence. Two French ships of the line were, however, captured by Captain Howe (afterwards Lord Howe) and Captain Andrews. Howe displayed wonderful bravery, and quite as much skill; the action lasted some hours; and the prizes were found to contain about 8000*l.* in money, and a considerable number of officers and engineers. As soon as this affair was known in Europe the French recalled M. de Mirepoix, their ambassador at London, and M. de Bussy, whom they had recently sent to Hanover to negotiate with the king there; for George, in spite of a motion made in the House of Lords by Earl Paulet to keep him in England at this critical conjuncture, had gone over to his continental dominions. The court of Versailles complained most bitterly and loudly of Boscawen's attacking their ships in a time of peace: the court of St. James's replied, that the French had rendered reprisals justifiable and necessary by their encroachments and warlike operations in America; and we recalled our ambassador from Paris. This was equivalent to a regular declaration of hostilities on both sides. In the month of July Sir Edward Hawke went on a cruise with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; and on the 14th of October Admiral Byng took the sea with twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops. Both these fleets failed in the attempt of intercepting the French fleet on its return from America; but, in the mean time, our cruisers and privateers almost annihilated the French trade in the West Indies. According to Smollet, before the end of the year, three hundred French merchant ships, many of them from St. Domingo and Martinico, and extremely rich, and about eight thousand French seamen, were brought into English ports. This increased the commercial distress and the general discontent of the French nation to an alarming degree. No one would insure their outward-bound merchant-ships at a lower rate than thirty per cent., while the English paid no more than the common insurance. But our successes by land were inferior to those obtained by sea. Colonel Monckton defeated a body of French and Indians, and took the fort of Beau-Séjour, on the confines of Nova Scotia; but Major-General Braddock was defeated and slain in an attempt to drive the French from the Ohio. Here, again, George Washington distinguished himself, and covered the retreat of the defeated English army. Sir William Johnson failed completely in an expedition against the French fort at Crown Point, and General Shirley was not more successful in a design to carry their fort at Niagara. A war of boats was carried on upon the vast fresh-water lakes; and the English colonists began to construct larger vessels, in order to obtain the command of those waters. Monstrous cruelties were committed by the wild Indian tribes, who were then chiefly in alliance with the French Canadians. They laid waste the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and continued their atrocities during the winter, when the regular troops on both sides had gone into winter quarters.

The immediate cause of this war had not been Hanover, but Nova Scotia; but Hanover, in a manner, lay open to the vengeance of the French, who always treated that electorate as a sort of whipping boy to the royalty of England. To avert the chastisement now threatened, George entered into subsidising treaties with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, who had long been negotiating, and who at last gave up his French alliance without ceremony and without scruple. This soon brought about a strange revolution in French politics; for Louis XV., who had been leagued with Prussia to dismember the territories of the empress-queen, now entered into the closest alliance with the House of Austria, the ancient enemy of the Bourbons. Both England and France did their utmost to secure Spain; but the court of Madrid very wisely determined to remain neutral. So high was the reputation of Frederick the Great, that an opinion was very generally held, both on the continent and in England, that that side must prevail on which he threw his victorious sword; yet some of our statesmen chose to entertain a contrary opinion, and among them was Mr. Pitt, who, two years after, when he was in power, and could manage matters in his own way, appreciated the military genius of Frederick, and backed him with all the resources of his government. But, at the present moment Pitt was still a disappointed man. In the course of the autumn of the preceding year he came to an understanding with Fox that they should unite their forces against Newcastle, and that Fox should be placed at the head of the treasury, and that he (Pitt) should be secretary of state. He had just at the same time increased his political importance by marrying Lady Hester Grenville, the sister of Lord Temple; and he laboured, and with success, to convert the new secretary of state, Sir Thomas Robinson, into an object of contempt. The Duke of Newcastle was soon made aware of the Pitt and Fox alliance, which he determined to break, either by raising Pitt over Fox, or Fox over Pitt.* The disseverance was the easier, as neither party really trusted the other. The premier employed old Horace Walpole to break their coalition. Walpole first applied to Pitt, but, as Pitt required an instant admission into the cabinet, he failed. The Duke of Newcastle, or rather the king, then had recourse to Lord Waldegrave, who has left his own account of the negotiation. "It became necessary," says his lordship, "that Pitt and Fox should be disunited: one of them must be treated with; and Fox was first applied to, as being thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the king, and more a man of business. As Fox was apt to be *warm*, and the Duke of Newcastle as apt to be

* Bubb Dodington's Memoirs.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, and Letters in his Appendix.

shuffling, it seemed necessary that some neutral person should negotiate between them; and his majesty thought proper to employ me on this occasion, because I belonged to neither of them, but was a wellwisher to both. That the progress of this amicable treaty might not be interrupted by a fresh quarrel, I persuaded them to defer their meeting till they had settled preliminaries, and clearly understood each other's meaning. Fox very readily gave me his demands in writing, which I reported to the king, and entered into a more minute explanation with the Duke of Newcastle, who made some objections, and proposed some alterations, but consented to most of the material articles. There would have been many more difficulties if I had not begun by terrifying his grace with a melancholy representation of the fatal consequences of Fox's uniting with Pitt in open opposition; how he would be exposed to all the virulence of abusive oratory; how his leaders in the House of Commons would be treated with contempt; and how his numerous parliamentary forces, having learned to despise their generals, would soon become mutinous and ungovernable. On the other hand, I assured Fox that the king had, if possible, still less inclination to make him a minister than the Duke of Newcastle himself. I therefore advised him, as a friend, to rest satisfied with a moderate share of power, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity; unless he had absolutely determined to join Pitt, enter into all the violence of opposition, set the nation in a flame, and take the closet by storm."* To remove some remaining difficulties, Lord Waldegrave proposed an interview between Fox and the premier, the result of which was an agreement that Fox should be called up to the cabinet; that employment should be given to some of his friends who were not yet provided for; and that others of his friends who had places already should be promoted. These arrangements were accordingly made. "But the Duke of Newcastle," says Waldegrave, "lost all the merit of every concession by conferring his favours with a bad grace; and it was easy to foresee that this peace and amity would be of short duration."

Fox, as a cabinet minister, had been named one of the council of regency on the king's departure for the continent, and he had induced the king and the Duke of Newcastle to make the Duke of Cumberland—for the *first* time—another of the lords justices; or members of the temporary regency; but Pitt had been left, as before, out of the cabinet and out of the regency—an irritated and almost mutinous paymaster of the forces. This induced him to draw more closely to Leicester House;† and he, together with his brothers-in-law, Lord Temple, and the Grenvilles, now paid as assiduous court to the Dowager Princess of Wales, her favourite, Lord Bute, and young Prince George, as they had done twenty years before to his father, Prince Frederick. But so much were Pitt and his party feared, that, during the king's absence on the continent this summer, fresh overtures were made, with his majesty's consent, to the great orator. Pitt proudly said that he would content himself with no mean employment—that he would be really a minister. The Duke of Newcastle replied, as he had often done before, that he had the greatest respect and esteem for Mr. Pitt, and wished to gratify him in every particular; but that the king would never give his consent to admit him into the cabinet: and so this treaty ended; and Pitt, though he retained his lucrative office of paymaster, was confirmed in his resolution of making open war upon the whole ministry. Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, sided with the paymaster, and concurred with him in refusing to pay a draft for 100,000*l.* on account of the Russian subsidy, the treaty for which had not yet received the sanction of parliament. This refusal was constitutional and proper; but it may be suspected that it would never have been made if Pitt's ambition had been gratified, and if Legge's pride had not been hurt by Newcastle, who treated him little better than a government clerk. The king came over in September, and parliament met on the 13th of November, to exhibit what has been well called "the *extraordinary* scene of the chancellor of the exchequer and the paymaster opposing the treaties of the crown, both in their details and principles."* Pitt, as an orator, surpassed himself. He denounced the whole scheme of foreign negotiations as "flagrantly absurd and desperate;" as intended only to save Hanover at the expense of England; he lashed, crushed, crucified ministers, attacked Mr. Fox, and "even hinted up to the Duke of Cumberland himself."† "His eloquence," says Walpole, "like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity."‡ In the course of his speech he exclaimed, in the sure spirit of prophecy—"This, I hope, is the day that shall give the colour to my life!" The debate lasted till five o'clock in the morning. "If," says one of his bewitched audience, "eloquence could convince, Mr. Pitt would have had more than 105 against 311; but it is long since the arts of persuasion were artful enough to persuade;—rhetoric was invented before places and commissions! The expectation of the world is suspended, to see whether these gentlemen will resign or be dismissed: perhaps neither; perhaps they may continue in place and opposition; perhaps they may continue in place and not oppose."§ But the world was not left long in doubt; for, on the 20th of November, a week after the great oratorical display, the irritated king dismissed both Pitt and Legge: Pitt's

* Memoirs.

† Before the death of Mr. Pelham, one of that minister's friends had complained to Bubb Dodington of "Pitt's perfidy, and his party's making up to the young prince."—*Diary.*

* Quart. Rev., No. cxxxi.

† Horace Walpole, Letter to General Conway.

‡ Id., Memoirs of George II.

§ Id., Letters to Mann.

brother-in-law, George Grenville, treasurer of the navy, was turned out on the same day, and his other brother-in-law, James Grenville, resigned his seat at the board of trade. The great orator felt confident that the cause of his dismission would raise him to be the idol of the people; but, at the same time, he accepted from the court a pension of 1000*l.* a-year! In the recasting of parts in the ministerial drama, Sir George Lyttelton, who had some time before quarrelled with Pitt and joined the Duke of Newcastle, was made chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Legge; Pitt's place of paymaster was split into two, and conferred upon the Earl of Darlington and Viscount Duplin; Soame Jenyns obtained a seat at the board of trade, and Bubb Dodington, after many hopes delayed, crosses, losses, and heart-burnings, got snugly back to the treasurership of the navy.* Mr. Fox gained an important step; for the king at length consented to dismiss Sir Thomas Robinson, and gave him the seals of secretary of state. Sir Thomas, who was very acceptable to the king, because he was intimately acquainted with Germany and German politics, was soothed with the place of master of the wardrobe, and a good pension settled upon him for the lives of himself and his sons. Lord Barrington, formerly master of the wardrobe, succeeded Fox as secretary-at-war. The Duke of Leeds became cofferer in place of Sir George Lyttelton; the Duke of Marlborough became master of the ordnance, a place which had long been kept vacant, and Lord Gower stepped into the place which Marlborough vacated, that of lord privy seal. There were several minor appointments and one or two pensions, granted as usual upon Ireland; but Fox complained in the beginning that Newcastle did not keep his promise; but kept too many of these good things for his own creatures. Several of the characters thus reproduced had figured in a contemptible manner before; "but," says Horace Walpole, "as the Duke of Newcastle has so often turned in and out all the men in England, he *must* employ some of the same dupes over again."†

It was evident to every one that this cabinet could not stand. The Princess Dowager of Wales was furious against the Duke of Newcastle for having admitted Fox to the cabinet, and the Duke of Cumberland to the regency. She still dreaded the power of her royal brother-in-law, and hated Cumberland as much as she feared him; and she still retained all the jealousies which had divided the royal family during the lifetime of her husband. Until recently she had hated Pitt, but now she admitted him as chief and arbiter of the little junta of Leicester House. "Pitt," says Lord Waldegrave, "who had been a groom of the bedchamber to the prince her husband, and had not quitted his master in the most decent manner, makes a tender of his services, with the assistance of his relations and friends, which are joyfully accepted. This treaty was negotiated by the Earl of Bute, at that time a favourite of little fame, but who has since merited a very uncommon reputation."* The substance of the treaty was, that Pitt and his friends should do their utmost to support the princess dowager and her son, and to oppose the Duke of Cumberland and raise a clamour against him. An event had occurred during the preceding summer which engaged Leicester House deeper in faction than was at first intended. During his majesty's absence from England the Duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbottel paid him a visit at Hanover, with two unmarried and marriageable daughters. The elder of the young princesses was handsome, cheerful, modest, sensible, and accomplished; and George was so charmed with her that he was eager to marry her at once to his grandson, who was entering into his eighteenth year.† As soon as the king's intention was whispered in England, the Princess Dowager of Wales, who, to use the language of a courtier, who probably repeated the very words of the old king, "was tempted to do a job for her own relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe Gotha family," exerted all her influence and all her energy to defeat it. She taught her son to believe that he was to be made a sacrifice merely to gratify the king's private interest in the electorate of Hanover; and that the intended bride would make a very bad wife. "The young princess," adds Lord Waldegrave, who was still governor to the prince, "was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his royal highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersion, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself. From this time all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased: for, though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to do that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by his mother or by her favourite, the Earl of Bute." Thus Leicester House became more and more what it has been aptly called—"The pouting place of princes"—and the young George promised fair to be as troublesome to the old one as his father had been before him. It was arranged, however, in the junto that neither the prince nor his mother should openly declare themselves, unless the king's obstinacy in the affair of the marriage should force them to pull off the mask. "But they were to shew strong symptoms, by taking that kind of notice of the

* Bubb records one very sad tale of pecuniary loss. Having, as he fancied, made sure of ministers, he had spent in the preceding year nearly 5000*l.* in a disputed election, and had not even received the thanks of the court. Nay, the Duke of Newcastle had told him that the king said that he could not confer on him any mark of his favour. "And yet," says Bubb, "Mr. Pelham had declared that I had a good deal of *marketable ware* (parliamentary interest), and that if I would empower him to offer it all to the king without conditions, he would be answerable to bring the affair to a good account."

† Letter to Mann.

* Memoirs.

† Old George afterwards told Lord Waldegrave, with much animation, that, had he been only twenty years younger, the young lady would never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been Queen of England.

king's principal servants which at court is called *rumping*, whilst Pitt and his relations were most graciously received, and whilst the Earl of Bute was distinguished by the most particular marks of favour and confidence; a notification to all men who sought for future preferment, that without his lordship's mediation there was no political salvation. The king, who had early intelligence of everything they did, and of most things they intended, treated the princess with the same coldness with which she and her son treated his ministers."* About three months after the king's return to England, the old king called the Prince of Wales into his closet; not to propose the match, which he knew would be rejected, but to find out the extent of his political knowledge, to sift him and caution him against evil counsellors. The discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate, though the king's manner was not quite gracious. "The prince," says the narrator who best knew what passed, and was least capable of misrepresenting it, "was flustered and sulky; bowed, but scarce made any answer: so the conference ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Here his majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake: instead of sending for the prince, he should have spoke firmly to the mother: told her that, as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct; that he would overlook what was past, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter: he might then have ended his admonition, by whispering *a word in her ear*, which would have made her tremble, *in spite of her spotless innocence*." The one word in Lord Waldegrave's mind was, no doubt, BUTE. The sudden and extraordinary favour of that handsome Scotch lord had long before this given rise to sinister reports and scandals that fell heavily upon the fair fame of the princess dowager. Horace Walpole, jesting on the subject, says one of the reasons for his not going to pay his court at Leicester House was, his dread lest, in his absent-mindedness, he should address Lord Bute as "Your royal highness!" The admission of Lord Waldegrave, that the princess's innocence was spotless, is corroborated by others who had the best opportunities of judging of the fact; but, nevertheless, the rumours were loud and of dangerous import. The virtue of the princess dowager was weighed in the scales of faction, and while she was maintained to be all purity and continence by the opposition, the government party was ready to declare a somewhat different opinion. At a subsequent period we shall find the case altered, and that the princess dowager's virtue becomes dross under the assay of the opposition, and double refined gold in that of the government party. It was this family war which animated the cause and gave spirit and vigour to the so-called *Patriots!* Yet, though aided by the splendid rhetoric of Pitt, the opposition could scarcely diminish the great majorities of ministers; and it was even thought that the ill humour of Leicester House did more harm than good. "This," says Waldegrave, "may at first appear extraordinary; but the wonder ceases when we examine the conduct of the Princess of Wales, who had not acquired that freedom and openness of behaviour which gains the profligate; whilst the sober and conscientious part of the world doubted whether it was strictly right that a boy of seventeen should be taught to set his grandfather at defiance: nor were they much edified with other rumours of a less serious nature, which were now universally credited." Murray, now attorney-general, assisted Fox in defending the *subsidy treaties* and the other measures of government, and distinguished himself so much, both as a debater and orator, that he was considered nearly equal to Pitt in everything except invective and denunciation.

A.D. 1756.—For the navy 50,000 men, including marines, were voted; for the army 34,263 native British; and enormous supplies, necessitating new duties and taxes, were carried by immense majorities. As there was a rumour of flat-bottomed boats and invasion, parliament even consented to the bringing over 8000 Hanoverians and Hessians for the defence of England; but at the close of the session, in the month of May, Speaker Onslow, in presenting the money bills, ventured to say for the House of Commons, that "there were two circumstances existing, at which nothing but their confidence in his majesty's justice and love to his people could hinder them from being most seriously alarmed—subsidies to foreign princes and an army of foreign troops—a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown, brought into England: .... still they had reliance upon his majesty, and hoped that their burdens might be lightened, their fears removed as soon as possible; and, in the mean time, that the sword of these foreigners should not be trusted a moment out of his own hand to any other person whatsoever."

The king's negotiations with the Czarina came to nothing, and the Russians joined the French and Austrians against the King of Prussia, who was, moreover, threatened by the Poles and the Saxons, who were both under one bad sovereign. The plan of the empress-queen was to bring an army of Muscovites into the heart of Germany, and to throw them and the Saxons upon Frederick in an unguarded moment. But Frederick was the last prince in the world to be caught napping: he made his treaty with George to include as a prin-

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs. His lordship did not fancy that her desire to provide for a princess of her own family was the sole reason that made her royal highness oppose the marriage with the Wolfenbuttel. On the contrary, he thought that her anxious desire to retain the control over her son had quite as much to do with her opposition. He says—"She knew the temper of the prince, her son; that he was by nature indolent, but loved a domestic life, and would make an excellent husband. She knew, also, that the young princess, having merit and understanding equal to her beauty, must in a short time have the greatest influence over him. In which circumstances it may naturally be concluded that her royal highness did everything in her power to prevent the match."

ciple the prevention of the introduction of foreign troops into the empire (a stipulation which was alike calculated to save Prussia from the Russians, and Hanover from the French); he wrote to his now loving uncle that it was better *prævenire quam præveniri;* and he attended with all his wonderful activity and untiring application to the improving and increasing of his veteran army, well knowing that the habitual slowness of Austria, the unwarlike character and habits of the Saxon sovereign, and the poverty and the sluggish march of the Russians would allow him time for everything.

But before Frederick marched to victory the flag of England was disgraced. While ministers were alarmed with hostile preparations on the Channel, and bringing over Hessians and Hanoverians to be useless and to be laughed at, the French got ready a vast armament in the Mediterranean to pounce upon Minorca, which we had left in a miserable state of defence. Even when they were duly informed that this French fleet would soon sail from Toulon, our ministers pretended that it was nothing more than a feint, to facilitate a descent upon England or Ireland by drawing off our ships of the line to blockade the rotten part of the French navy in the harbour of Toulon; and they persisted in keeping our ships at home. But, as Minorca was prized next to Gibraltar, and as Pitt and the people began to exclaim against this neglect, they awoke from their lethargy, and tardily dispatched Admiral Byng with what the admiral thought an insufficient fleet, to the Mediterranean. Byng was instructed to touch at Gibraltar, to take on board some troops there, and then to proceed with all haste to Port Mahon. But the governor and garrison of Gibraltar, alarmed by reports of an intended siege, called a council of war, and absolutely refused to spare Byng a battalion. The lateness and the insufficiency of the expedition was Byng's first misfortune—this was the second; and he made it worse by intimating to the Admiralty at home that, in case he found it dangerous to attempt the relief of Minorca, he should retire under the guns of Gibraltar! Time was lost again, of which too much had been lost already; the Duke of Richelieu had landed in Minorca with 16,000 men; and la Galissoniere was cruising off Port Mahon with thirteen ships of the line. In fact, so wretchedly had the expedition been timed, that Byng, who had to cross the Bay of Biscay, to touch at Gibraltar, and then traverse two hundred leagues of the Mediterranean, left Spithead only *three* days before the French, who had merely to cross the Gulf of Lyons, and sail some seventy leagues in all, left Toulon. Byng had only ten ships of the line, and these in not very good condition; yet Admiral Anson, now a peer and at the head of the Admiralty, had declared that this squadron would beat anything the French had or could have in the Mediterranean; and upon this confident assertion the Duke of Newcastle had disregarded the advice of Mr. Fox, to send more ships.* Byng, however, was joined at Gibraltar by Captain Edgecombe, who had run down from Minorca (where he had left his marines to strengthen the castle) with a third-rate ship and a sloop; and as he sailed up the Mediterranean he was joined off Majorca by Captain Hervey in another ship. But all these vessels, which had been long cruising in the Mediterranean, were exceedingly foul. With that despondency which is in itself an assurance of failure or defeat, Byng, on the 18th of May, approached Minorca and saw the British colours still flying over the fortress of St. Philip, though the French flag was seen on other points, and numerous bomb-batteries were playing upon the castle. La Galissoniere was not in sight; but before Byng could send a letter on shore to General Blakeney, the brave old governor, whom we have seen before defending Stirling Castle, the whole French fleet, which now comprised four smaller vessels besides the thirteen ships of the line, appeared to the south-east advancing in order of battle. Byng then formed his line, and the men expected to be soon at their guns; but, about seven o'clock in the evening, la Galissoniere tacked, to gain the weather-gage; then Byng manœuvred so as to keep the advantage of the weather-gage;—and night fell without a gun being fired. When morning dawned the French fleet was invisible; but the English picked up a tartane (a small, one-masted vessel) with some French soldiers on board, sent out to reinforce their fleet; and in a few hours that fleet itself re-appeared. The line of battle was again formed on either side, and about two o'clock in the afternoon Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. His second in command, Rear-Admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division, not two, but *seven* points from the wind, and, closing down, attacked the French with such spirit that he drove several of their ships out of the line. But Byng, enslaved by his despondency and that passion for routine and rigid discipline which, together with his pride and austerity, had made him unpopular in the service, would not advance, saying that he was determined to keep his line entire — that nothing was so dangerous as an irregular fight;—and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his own captain he left West to be destroyed or fall back, and he kept at such a wary distance that his own ship, a noble vessel of ninety guns, was scarcely brought into action at all; for, though, in a paltry play of long guns, she received a shot or two in her hull, she had not a single man either killed or wounded. West of course was obliged to veer round; and then la Galissoniere, who certainly had no inclination to continue the battle, edged away under easy sail, to join the ships which West had beaten. Then Byng gave the signal for chase, but he made no way upon them, as the enemy's ships were cleaner than

* Dodington's Diary.

his:—towards evening he put his fleet on the other tack, in order to keep to the windward;—and the next morning the French were altogether out of sight! La Galissoniere, who before Byng's appearance had landed supplies and reinforcements for the besiegers, was gone back towards Toulon, claiming the honours of victory. Having thus failed in destroying the French ships, Byng next failed in helping the English garrison. He called a council of war, and represented that forty-two men, including Captain Andrews of the Defiance, had been killed, and about 170 wounded; that three of his best ships were so damaged in their masts and rigging that they could not keep the sea; that a great many of the seamen were sick, and that he had no hospital-vessel for the sick and wounded; that la Galissoniere, who might return,* was much superior to him in weight of metal; that in his opinion it was impossible to relieve Fort St. Philip, and that it would be imprudent, if practicable, to throw a handful of men and officers ashore, as they could only increase our loss in the inevitable surrender of that place; and, as the doleful end of all, he said that the fleet ought to make the best of its way back to Gibraltar, which might be in as great danger as Minorca. All his officers, and some colonels of regiments who had gone out with him from England, subscribed to this opinion; and Byng returned forthwith to the Rock. If old Blakeney had laid down his arms at the sight of the retiring fleet, which had done nothing for him, his conduct would have been excusable; but, though oppressed with age and sickness, and suffering the tortures of the gout, the veteran held out till the beginning of July, when he obtained honourable terms of capitulation for himself and his garrison, which had been reduced rather by the enmity of the natives, hard duty, and want of proper supplies, than by the fire of the enemy or the unscientific operations of the Duke of Richelieu.†

As soon as ministers knew of Byng's retreat they sent out Admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean, and Lord Tyrawley to supersede General Fowke as governor at Gibraltar. Byng, on learning that he was recalled, wrote a stinging letter to the Admiralty, in which he justified his conduct, and threw the blame of his failure upon ministers. Thereupon directions were sent to Admiral Hawke to put him under arrest. The ill-fated commander arrived as a prisoner at Portsmouth, where the people were with difficulty prevented from tearing him to pieces. The same rage against him prevailed all over the kingdom, and in no place to a greater extent than in London, where the mob, in a mistake, fell upon a gentleman in the streets, who resembled the admiral, and were with diffiulty prevented from tearing him to pieces. It is assumed that ministers encouraged this popular fury against Byng, in order to turn it from themselves. Nothing can well be clearer than that there were enormous and most exasperating faults on both sides. The admiral's faults, however, were the more visible to the popular eye; and, happily, the English people had contracted a tenfold horror of anything that looked like cowardice, when the element was the sea. It required a captain and a party of sixty dragoons to bring Byng up to London and save him from summary execution on the road. It was expected that he would be lodged in the Tower, but he was committed a close prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital, where he continued to quarrel with the Admiralty and ministry, and to behave like a man conscious of having done his best. Meanwhile the Duke of Newcastle made the unseemly excuse that no blame could rest upon him as the sea was not his province. To this shallow reasoning his much dissatisfied colleague in office, Mr. Fox, replied that those who had the chief direction in an administration would always bear the greatest share of blame. And Fox asked Bubb Dodington whether it were not true that the premier must be the most obnoxious? "I," says Dodington, "answered, yes; unless they had any one to make a scape-goat!" "Fox," he continues, "seemed alarmed, and asked me if I thought him likely to be a scape-goat, and dwelt upon the expression. I told him, as the truth was, that I had not him in any degree so much as in my contemplation, and I had no such apprehensions. Mr. Fox continued, and said he was very uneasy; that the country was in a sad way; but, if it was in a better, those who had the direction of it could no more carry on this war than his three children—that he himself had always hinted at sending a squadron to Minorca sooner; and that the Duke of Cumberland had pressed it strongly, so long ago as last Christmas."* Fox further declared to the Duke of Newcastle himself, that he had defended his grace in the House of Commons, in everything where he could defend him; "but in one thing he never could, which was, in his not believing it must be war, and in not arming sooner."† And in the month of October Fox, after betraying what Dodington calls "an extraordinary perturbation," resigned; for, as Murray, the attorney-general, was about retiring to the bench and the House of Peers,‡ in spite of every effort to retain him in the Commons, he foresaw that he should be left alone to contend in the Commons against Pitt and the opposition, whose tongues would be sharpened by

* The French admiral did return almost as soon as Byng was out of sight, but he took care to run away again before Hawke came in sight.

† The king was so well satisfied with Blakeney's conduct that he made him an Irish lord.

* Diary. † Id.

‡ Sir Dudley Rider, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had died very unexpectedly, and Murray put in for his place. Rather than lose their ablest debater in the House of Commons at a moment when his services were so much wanted, ministers tempted him with a profusion of offers—as a very honourable employment, with a large salary for his own life, a considerable reversion for his family, and a peerage in futurity; but Murray, who had a large independent fortune, and no children, refused them all, having always aimed at the post of Chief Justice, for which, in the estimation of all men, he was admirably qualified. "At last," says Lord Waldegrave, "after various proposals on one part, and as many refusals on the other, Murray was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, that if they did not think proper to make him lord chief justice, he would no longer continue attorney-general; and, as to the business of the House of Commons, he should leave them *to fight their own battles.*"

other disgraces and failures besides those in the Mediterranean, seeing that the arms of England were tarnished in the course of this year in both the Indies. "This resignation," says Lord Waldegrave, "was nowise pleasing to the Duke of Newcastle, who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office, with a double portion of danger and abuse, but without any share of power." Seeing that he had neither Fox nor Murray to fight his battles with Pitt, Newcastle endeavoured to disarm the great orator's hostility by bringing him into the cabinet; and he prevailed so far with the king as to convince him that Pitt was an inevitable necessity. But Pitt now thought himself strong enough to impose his own terms, and, when summoned to town by the king's orders, he positively refused to coalesce with Newcastle, or belong to any ministry of which that nobleman formed a part. The bewildered premier, who had recently incurred the mortal hatred of Leicester House, by opposing, as long as he could, the promotion of the Earl of Bute to be groom of the stole to the young Prince of Wales, while Pitt had, in a manner, identified himself with the interests of Bute, hardly knew where to look for colleagues and for support. At last he addressed himself to Lord Egmont, the Tory declaimer, who had gained a reputation in the House by his spirited speeches on the opposition side, and who had an excellent character in private life. He, too, had been identified with Leicester House, but the Duke of Newcastle knew how easily and how often public men had changed sides; and, perhaps not reflecting sufficiently on the very advanced age of the king and the resentful temper of the heir-apparent and his mother, he fancied that Egmont would be irresistibly tempted by the offer of Fox's place of secretary of state. But Egmont wanted to be elevated at once to the House of Lords, where his services were not required. Newcastle promised him an English peerage *in futuro*, if he would only accept office and fight his battles at this critical conjuncture in the Commons: but Egmont, who had no great faith in ministerial promises, refused to engage unless he was instantly removed to the House of Lords. His grace next applied to the dashing, daring Granville, who was president of the council, and modestly proposed exchanging employments, he, the duke, descending to the presidency, and Lord Granville mounting to the head of the treasury and premiership: but age had somewhat cooled Granville's boldness, and he told Newcastle that he was not now what he had been ten years ago, that experience had made him wiser, and that he was well contented with the ease and dignity of his present employment. At last, when all his proposals had been rejected, and when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle, after having filled the offices of secretary of state and first lord of the treasury for thirty-two years, reluctantly resigned, and was followed by his friend the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had held the seals nearly twenty years. Nothing then was left for the king to do but to call in Pitt, whom he still detested, and Pitt's great political friends. Pitt showed no great eagerness, reporting that he had got a fit of the gout, a malady which he frequently and notoriously put on to serve an occasion. The Duke of Devonshire was scarcely more eager than Pitt, and did not accept the Treasury and the nominal premiership till his majesty had given his word, that, in case he disliked his employment, he should be at full liberty to resign at the end of the approaching session of parliament. Lord Temple and Lord Bute—for the understanding with Leicester House was now complete—seem to have had the chief management, the king mentally reserving to himself the determination to undo what was now done as soon as he should be able. There was much caballing, and many minor difficulties were raised. Pitt's demands were at first thought so unreasonable, that the king authorised the Duke of Devonshire to endeavour to form an administration in concert with Fox and the Duke of Bedford, and with any other assistance that could be obtained, provided Pitt and his adherents might be excluded. Fox and some others were ready to engage with the Duke of Devonshire; and for two days it seemed doubtful who were to be our ministers. But in this interval Pitt became more reasonable, and Devonshire, who was convinced that the new cabinet could not stand without him, advised his majesty to comply with his demands. "The Duke of Devonshire," continues Lord Waldegrave, "joined Pitt rather than Fox, not from any change of friendship, or any partiality in Pitt's favour, but because it was more safe to be united with him who had the nation of his side, than with the man who was the most unpopular. A reason which will always have its proper weight with most ministers." Pitt, therefore, succeeded Fox as secretary of state; his friend Legge was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Sir George Lyttelton, who was raised to the peerage and retired into the country to study divinity, and to write Dialogues of the Dead; Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was placed at the head of the Admiralty in lieu of Lord Anson, who had become exceedingly unpopular on account of our naval failures; and Temple's brother, George Grenville, was made Treasurer of the Navy in the place of Bubb Dodington, who had scarcely held that office a year; Pitt's other brother-in-law, James Grenville, was restored to his seat at the Treasury Board; the great seal was put in commission, with Willes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as first commissioner; and the rest of Pitt's friends were provided for in the Treasury, Admiralty, or other places of less consequence, in proportion to their parliamentary interest or their abilities in debate. There seemed, indeed, one exception to this latter rule; for Charles Townshend, an accomplished debater and ever ready speaker, was merely made treasurer of the chamber, though his abilities seemed to qualify

him for, and to demand, a more important employment. Hence the inference was drawn that Pitt was very capable of ministerial jealousy, and did not choose to advance a young man whose abilities were thought to be of the same kind and in some respects nearly equal to his own.*

But the ministry thus formed was so badly provided with interest in the boroughs that it was said to resemble an administration out of parliament, and it was no easy matter to turn the House of Commons now sitting from their old allegiance to Newcastle. Dr. Hay, one of the new lords of the admiralty, was defeated in an election at Stockbridge by the friends of Fox, and there was a difficulty in finding a borough for Charles Townshend. Nor was the conduct of some of the new cabinet at all calculated to remove the antipathies of the king. Pitt protested he would not serve if thanks were moved in the House of Commons to his majesty for having brought over the Hanoverian troops; and Lord Temple thwarted the royal inclination in this and in several other matters. Pitt, however, was ready and willing to support his majesty's treaties in Germany; and parliament opened in the midst of clamours, and discontent, and popular riots in many places, occasioned by the excessive dearness of bread. The speech from the throne appeared, from its style and substance, to be the work of a new speech-maker; the militia, which his majesty had always turned into ridicule, being strongly recommended as the best and most constitutional means of defending England from invasion; and the late administration being severely censured. This was not the first time that the king's speech in parliament had been made to express sentiments which his majesty did not entertain in private; but, on the present occasion, his aversion to Pitt made him feel the discrepancy more acutely; and, in common conversation, he frankly declared his real sentiments. When a poor printer was to be punished for publishing a spurious opening speech, George observed, with some humour, that he hoped the man's punishment would be of the mildest sort, for he had read both speeches, and, as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own. And on the very first day of the session, when it was moved in the House of Lords to thank the king for having brought over the Hanoverians, who were now returning to their own country at a moment when we wanted their assistance, Lord Temple, the new chief of the admiralty, told their lordships that he had come down to the House out of a sick bed, and at the hazard of his life, to represent the fatal consequences of the intended compliment to the king. The people of England, he said, would be offended even at the name of Hanover or of foreign mercenaries. Pitt nevertheless, and notwithstanding his numerous and his very recent protests against German treaties and alliances, adopted the subsidising treaty with Prussia, which was avowedly for the defence of Hanover; and his first appearance as *minister* in the House of Commons was to express his affection for our good ally the King of Prussia, and to propose a vote of 200,000*l.* on his account. Fox reminded him that he had lately called Hanover "a mill-stone round the neck of England;" but Pitt paid little attention to such attacks, and kept his countenance in spite of his inconsistency. The brilliant achievements of Frederick may perhaps have convinced him that this time the money of England would not be altogether thrown away. One evening, in the month of August, Frederick, at a great supper, whispered to Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English ambassador, that he wished to see him at three o'clock on the following morning. Mitchell kept the early appointment, and was conducted by Frederick to his camp. "Here," said the great soldier, "are a hundred thousand men setting out this instant they know not whither: write to your master that I am going to defend his majesty's dominions and my own." By the end of August Frederick was master nearly of all Saxony; by the middle of September he had taken possession of Dresden, blockaded the Saxon army in their fortified camp at Pirna, and defeated two Austrian armies; and by the middle of October he had compelled the Saxons to fly everywhere or surrender, and had driven their elector into his kingdom of Poland. Hereupon the aulic council of the empire declared him a disturber of the public peace and a rebel: but, as Voltaire observes, it was difficult to make their declaration good against a prince who had now 150,000 soldiers at his command, and who already passed for the greatest general in Europe. The "Seven Years' War" was now fairly begun: France, Sweden, Russia, all declared against Frederick; and our hopes of coming honourably out of the war on the continent of Europe, and advantageously out of it in America and the East Indies, all rested upon the personal safety and the genius and energy of that wonderful man. If a cannon-ball had cut short the career of Frederick, it would have required something more than the parliamentary eloquence and official activity of Pitt to have carried us honourably through the seven years' war. Pitt, however, as a minister, was a most valuable ally; he sustained Frederick cordially, and he promoted schemes of conquest both in the East and West Indies, and also on the coast of Africa, which distracted the attention and weakened the resources of France.

A.D. 1757.—The overthrow of the cabinet which had employed him had not the effect of moderating the popular indignation against Admiral Byng; and, if the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues had been willing to make him a scape-goat, the new ministry were just as unwilling to contract any odium by saving him. After Pitt's accession

* "Both had fine natural parts; both were capable of great application: which was the greater master of abuse could not easily be determined; and, if there was something more awful and compulsive in Pitt's oratory, there was more acuteness and more wit in Charles Townshend's."—*Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.*

to office the admiral was removed from Greenwich to Portsmouth harbour, and there, on board the St. George, his trial was begun by court-martial. Byng made so sure of a prompt acquittal, that he kept a post-chaise standing daily, nay, hourly, ready to carry him up to London, as it were in triumph; and he told a friend that, as soon as he should reach town, he would take his seat in the House of Commons, and return the charge upon his enemies by a regular accusation, the heads of which he had written out.* He employed a number of people to write up by every post from Portsmouth, and fill the newspapers with paragraphs in his favour; "and he himself, and all about him, affected a show of the most sanguine hopes, or rather of a state of absolute security."† But, after a long and careful examination of witnesses,—the trial lasted a month,—the court-martial‡ came to the resolution that Byng had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, nor to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of Fort St. Philip; and they, therefore, unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament of the twenty-second year of his present majesty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and, as that article positively prescribed death without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, the court did unanimously adjudge the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should direct. The court, however, added to their sentence that, as it appeared by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Colonel Smith, Captain Gardener, and other officers who were near the person of the admiral during the engagement, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion either from his countenance or behaviour, and that he did not seem wanting in personal courage, the court, from these and other circumstances, did not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice§ or disaffection, and did therefore unanimously think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy: and, not resting satisfied with this, the president of the court-martial, and every member of it, sent up a petition or representation to the Board of Admiralty, where Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, now presided. "In the whole course of this trial," said they, "we have done our utmost endeavour to come at the truth, and to do the strictest justice to our country and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death under the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own consciences' sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency." Nothing was more uncommon than the execution of any criminal when his judge recommended him to the mercy of the crown; but in the present instance it was resolved to let the law take its course; the Duke of Newcastle and the late ministers had in a manner barricaded the gates of mercy, by engaging the king in a promise to the petitioning or remonstrating city of London, and his majesty now took no notice of the recommendation to mercy. The sentence of the court-martial was called a very strange thing—not so much a sentence against Admiral Byng as against the articles of war. "In the mean while," says one well disposed to the court, "all the world agreed that it was a cruel thing to throw the determination on the king, who was in a manner told in the sentence that he ought to pardon Byng, notwithstanding he had in a solemn manner declared, in his answer to the address of the city of London, that he would allow law and justice to have their course. The city began to sound this very high."* A great deal more has been said to throw the blame upon the court-martial, and to involve some of its members in dark suspicions; yet, viewing

* Letter from Mr. Symmer to Sir Andrew Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's Collection.

† Id.

‡ The court consisted of Thomas Smith, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Red, president; Francis Holburne, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Red; Harry Norris, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the White; Thomas Brodrick, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and Captains Charles Holmes, William Boys, John Simcoe, John Bentley, Peter Denis, Francis Geary, John Moore, James Douglas, and the Hon. Augustus Keppel.

§ That vain, flighty, and empty scribbler and poetaster, the Rev. Percival Stockdale, who was an officer of marines before he entered the church, and who was present in the engagement off Minorca, says, roundly, that Byng betrayed symptoms of personal fear; but the assertions of such a coxcomb scarcely merit any attention. "A very odd circumstance," says the correspondent of Sir Andrew Mitchell, "was thrown in after the close of the evidence, which has afforded matter of speculation. A letter came from M. Voltaire addressed to Mr. Byng, which was stopped at the post-office, brought to Lord Holdernesse, and opened. This contained an original letter from the Duke de Richelieu to M. Voltaire, in which he declared that Mr. Byng had acted like a brave and a prudent admiral in the engagement; and that, as the French were greatly superior in men and in the condition of their ships to the English on that occasion, had Mr. Byng obstinately persisted in a closer engagement, he must by that have given up the English fleet to sure destruction. You may judge whether that attestation could have been of great service to Mr. Byng. Many are of opinion that this *certificate* of good behaviour had been begged by him or his friends."—*Letter from Symmer to Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's Collection.*

A better objection to the letter would be, that Richelieu, on shore and at the distance of some leagues, could hardly be a good judge of what passed at sea. The letter should have been written by La Galissoniere; but, even then, it would have had little weight with the English public, but would probably have increased the irritation. The sending of the letter was certainly the spontaneous act of Voltaire, who was a man of active humanity, and who had testified before now his abhorrence of harsh and cruel judgments. His note to Byng, including Richelieu's letter, was written in English, and in the following words:—"Sir, though I am almost unknown to you, I think 'tis my duty to send you the copy of the letter which I have just received from the Marshal Duc de Richelieu; honour, humanity, and equity order me to convey it into your hands. The noble and unexpected testimony from one of the most candid, as well as most generous, of my countrymen, makes me presume your judges will do you the same justice."

* Symmer to Mitchell.

the subject calmly, it appears to us that that court could scarcely have returned any other sentence. They absolved Byng of personal cowardice,—treachery was out of the question,—but they found that there had been great remissness and errors in judgment; and it was not their fault, but the fault of the war articles, if such things in a commander were punishable with death. They expressed, in the strongest manner, their opinion that the law was too severe; they complained that it had left nothing to the discretion of the court; and they did all that remained for them to do, in recommending the case to the royal prerogative, which alone could suspend execution. The fate of Byng rested with the king and the king's advisers. It is generally stated that Pitt was willing that the unhappy officer should be pardoned, but wished to throw the unpopularity of the act on the king personally;* and it appears to us quite in character that he should carefully shun risking his own popularity, which he had revived and brightened up by going out of office on the Hessian subsidy in 1755, but which he had put in some peril by returning to office and voting for far greater subsidies in 1756. We can hardly credit that Pitt pretended to know more of the matter than all the officers who sat on the court-martial, or that he conceived (which the court-martial most assuredly did not) that Byng really merited death, and that the war articles, as applicable to his case, were *not* too severe. We know that Lord Temple, though equally anxious to avoid committing himself, looked upon the sentence of death with horror; yet Temple, as head of the admiralty, signed that sentence. Hence, we confess, the damning conviction rests on our minds that Pitt and his friends would rather permit a murder than lose office or risk the favour of the people by opposing their blind fury. They were more guilty than the Duke of Newcastle and his party without having had the same personal provocations, for Byng had laid the whole blame upon the late ministers, had spoken and written most furiously against them, and had even threatened them with impeachment. Instead of insisting on a pardon, which alone could relieve the victim from the fangs of the war articles, the council at last referred his sentence to the twelve judges to give their opinion as to its legality; and all that the judges would or could do was to affirm that the twelfth article, which punished neglect or remissness as much as cowardice or treachery, bore out the sentence which the court-martial had pronounced. The council transmitted this report of the judges to the lords of the admiralty, who then, on the last day of February, issued their warrant for executing the sentence. Lord Temple was dreadfully agitated, and hesitated some time before he would sign the warrant, and Admiral Forbes, one of the board, would not sign it at all, declaring that he would rather die himself than give his sanction to the death of Byng. Forbes, three weeks before this, had written out several reasons why the sentence should not be executed. The strongest was that the admiral's negligence could not be *wilful*, as the court-martial had acquitted him both of cowardice and disaffection, and had declared him not deserving of death. The officers who had sat on the court-martial became exceedingly uneasy when they saw the execution advancing; but the city grew impatient for it, and Mr. Fox, to damage the popularity of Pitt and his associates, represented them in the House of Commons as being much too compassionate. At first three, and then seven members of the court-martial renewed their solicitations at the admiralty; and Lord Torrington and other kinsmen and friends of the unfortunate Byng made a fruitless attempt upon the feelings of the old king. On Friday Captain Keppel, being no orator himself, spoke to Sir Francis Dashwood in the House of Commons, who thereupon rose to desire a bill to absolve the members of the court-martial from the oath of secrecy, which, by the military code, they had, as usual in such cases, been obliged to take. Keppel himself then rose, and declared that he desired to be absolved from his oath—that he had something on his mind which he wished to say. The speaker was just putting the question for the orders of the day, after which no motion could be made;—it was Friday,—the House would not sit on Saturday, and the execution was fixed for Monday; but Sir Francis Dashwood called out to the speaker, and, though the orders were passed, he was suffered to make his motion. The House was much softened: but pains were taken to prove that Captain Keppel might speak notwithstanding his oath of secrecy. The captain very properly doubted, and desired time to consult some of his brother officers, who had commissioned him to desire the bill. The House agreed to meet on the morrow, Saturday, which would afford the time and opportunity required. When the morrow came Pitt rose to deliver a message from the king, stating that his majesty, agreeably to his royal word, for the sake of justice and of example to the discipline of the navy, and for the safety and honour of the nation, *was determined to have let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, upon Monday next, and had resisted all solicitations to the contrary;* but that he thought it right to suspend the execution for a fortnight till the bill proposed by Sir Francis Dashwood could be passed, and the examination of the members of the court-martial be gone through. The bill was read twice and carried through committee in the course of Saturday, Captain Keppel still affirming that he had something material to tell which his majesty ought to know, and naming

* Lord Waldegrave, upon whose strict veracity we rely, says—"The popular cry continued violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him: partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal would throw greater blame on the late administration. But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their seeming to interfere; agreeable to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular.'

four of his associates in the court-martial who desired equally with himself to be relieved from the oath of secrecy and empowered to speak. On Sunday it was reported that the four officers were disclaiming what Keppel had said for them. On Monday Keppel told the House that he had, indeed, been mistaken in one of those officers; that another did not declare off, but wished that *all* the members of the court-martial should be *compelled* to speak; and he produced a letter from two others upholding what he had said for them. The Secrecy Bill was passed by 153 to 23; but on Tuesday it was treated very differently in the Lords, where the new Chief Justice Murray, now Lord Mansfield, and the late chancellor, both spoke against it and against Byng. Hardwicke called for a day's delay, though Lord Temple showed him that some of the captains and admirals who had sat on the court-martial were actually under sailing orders for America. On the next day the Lords sent a message to the Commons, desiring that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that House might attend their lordships in order to be examined. These members, together with all the other officers who had composed the court, attended their lordships accordingly, but, as there was some vacillation and discrepancy of opinion among them, and as their lordships held that they failed to show any good reasons for the bill, it was unanimously rejected, not without some marks of contempt towards the House of Commons for sending it up. As the last reed had broken, Byng was left to his fate. His heroic behaviour seemed to justify the sentence of the court-martial in exempting him from the foul charge of cowardice; yet, it must be remarked that a man of the greatest personal bravery may be capable of hesitation, over-caution, and a misgiving timidity in a great and difficult situation like that in which Byng was placed. His crime was, that he was not, what the ministry had taken him for, as great a man as his father.* His behaviour, after he knew that his doom was inevitable, was manly and firm in the highest degree. A few days before his execution, one of his friends standing up by his side, said, "Which of us is the taller?" Byng replied, "Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come in and measure me for my coffin." He declared that, being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded he had acted for the best, he was not unwilling to die. On Monday morning, the 14th of March, the Monarque, his prison ship, was surrounded by the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead and the ships of war in Portsmouth harbour, all manned and armed, and with an infinite number of other boats crowded with people, all anxious to catch a glimpse of so rare a spectacle as the execution of a British admiral. Byng desired as a favour that he might be shot on the quarter-deck, took leave of a clergyman and two friends who staid with him to the last, and at the hour of noon walked out of the cabin with a firm deliberate step and sat down in a chair, in front of the two files of marines who were to shoot him, for he would not kneel. He refused to have his face covered, saying that his countenance should show whether he feared death. But, upon its being represented that his looks might unnerve the marines and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to tie a white handkerchief over his eyes. He gave the signal by throwing his hat upon the deck, and in the next instant he received a bullet through the head, another through the heart, three others in different parts of his body, and fell dead. The time from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in his coffin did not exceed three minutes. "Do cowards," says Horace Walpole, "live or die thus?"*

The old king's aversion to Pitt and to Lord Temple took a more decided turn after this tragical transaction, and the death of Byng hurried on their expulsion from office. Other causes, however, contributed to this new change of ministers. The Duke of Newcastle, still formidable from his numerous and old connexions, from his control of boroughs, and from a half superstitious belief that one who had been thirty years a minister must be a minister again, and have the good things of the church and state at his disposal, was planning and manœuvring with great activity; and the Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed to command the allied army assembled for the protection of Hanover, positively refused to go while Pitt and his friends remained in office. Pitt, suffering or pretending to suffer from the gout, met the king as seldom as possible, and when he made his appearance behaved with proper respect; but Temple, who had no gout to plead, was frequent in his attendance, and was accused by the king of pert familiarity. In the month of February, Lord Waldegrave, who had quitted the service of the Prince of Wales on the promotion of Lord Bute, had a long conversation with the king, whose confidence he enjoyed to an extraordinary degree. "His Majesty," says his lordship, "*then* expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic. That as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil he was exceedingly troublesome; and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant."†

* Horace Walpole says that people believed him to be a real "Mediterranean Byng"—a name given to his father, Lord Torrington, after his exploits off Sicily and the coast of Spain—and were transported with indescribable rage when they found out their mistake.—*Letters to Horace Mann.*

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II. and Letters to Horace Mann.—Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs.—Smollett.—Sir John Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.

† Lord Waldegrave also says, "The king, *who* had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspense, expected that those who talked to him on business should use no superfluous arguments, but should *come* at once to the point; whilst Pitt and Lord Temple, *who were orators even in familiar conversation*, endeavoured

The king next questioned Waldegrave concerning old Newcastle. His lordship answered, that, though his grace was no longer a minister, it was evident that a great party in both Houses of parliament still considered him as their chief—"that some of these might possibly be attached to him by a principle of gratitude, but the greater number were his followers, because they had reason to expect that he would soon be in a condition to reward their services"—but that the Duke himself was timid and doubtful. The king charged Waldegrave to go and encourage his grace. "Tell him," said the plain-speaking and irascible George, "I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance; and that he may depend on my favour and protection." Waldegrave had several conferences with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he found eager and impatient to come into office, but fearful of the danger. He said that it was not yet the proper time—that they must wait till the supplies were granted, the Byng affair ended, and the late cabinet excused or acquitted; and that then Pitt and his followers might be set at defiance. When Waldegrave reported this answer to the king the old sovereign exclaimed, "Neither the Duke of Newcastle nor yourself are judges of what I feel: I can endure their insolence no longer." He desired his lordship to speak to Newcastle again; but as the king grew more determined his grace grew more irresolute. Thus time was consumed and the Duke of Cumberland's impatience made unmanageable. His royal highness pressed very strongly that at least Pitt and Lord Temple might be turned out without further deliberation. Cumberland and Fox were then desired to draw up a plan of administration; but they found they were powerless without Newcastle, who was about equally unwilling to see the promotion of Fox or to incur the risk himself. After various and tedious negotiations the king lost all patience, and absolutely commanded Fox to form a plan of administration in concert with the Duke of Cumberland. Fox drew up a hopeless plan, taking care, however, not to neglect the desperate chance of promoting his own interests. Pitt and Lord Temple were to be dismissed immediately, and the Duke of Newcastle tempted or terrified back by a show that they could do without him, and intended giving his post to somebody else; the persons who were to have the refusal of the principal employments were to be Lord Egmont, Lord George Sackville, Lord Halifax, Lord Strange, Charles Townshend, who was supposed to be dissatisfied with Pitt, on account of the insignificant place he had allotted him, and that used weather-cock, Bubb Dodington:—Fox himself was only to be paymaster of the forces; but he was to have an Irish reversion granted to his children, as a *compensation for giving up all hope of preferment in a future reign.* When Lord Waldegrave showed this plan to the king he made many objections to it, saying that it possibly might be a good scheme for Mr. Fox, his friends, and relations; but that it did not answer his purposes. His lordship replied that he was not prejudiced in its favour; that Fox's requests in behalf of his friends and family might be unreasonable; but that he imagined, whoever were employed in forming a plan of administration, his majesty would find none of them forgetful of their own interest. He added that most of the persons named were good speakers in parliament, and that, unfortunately, oratory was now esteemed the first quality of a minister; that some of these gentlemen might not be inclined to take any part in the present state of confusion, but that they might be talked to, and when his majesty knew their terms he might then determine whether he would accept their services or not; and that, as to Fox himself, he was persuaded that he would be satisfied with whatever mark of favour his majesty might please to confer. After some hesitation the king told Lord Waldegrave to authorise Fox to treat with the several parties named. The negotiation turned out just as his lordship expected. Lord George Sackville, though he had been violent against Pitt at the beginning of the session, was now closely connected with him, and had entered into engagements with Leicester House—that is to say, with the princess dowager, the Prince of Wales, and Lord Bute, who were determined to force Pitt upon the king whether he would or not. Lord Egmont's object was still a peerage, and he therefore excused himself from joining Fox on the score of bad health, which he said could not bear the fatigues of the House of Commons. Lord Halifax would not accept unless the Duke of Newcastle would promise to support him. Lord Strange kept away in the country. Charles Townshend was found to be furious against Pitt and his mean employment; but he recollected that old George was seventy-three, and young George nineteen, and of a promising constitution, and he therefore did not think it advisable to undertake the defence of an old king, or to be connected with unpopular associates who might bar his future progress. In short, Bubb Dodington was the only person ready to engage. It was now the end of March, and Cumberland, who ought to have been in the field, still refused to go until at least Pitt and Temple were turned out. The perplexed old king then sent to the Earl of Winchelsea, who had held the same office in Lord Granville's administration, and made him an offer of the admiralty. Winchelsea, "with most unfashionable readiness," accepted; and then it was notified to Lord Temple that his services were no longer required. It was imagined that his brother-in-law, Pitt, would immediately have resigned; but Pitt "did not choose to save his enemies any trouble, and attended to his duty with unusual assiduity." But time pressed; the day appointed for the Duke of Cumberland's departure

to guide his majesty's passions, and to convince his judgment according to the rules of rhetoric."

arrived; and so, about a week after Temple's dismissal, Pitt was told he must go also. This was followed by Legge's resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, and by some other resignations. But though the king had thus got rid of the Pittites, he had not been able to accomplish any arrangements to replace them; and now hardly knew where to look for ministers. From the cabinet Pitt again stepped to the very apex of popularity, and freedoms of corporations in rich gold snuff-boxes were liberally showered upon him and his friend Legge. This made those who had been timid before still more timid, and increased the difficulties of the king. The Duke of Devonshire, avowedly out of compassion to his majesty, remained at the head of the treasury till a successor should be named; but he was anxious to be gone, and no successor could be found! Lord Waldegrave, the only man on whom George really relied, was again employed to look out for ministers. By the king's desire he spoke to Sir Thomas Robinson and Lord Dupplin; but Sir Thomas said that he was not a fit man to succeed Pitt; that he had already experienced that a secretary of state was nothing unless he could speak well in the House of Commons; that he had never been an orator, and was now too old to learn: Lord Dupplin excused himself from being made chancellor of the exchequer, as not being equal to such an employment even in times of the greatest tranquillity—and these were times of tempest and hurricane! At last, when everybody had refused, and when the Duke of Cumberland had gone over to Hanover, the Duke of Newcastle became more courageous, and seemed willing to undertake a new ministry. This courage in good part arose from the fact that a parliamentary inquiry into the loss of Minorca was now over, and had ended in smoke. He demanded permission to treat with whomsoever he pleased; the king found himself compelled to give him a kind of tacit permission to treat even with Pitt himself! And Newcastle, whom Pitt had marked with the brand of exclusion, actually treated with Pitt, and implored him to be his colleague. But Pitt, conscious of his strength, would not consent to allow the duke any real authority in the cabinet; and his grace, low as he was sunk, would not yet submit to be only a nominal minister. Upon this, another plan was formed:—Pitt and his party were to be totally excluded; the Duke of Newcastle was to be at the head of the Treasury, and Sir George Lee his chancellor of the exchequer. But when Newcastle had bowed at court, and everything seemed settled, he begged a delay of a few days. This was to begin or to renew negotiations with Leicester House, which had never imagined that Newcastle would have courage to act "in open defiance of the heir apparent." Lord Bute was dispatched to the Earl of Chesterfield to engage him to negotiate with the duke, and induce his grace to bring in Pitt and the Leicester House party. Chesterfield undertook the business, and represented to Newcastle that his administration could never be strong or permanent unless he firmly united himself with Pitt and Leicester House—that the king would never be at ease till then—and that Lord Bute had assured him that Pitt would be found less unreasonable than his majesty expected, and that the princess and her son were better disposed than they had been. All this made Newcastle veer round and tell the king that there could be no cabinet without Pitt. His Majesty then once more, and most unwillingly, consented that Pitt and his friends should be treated with; the duke having first pledged his word that, in case they continued unreasonable, he would perform his part and undertake the conduct of affairs without them. The duke, being joined by the ex-chancellor Hardwicke, had several conferences with Pitt and Lord Bute, settled articles of peace and amity, and carried a new plan of administration to the king for his assent—without having given the least notice to Sir George Lee or any of the gentlemen whom he had engaged a few days before, and who are described as being now "waiting in their best clothes, in hourly expectation of being sent for to court to kiss hands on their appointments."* It was now the month of June, and the country had been nearly two months without a ministry. Yet his majesty in casting his eye over the joint scheme of Newcastle, Hardwicke, Pitt, and Bute, cut the affair short, and at once rejected their proposals; for Fox, who was hated by the Leicester House party and feared by Newcastle, was not to be paymaster—Lord Temple, who was detested by the king, was to have a cabinet employment—and, what was sorest of all, Lord Winchelsea, who had so recently accepted the admiralty to oblige his majesty when all others kept aloof, was to be unceremoniously dismissed. The Duke of Newcastle endeavoured in vain to make his majesty indifferent to the sense of gratitude and the shame of promise-breaking; and then shamelessly broke his own promise to the king by refusing to take part in any administration, unless he had the cordial assistance of Pitt and Leicester House. This was on the 7th of June. On the morning of the 8th the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Bedford and Lord Granville went separately into the royal closet, and when they came out they spoke with Lord Waldegrave, saying that the king's situation was pitiable, that this was no time for his friends to consult their own ease. This was a prelude to a demand which startled Waldegrave, though the king had more than hinted at it some weeks before. He was summoned into the closet, where his majesty told him that the Duke of Newcastle had proved himself equally false and ungrateful; that few princes had ever been treated so scandalously; but that it was in his (Lord Waldegrave's) power to disengage him from all his difficulties, by taking the lead in a ministry as first commissioner of the treasury. George poured out a torrent of words, and would hear of no excuses of want of experience

* Lord Waldegrave.

or want of abilities; and Waldegrave, *nolens volens*, found himself prime minister of Great Britain!* But his lordship's prediction was soon verified, that he would find few followers. That morning the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Granville, who had plucked up some of his old spirit, and Mr. Fox promised to stand by him in the cabinet and support him in parliament; but in the evening, when Waldegrave went with Devonshire to meet Fox at Holland House, he found him wholly changed since the morning and full of doubts and apprehensions, for Fox had been talking with some gentlemen upon whose assistance in the House of Commons he had counted, and had not found them ready to engage with him against Pitt; and he also complained that, in a private audience, his majesty had received him with coolness, and seemed to mistrust him even while he was requiring his services. "And indeed," says the candid Waldegrave, "the king made use of Fox on the present occasion, not from choice, but because he was the only man of abilities who had spirit to answer Pitt in his own language." In spite, however, of these misgivings, Fox consented to be chancellor of the exchequer. The Earl of Egremont undertook to be one of the secretaries of state; and Winchelsea had already formed his admiralty.† But the very next morning Lord Holderness, who had been promoted to be one of the secretaries of state, through the personal favour of the king, and who had remained at his post, during the late changes, surprised every body by resigning without having given any previous notice. Old George, however, said that this loss was not considerable, and he ordered Waldegrave with his official colleagues and friends to meet again that night. At the meeting Fox, who was to lead in the Commons, was found still anxious and doubtful, and others were equally timid. But the dashing and confident Granville assured them all, "in his lively manner," that they could not fail of success—that they had got the army, navy, treasury, and church, with all their subordinate branches, out of which they had so much to give away, and that, though volunteers did not come in quite so fast as had been expected, they had the whole summer before them to raise recruits. Nor did Granville think that great majorities in parliament were at all indispensable. "For," said he, "though of late years ministers have not thought themselves safe without a majority in the House of Commons of one hundred and fifty or two hundred, I remember the time when twenty or thirty were thought more than sufficient." But the king was affected by Fox's despondency, and complained bitterly that almost everybody was abandoning him. On the following day there was another meeting consisting of the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, the Earls of Waldegrave, Granville, Winchelsea, Gower, and Mr. Fox. Granville and Winchelsea were as stout and resolute as ever; but Bedford went far beyond them, insisting that their administration would be the strongest that had ever been known in this country. But by this time Lord Waldegrave had ascertained from some private conversation with the Duke of Devonshire and Fox that the administration could not be formed at all, and that it was very likely the king would give up the plan in despair on the morrow; and at the end of the conference the Duke of Bedford, who had spoken out so boldly, whispered in Waldegrave's ear that it would be to no purpose to give themselves any further trouble, as they could not possibly go on without a great performer in the House of Commons, and as Fox evidently had not spirit to undertake it. . . . . And thus the whole system broke down, leaving the old king prostrate at the feet of Pitt! His majesty summoned Murray, now Lord Chief Justice and Baron Mansfield, and gave him full powers to negotiate with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle on their own terms, insisting only that Temple should have no employment which required a frequent attendance in the closet; and, as a *sine qua non*, that Fox should be paymaster, because he had pledged his word that he should. It appears to us that in all these proceedings the old king behaved with far more honour and candour than any of them, Lord Waldegrave and Lord Winchelsea only excepted. As soon as he had authorised Lord Mansfield to treat he asked Waldegrave whether he thought there was a possibility of his forming and sustaining a cabinet; and his lordship frankly answered that there was not. He represented to his majesty that the Duke of Newcastle had still a considerable majority in the Commons, and that the cry out of doors was all for Pitt; and that, "though the Duke of Newcastle hated Pitt as much as Pitt despised the Duke of Newcastle, they were united in one particular—*that nothing should be done for the public service till they were ministers.*" He stated it as his opinion that his majesty must inevitably give in to the necessity of the times; that if he would only gratify Pitt's vanity he would find him no intractable minister,—that Pitt, though capable of the worst actions whenever his ambition, his pride, or his resentment was to be gratified, was very sensible of kind treatment, and, above all, was bold and resolute, and if once engaged for the king would go farther than any man in this

* In excusing himself from being premier, Lord Waldegrave made use of the following arguments:—"That as an independent man, who was known to be honoured with his majesty's confidence, I might be useful on many occasions; and, having no private views, neither the jealousy1 of his ministers *nor the anger of his successor* would in the least intimidate me; but, on the contrary, would exercise my spirits, and make me still more active in his majesty's service. On the other hand, whenever I acted on my own account, my insufficiency would immediately appear; all my weight and influence would vanish in an instant. That I did not mean to magnify the dangers or difficulties of a ministerial employment; *nor did I think there was anything mysterious in the art of politics, which might not be attained by proper application, and a tolerable capacity.* But that prudence and diligence in the business of office were only to be rated amongst the inferior qualities of a first commissioner of the treasury; that nothing could be done for the public service, without a steady majority in both Houses of parliament; *and that a minister must expect few followers, who had never cultivated political friendship, and had always abhorred party violence.*"

† "Generally," says Waldegrave, "as to the inferior places, there were numbers enough ready to take them, though not exactly the men we would have chosen."

country; "nor would his former violence against Hanover be any kind of obstacle, *as he had given frequent proofs that he could change sides whenever he found it necessary, and could deny his own words with an unembarrassed countenance.*" George said that he desired nothing more to be done for Hanover than what we were bound in honour and justice to do for any country whatsoever, when it was exposed to danger entirely on our account; and he wound up his complaints of ill usage by saying that we were a very extraordinary people, continually talking of our constitution, laws, and liberty,—that, as to our constitution, it was a good one, and he defied any man to produce a single instance in which he had acted contrary to it,—that he never meant to screen any public servant who had done amiss, but still he thought he had a right to choose those who were to serve him, though now he found that, so far from having an option, he was not even allowed a negative;—that, as to our laws, we passed near a hundred every session, which seemed made for no other purpose but to afford us the pleasure of breaking them; and that our zeal for liberty must be mingled with singular notions, as the chief of the nobility chose rather to be the dependents and followers of a Duke of Newcastle than the friends and counsellors of their sovereign. According to Horace Walpole, the old man complained that they were doing everything by and for Leicester House; that they were making his grandson king in his lifetime, and constituting him a prisoner for the rest of his life; that he had not thought that he had so many of the Duke of Newcastle's footmen about him; and that soon, he supposed, he should not be able to make a page of the back-stairs. The negotiations, however, proceeded, and, being, through some mistrust and jealousy, taken out of the hands of Lord Mansfield, they were entrusted to the Earl of Hardwicke, who concluded them in about a fortnight. The substance of the treaty was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first commissioner of the Treasury, without having one man at the board that really belonged to him; that Pitt, with a voice doubly potential, should be again secretary of state, with Lord Holderness for his colleague or subaltern; that Lord Granville, whom Pitt had stigmatised as "*the Hanoverian minister*," "*the flagitious taskmaster*," should again be president of the council; Lord Temple, privy seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be master of the horse, in the room of the Duke of Dorset, who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary annexed to his place of warden of the cinque ports. The attorney-general, Sir Robert Henley, afterwards Lord Nottingham, was to have the great seal, not as chancellor, but as lord keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son; and Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, was to take Henley's place of attorney-general. The royal promise to Fox was kept, for he was set down for the profitable place of paymaster; and Potter, who had been holding half-that office, was to be made one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was to be gratified with a considerable pension on the *Irish establishment*—a source seldom overlooked when jobbing placemen or court favourites were to be gratified or kept quiet. "But," says Waldegrave, "the most surprising phenomenon was Lord Anson returning to his old employment, in spite of his unpopularity and of all the abuse which had been raised against him by the very men who were now to be his associates, either at the cabinet council or at the board of Admiralty." No one had been half so violent against Anson as Pitt, and yet, according to Horace Walpole, it was Pitt who insisted that Anson should be reinstated. "Who did act with honour and noble spirit," says Walpole, "was Lord Winchelsea; he refused a pension, disdaining to accept any emolument when his associates were excluded: at the board of Admiralty he had always acted with capacity, and everywhere with firmness. He was the only man who in all these changes acquired credit both by his rise and by his fall."* The makers of this cabinet would have brought in to some good place Lord George Sackville; but here his majesty's flat negative was bowed to. To reward his services, unsuccessful though they were, and the friendship and steadiness of Waldegrave, George instantly conferred upon his lordship the Order of the Garter. The Inter-ministerium now ceased, after lasting more than eleven weeks. Pitt's reappointment was formally announced in the Gazette on the 29th of June; and all the set kissed hands. "Men," says Walpole, "could not but smile, observing Pitt return to court, the moment he had been made free of so many cities for quitting it, exactly as he had accepted an employment there before old Marlborough was scarce cold, who had left him 10,000*l.* as a reward for his patriotism."†

The great orator was scarcely repossessed of the seals ere he confirmed the opinion of Lord Waldegrave—that he would go farther than any man. He opened a secret project to Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, for ceding Gibraltar to Spain, in exchange for Minorca, and on condition of Spain joining England in the war against France; and he intimated that satisfaction should be given to the Spanish court touching the establishments made by English subjects on the Mosquito shore and in the Bay of Honduras since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and that all establishments so made should be evacuated.‡ When our veteran and able diplomatist read the dispatch he threw his cap on the ground, and exclaimed, "Are they mad on the other side of the water? What can they mean?"§ And, in truth,

* Memoirs, George II. † Id.

‡ Letter from Secretary Pitt to Sir Benjamin Keene, in Archdeacon Coxe's Memoirs of the Kings of Spain. The archdeacon was informed by Mr. James Rivers, under secretary of state, that Pitt dictated this most secret and confidential letter with peculiar solicitude, and employed three days in its composition.

§ Id.

Pitt's offer savoured of insanity. Because the popular clamour exaggerated the importance of Minorca, a place difficult for us to defend, this dashing secretary of state proposed giving up Gibraltar, a place almost impossible for any enemy to take, and the importance of which could not be exaggerated; or, because he wanted to strengthen the arms of his majesty's allies on the continent, and secure Hanover, he was ready to make a sacrifice which would have transported the English people with ten times more rage than the loss of Minorca had done. But, luckily for Pitt, not even the offer of so precious an object as Gibraltar could tempt Ferdinand VI. to break his neutrality and to engage in a war with France; and the secret negotiation ended in nothing except in contributing to hasten the death of the excellent Sir Benjamin Keene.

Nor were Pitt's first warlike schemes either well conceived or attended with success. They centered in one of those descents on the coast of France which had so often failed, and which, notwithstanding the failures, were so lamentably persevered in both by Pitt and his son. Sir Edward Hawke, with a powerful fleet, and a land army under the command of Generals Mordaunt and Conway, was ordered to attempt Rochefort, as one Clarke, a Scottish adventurer, who had travelled in that part of France had reported to Pitt that the place might be easily taken. But if Hawke and the generals should find Rochefort too strong for them they were to attempt some other place on the coast—any place "where they should find an opening." With such vague orders and plans, and with the command frittered among three, or, rather, *seven* officers—for Vice-Admiral Knowles and Captain Howe, the king's nephew by an illegitimate source, competed with Hawke in the sea-management, and General Howard and the gallant Wolfe with Mordaunt and Conway in the land department—success or honour was very problematical, although, besides the brave Hawke and the intrepid Conway, there were two real heroes engaged. Wolfe, who was soon to raise the ministry of Pitt to glory on the heights of Abraham, was a young officer; but he had acquired a reputation from his quickness and intelligence, and from the discipline and perfection to which he had brought his own regiment. "The world," says Walpole, "could not expect more from him than he thought himself capable of performing. He looked on danger as the favourable moment that would call forth his talents."* The other hero was Howe, third on the navy list. "He was undaunted as a rock, and as silent; *the characteristics of his whole race.* He and Wolfe soon contracted a friendship like the union of cannon and gunpowder."† On the 20th of September the fleet got in sight of Oleron; but it was the 23rd before they came to anchor there. Vice-Admiral Knowles was ordered to attack the Isle of Aix; and Howe led this detachment in the finest style, never firing till within pistol-shot of the fort, and then opening a dreadful fire, which made the French surrender in less than two hours. But the fort was not worth the gunpowder spent upon it, and a council of war was called to know what should be done next. This council was no exception to the general rule:—after various controversies and dissensions the generals and the admirals agreed in nothing except in the opinion that Rochefort was too strong to be attacked. Conway proposed that they should attack Fouras—that they should do something; but Mordaunt agreed with Hawke that the best thing to do would be to return home, as the bad season was approaching, and the French were collecting a great army along the coast. Wolfe and Howe had been indignant at the dilatoriness of the chief commanders; but, seeing the moment lost, they made no objection to a retreat; and home they all came on the 3rd of October. Mordaunt, who had throughout opposed the bolder opinions of Conway, was brought to a court-martial, but acquitted; upon which it was observed that Byng had been shot for not doing enough, and this general acquitted for doing nothing.

Before this failure the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of Hanoverian and confederate troops, amounting to 50,000 men, had been foiled, beaten, driven from the banks of the Rhine, the Weser, and Hanover, by the French under Marshal D'Etrée, pushed into a corner between the river Elbe and the German Ocean, and led to sign a most disgraceful capitulation, memorable in history by the name of the Convention of Closter-Seven. By this convention, signed on the 7th of September, the Electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French till peace should be concluded between them and the English; and the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers were dispersed into different and distant cantonments under the obligation of not taking up arms again during the war. Frederick, however, was lucky enough to withdraw in good time the Prussian veterans who had been serving with Cumberland; and it was held by most military men, that if his royal highness had taken Frederick's advice, instead of adhering obstinately to his own plans, the campaign would have had a very different termination. As it was, Frederick, who had been defeated by Count Daun and the Austrians in the terrible battle of Kolin, was now left alone to defend his frontiers from French, Austrians, Russians, and Swedes. General Haddick, with a detachment from the great Austrian army in Lusatia, made a dash at Berlin, and laid Frederick's unfortified capital under contribution; but Haddick was presently obliged to retreat more rapidly than he had advanced. General Apraxin, who had crossed the eastern frontier with more than 100,000 Russians, got such a lesson from Marshal Lehwald and 22,000 Prussians, who attacked him in his camp at Jægerndorff, that he evacuated Prussia with the exception of the fortress of Memel. And

* Memoirs of George II. † Id.

immediately after this Marshal Lehwald and General Manteufel drove the Swedes like a herd of cattle out of Prussian Pomerania, taking 3000 of them prisoners. Acting at once upon the offensive and defensive, Frederick proceeded in person against a united army of France and the empire, which was encamped on the bank of the river Saale, under the command of Marshal Soubise and the Prince of Hildbourghausen, leaving the Duke of Bevern to watch Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Keith to face another Austrian army under Nadasti. At the approach of Frederick, Soubise and Hildbourghausen beat a retreat. They fell back to Eisenach—Frederick followed them—and then they broke away for Erfurt and Gotha, with the Prussians still close behind them. But Frederick was recalled from this pursuit by learning that Bevern and Keith were in difficulties. After a variety of most brilliant manœuvres, he rescued Keith at Leipsic; then, on the 3rd of November, with an army of only 20,000 men, he crossed the Saale, and on the 5th of the same month fought and won the wonderful battle of Rossbach. "This," says Voltaire, "was the most inconceivable and complete rout mentioned in history. Thirty thousand French and twenty thousand Imperial troops there made a disgraceful and precipitate flight before five Prussian battalions and a few squadrons. The defeats of Azincourt, Crecy, and Poitiers, were not more humiliating." Immediately after this splendid victory the Hanoverians and Hessians resumed their arms in spite of the Convention of Closter-Seven: it was alleged that the cruelties and extortions exercised by the French and the Duke of Richelieu, the inglorious conqueror of Minorca, upon the electorate, provoked this infraction of the usages of war and the faith of treaties. The conduct of the French in Hanover was indeed execrable; yet it is pretty certain that but for the battle of Rossbach the convention would have been observed at least a little longer. At the desire of his English majesty Frederick sent Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of his best generals, to take the command of this force, and also detached his brother Henry with 15,000 Prussian veterans to co-operate with the Hanoverians and Hessians. A series of actions took place, and in every one of them the Hanoverian troops behaved admirably, and were successful. They drove the French marauders from Lunenberg and from Zell; and they recovered a good part of Brunswick. On quitting Zell the French plundered and then set fire to the town. The Duke of Richelieu took up his head quarters at Hanover; but he was driven thence in the end of November, and he soon afterwards left the army in disgust. The Count of Clermont, a prince of the blood, who then came from Paris to take the command, thus described the troops to Louis XV.:—"I have found the army of your majesty divided into three very different corps. The first is above ground, and is composed of robbers and marauders, who are besides in rags; the second is under ground; and the third is in the hospitals. Would your majesty wish me to bring back the first without waiting till the two latter are able to rejoin it?"* Clermont was driven from post to post—forced to cross the Weser, and by the end of the year the Rhine. Prince Henry of Prussia, after assisting the Hanoverians to drive the French out of Hanover, returned to Dresden to defend Saxony against the Austrians and the army of the empire. "This time," said Frederick, "we must not talk of winter-quarters—our operas and balls must be in the field." He was now in Silesia, where Prince Charles of Lorraine and General Nadasti had been taking a town or two and gaining the battle of Breslau over the Duke of Bevern and the Prussians. But, in less than a fortnight, Frederick restored his affairs by gaining the great victory of Lissa. This tremendous battle, fought on the 5th of December, was even more decisive and remarkable than that of Rossbach; for Frederick with 30,000 men defeated an army of 90,000 Austrians and Imperialists, took 24,000 prisoners on the field, 15,000 on the retreat, and 17,000 in the neighbouring city of Breslau, which was forced to surrender after a very short siege. The Austrians lost, besides, 130 cannon, 2,000 baggage waggons, all their ammunition, all their equipages—everything that gives strength, splendour, and consistency to an army. In summing up the results of the wonderful campaign or series of campaigns of this year, 1757, Voltaire exclaims:—"Even Gustavus Adolphus never did such great things as Frederick! We must indeed pardon him his bad verses, his sarcasms, and his little malices. All the faults of the man disappear before the glory of the hero!" It was in contemplating all this military genius, and all this astonishing success, that Pitt was led to exclaim, "that America was to be conquered through Germany!"—meaning thereby, that, while Frederick was occupying France and her allies, the English might obtain possession of the Canadas and of everything belonging to the French in the western world. And yet, in spite of his frequent, open, and eloquent proclamations of this plan, which could be carried into operation only by prolonging the war in Germany (at least so Pitt and his colleagues thought), he could afterwards declare that he had always been anxious to stop the German war and to save England the enormous sums she spent to support Frederick! Pitt, after all, was essentially a war-minister—all his official glories lie in carrying on a war with unwonted spirit and vigour: as a peace minister, as a promoter of internal improvement, he cannot stand a comparison with Pelham, and he sinks into insignificance if compared with Sir Robert Walpole.

After General Braddock's defeat Pitt had devised a bold plan for securing North America: reinforcements had been sent from England, a regiment had been raised consisting of four bat-

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

talions of German protestants, and Lord Loudon, esteemed an experienced and good officer, was appointed commander-in-chief. Admiral Holborne, with a powerful fleet and a considerable body of land forces, was sent out to join Lord Loudon; and nothing less was expected than the capture of Quebec and the entire expulsion of the French from that continent. But the French had several advantages which made the war longer and more difficult than was expected: our colonies were superior to theirs in wealth, regular industry, and number of inhabitants; but their colonists were superior to ours in military discipline and in soldierly aptness; almost every man amongst them was a good huntsman, a good rifleman, and, in essentials, a trained soldier; most of the hunting Indians were attached rather to their interest than to ours; and they had still a chain of forts at the back of our settlements. Lord Loudon achieved little or nothing, and he returned to England at the end of the year, leaving the command to General Abercrombie. But in the East Indies the tide of victory had been turned in our favour by the activity and military genius of Clive, who had begun his extraordinary career in the East as early as 1748, when, as a mere stripling fresh from the writer's desk, he outgeneraled the veteran commanders of the French. In the preceding year (1756) while Clive was engaged at a distance, reducing the dangerous pirate Angria, taking Gheriah, his capital, and all his treasures, the Nabob Sujah-u-Dowlah, the ally of the French, had attacked the British, destroyed their factories, taken Calcutta, and barbarously thrown part of his prisoners into the memorable Black Hole, where, in the course of a few hours, 123 persons out of a total of 146 died a horrible death. The wretched remnant of the factory were embarked in trading vessels lying at the mouth of the Ganges: but by the month of December Clive, with his fitting colleague Admiral Watson, came to anchor in that river; and by the month of January (1757) Calcutta was invested and reduced, the city of Hooghly taken, with all the warlike stores; and by February the vast native army was thoroughly defeated, and Sujah-u-Dowlah compelled to sign such articles of peace as Clive chose to dictate. The conqueror then fell upon the French settlements; for in India, as in America, the plan was now adopted of expelling at all hazards those with whom we could never live in good neighbourhood—partly through their fault, partly through our own. In Hindostan there had always been, and there were ever likely to be, fierce disputes and competitions among the Mahomedan and Mahratta princes, who had themselves no other right to the soil than the right of conquest, and who ruled the Hindoo population in the most arbitrary and brutal manner. It was the policy of the Europeans who had at first settled there as traders to encourage these contentions and wars, in order to profit by them and found an independent power on Mahomedan barbarity and folly. Whenever France sided with one rajah or nabob, England took up the sword for the other; and whenever England espoused the cause of one competitor, the French gave to his rival the benefit of their arms and counsels. Almost any change in this state of things must be an improvement and favourable to humanity. The power of France and England could not co-exist on the same coast; the absolute dominion of either of them singly would be likely to terminate these incessant and consuming wars, and to render the countless native population far happier than they had ever been or hoped to be under their Mahomedan dynasties. The genius of Clive decided that the great experiment should at least be tried under the supremacy of England. He drove the French from their fortress and factory of Chandernagore, gained other advantages over them, and then, with a handful of men, again made war on Sujah-u-Dowlah, performed a most rapid and bold march to Murshedabad, defeated his tens of thousands in the great battle of Plassey, dethroned him, and put the ally of the English, Jaffier Ali Cawn, in his place. The broad foundations of our Indian empire were thus laid in the course of the year 1757.* By this time the English and French had extended their fierce contest to all the four quarters of the globe; for they were fighting in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. Owing to our naval superiority, we obtained in the course of the summer some trifling advantages over the French castles and factories on the African coast.

The Duke of Cumberland returned to England in October, about a month after signing the disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven, which the king, his father, disavowed before the Hanoverians took up arms again, although, according to Horace Walpole, his majesty had, through the medium of his Hanoverian ministers, indirectly authorised the duke to sign that agreement, in order to save himself and his army from destruction by famine and the sword of the French. It certainly had not been usual to entrust a general in the field with any such powers as Cumberland had exercised; and we confess we can scarcely believe that George ever empowered him to leave the whole of Hanover as a deposit in the hands of the French until the conclusion of a war, which promised to be long and inveterate. Such a proceeding was at least out of character with one so firm, sturdy, or obstinate as George, and so warmly attached to the home of his fathers and the country that gave him birth. It has been unfairly urged by various English writers that Hanover ought to have been left as a deposit, —that Great Britain would thus have saved many millions of money, while the Hanoverians would have enjoyed the blessings of peace. But the blessings of peace did not flourish under a French army of occupation; and it was far better for the

* Life of Robert Lord Clive, collected from the Family Papers, &c., by the late Major-General Malcolm.

poor Hanoverians and Hessians to be at war than to entertain such guests as the Duke of Richelieu and his demoralised forces. If these armed vagabonds laid the electorate almost waste and bare in six months, what would they have done in six years? As for our twenty and odd millions of pounds sterling, they were not spent exclusively in defending Hanover during the remainder of the Seven Years' War: they went to work out Pitt's splendid problem of conquering America through Germany; and we got for them the two Canadas, a congeries of islands in the West Indies, dominions and empire in the East Indies, long strips on the coast of Africa, and the complete supremacy of the ocean. And, besides, our leaving Hanover to the tender mercies of the French would not have released us from the engagements we had contracted by treaty with the King of Prussia. The connexion was in many respects disadvantageous to England; and it would have been well if the statesmen who brought in the House of Hanover could have succeeded (they would have done it had they been able to conquer natural and laudable affections) in providing that the electoral coronet and the kingly crown of Great Britain should never be worn by the same head; yet it seems to us childish to continue in history popular prejudices and party exaggerations, and to hold up Hanover as the constant and sole great curse of England—the cause which provoked all our wars and delayed all our peaces—the one gulf which swallowed up our best blood and treasure. If any doubt remained upon the mind of George, he apparently thought he should clear himself from the dishonour of infringing the convention of Closter-Seven by disavowing his son's authority, which he constantly did. The Duke of Cumberland, on his side, thought he would escape all odium by resigning his commands, which he did as soon as he returned to England. According to Horace Walpole, old George welcomed him with the words —"Here is my son, who has ruined me, and disgraced himself." The duke then went down to the apartment of Lady Yarmouth, and told her the king had left him but one favour to ask, which he was come to solicit by her interposition; and this favour was—leave to resign his post of captain-general, his regiment, everything. His father's mistress begged him to be calm, and take time for consideration; but Cumberland insisted; the countess delivered his message; and on the 15th of October the duke threw up everything, except his allowance out of the privy purse, and the 15,000*l.* a-year settled on him by parliament for his solitary victory of Culloden. Horace Walpole further says, that the Duke of Cumberland told his friend Fox that he had *written orders in his pocket for everything he had done* (they were never produced); and that Pitt, who had never managed his royal highness, nor stood on any good terms with him, acted on this occasion "a part nobly honest." "When the king," says Walpole, "told Pitt that he had given his son no *orders* for this treaty, Pitt replied, with firmness, "But full powers, Sir,—very *full* powers."*

Ireland, or that fraction of it which was represented by its Protestant parliament, had been brought into a state of unusual serenity, when the Duke of Bedford, in the month of September, went over as lord-lieutenant, with the convivial and profligate Rigby for his secretary and chief manager. Between the duke and the secretary an end was soon put to the calm; factions became more violent than ever; and his grace, one of the richest noblemen of England, provoked severe criticism by an act of meanness. The Queen-dowager of Prussia, sister to King George, and mother to Frederick the Great, had been allowed a pension of 800*l.* a-year on Ireland, to save her from the effects of the mad parsimony of her husband; and this money had been privately transmitted to her year by year since the accession of her son. But she died a short time before Bedford went over to the government of Ireland; and, as his wife's sister, Lady Betty Waldegrave, had not yet got a pension, he asked Sophia Dorothea's 800*l.* a-year for her, and obtained it. Upton, an Irish patriot, moved in the House of Commons for the list of pensions charged on Ireland, in which Lady Betty's name must have appeared; and, in spite of all the lord-lieutenant's influence, the motion was rejected only by a majority of five: nor did the duke, after this, venture to stem a torrent of violent resolutions against pensions, absentees, and other grievances.

In the course of the year some riots broke out in England on account of the new militia bill, which had been recommended by Fox at the beginning of the war, but which, as it was held, had been spoiled by Lord Hardwicke and the peers. The bill obliged every man, poor or rich, to pay 10*l.* or find a substitute if he was drawn for the militia; and yet he remained liable to be drawn again at the end of three years. The people, moreover, were led to believe that the militia would be employed on foreign service; and this misrepresentation produced risings in Surrey, Kent, Leicestershire, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Bedfordshire. In the last-named county the peasantry fell upon the Duke of Bedford's splendid seat of Woburn Abbey, and would have demolished it but for the timely arrival of a regiment of cavalry. Other regiments were employed in other places to put down the riots and enforce the militia bill; so that a really constitutional force was, in some measure, imposed upon the people by the standing army.†

The English parliament opened on the 1st of December, when the royal speech, again the composition of Pitt, spoke of the necessity of defending his majesty's dominions of Great Britain and *elsewhere*. Though allowed to pass in the address, this word *elsewhere* excited loud censure; and on the 14th Pitt thought himself obliged to declare that, by *elsewhere*, he did not of necessity mean Hanover,—"that he had never been against con-

* Horace Walpole, Memoirs of George II. † Id.

tinental measures when practicable, but would not now send a drop of English blood to the Elbe, to be lost in that ocean of gore." He took care, however, to pass a sounding panegyric on his majesty's virtues and wisdom in general, and on his great goodness to himself in particular since he last took the seals. In the course of this speech he spoke with transport of our successes in the East, and called Olive "*that heaven-born general.*" He also panegyrised his Prussian majesty; and his eloquence, and the enthusiasm both of parliament and people, procured, as if by acclamation, the passing of a subsidy of 670,000*l.* per annum to enable Frederick to carry on the war; or, as it was expressed, "to be employed at his discretion for the common cause."*

A. D. 1758.†—To meet an increasing expenditure new taxes were laid upon houses and windows, and the sinking fund was again touched. In the course of this session Lord George Sackville, whose interest with Pitt was great, distinguished himself by his abilities in the House of Commons, and seemed to be on the fair road to a high post in the government and the first rank in the army. Old Ligonier, now a lord, a field marshal, and the successor of the Duke of Cumberland as commander-in-chief, was wholly ruled and governed by him; but Lord George had the misfortune to provoke the enmity of Lord Tyrawley, a stern, blunt veteran, who accused him before the House of having carefully avoided all services of danger and all foreign commands. Tyrawley's animosity did not evaporate with his speech and a written memorial he had also drawn up, which seem to have had the effect of inducing Lord George Sackville to embark in the very next expedition, where neither he nor any one else gained any honour. "Unfortunately," says Horace Walpole, "Pitt's mind was not yet purged of its vision of Rochefort, and he again chose the coast of France for the scene of his romance." A mighty fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, three sloops, four fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, and carrying an army of 14,000 men and 6000 marines, set sail on the 1st of June for the French coast, where they were to do something which was to be of the greatest moment, but which was not very clearly defined. The old king did not share in Pitt's confidence; for he said to Lord Waldegrave that he had never any opinion of this expedition—that it would end as others to the same coast had done—that we should brag of having burned their ships, and the French of having driven us away. The Duke of Marlborough, who was personally brave, but without experience, without military knowledge, with nothing of the great general but the name he had inherited, was appointed to the chief command of the land forces, with Lord George Sackville and Lord Granby under him. The passion of volunteering, which the Duke of Cumberland had always discouraged, from a notion that it was prejudicial to the discipline of the army, now revived; and Lord Downe, Sir John Armitage, Sir James Lowther (master of 40,000*l.* a-year), and other noblemen and gentlemen, accompanied the land forces to serve as volunteers. The silent,* stern, and heroic Howe was appointed to the command of the fleet: but, upon this, his senior, Sir Edward Hawke, struck his flag, and refused to serve. This quarrel was appeased by Lord Anson's taking the command himself. On the 5th of June, Howe, heading and leading the transports, anchored in the Bay of Cancalle, near St. Maloes. Howe presently knocked a coast battery about the ears of the French, and then the troops were landed without opposition: but the generals soon found that the town of St. Maloes was so strongly situated and so well fortified that it could not be carried by assault. Here, it is said, the soldiers observed that Lord George Sackville was shy in courting danger; "and Howe, *who never made a friendship but at the cannon's mouth*, conceived and expressed a strong aversion to him."† After burning a parcel of small vessels, generals and men returned to their shipping; "and the French learned that they were not to be conquered by every Duke of Marlborough." The duke embarked in some haste, for he left his tea-spoons behind him; and these were sent home in a cartel-ship by the Duke d'Aiguillon, "politely to mark contempt." After enduring a storm at sea, part of the fleet, with the transports, ran down to Havre de Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats were hoisted out, and a second landing expected. But the wind blew inland, and, to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore, the ships hauled off for the night, and the next morning the Duke of Marlborough, after surveying the coast in an open boat, determined that there was no good landing there. They then bore away before the wind, and came to anchor near Cherbourg, where some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries. The flat-bottomed

* Frederick, who had no religion, and who was fighting against Protestants as well as Catholics,—for the Saxons and Swedes were not only Protestants, but had been the great fosterers and champions of that faith,—was styled, in England, the "Protestant hero"—the only champion of the true faith; and the popular enthusiasm ran so high that his birthday was kept as a holiday, and public subscriptions were proposed for him. A lady of Salisbury actually sent him 1*s.* 6*d.*

† Three days before the new year died the king's third daughter, the Princess Caroline. She had been the favourite of her mother, who had predicted on her death-bed that she would follow her in less than a year. Though she lived so many years after the prediction had proved a vain one, she quitted the world, and spent her time in religious preparation and in acts of charity. Her health, never good, was completely broken, and her spirits never recovered the shock they had sustained by the death of Lord Hervey, for whom she had conceived an unalterable passion. "For many years she was totally an invalid, and shut herself up in two chambers in the inner part of St. James's, from whence she could not see a single object. In this monastic retirement, with no company but of the king, the duke, Princess Emily, and a few of the most intimate of the court, she led, not an unblameable life only, but a meritorious one: her whole income was dispensed between generosity and charity; and, till her death, by shutting up the current, discovered the source, the gaols of London did not suspect that the best support of their wretched inhabitants was issued from the palace."—*Walpole's Memoirs of Gurge II.*

* During this wretchedly managed expedition Lord George Sackville, who was a great and oratorical talker, oppressed Howe with words and questions. One day, when the taciturn sailor would not answer him, he said,—"Mr. Howe, don't you hear me? I have asked you several questions." Howe replied—"I don't like questions!"—*Walpole's Memoirs of George II.*

† Id.

boats were again hoisted out and the soldiers began to get into them; but the gale freshened into a storm; the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were again exposed to the perils of a lee-shore. Moreover, the soldiers and the horses had consumed nearly all their food and provender, and began to fall sick. Howe, in the worst of humours (Anson and Hawke with a considerable part of the fleet had run along the French coast towards the Bay of Biscay, to look for an "*opening*" or for prizes), led the transports through a storm back to Portsmouth, whence the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, heartily sick of the sea, repaired to take the command of our troops in Germany;* for, notwithstanding Pitt's phrases and declarations, we had sent a small army to that part of the continent to defend Hanover and co-operate with the King of Prussia. The old king's prediction was amply verified; but still Pitt resolved that the experiment on the French coast should be repeated by the same force which had just failed, and which was now much lessened, as Anson and Hawke had not returned, and as part of the troops were withdrawn to be sent into Germany. This time the command of the land forces was given to General Bligh, a very old cavalry officer; and Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with his blood relative Howe. They sailed from St. Helen's on the 1st of August, anchored in the bay of Cherbourg on the 7th, and put out their boats on the 8th; when the troops were landed under a loose fire, which the French soon gave up. They then entered the town of Cherbourg without opposition, and began to plunder and ill use the inhabitants. On the following morning Bligh set his men to work upon the dock-yard basin and forts, upon which the French government had spent large sums; and they were soon destroyed or made useless. While this work was doing parties of English light horse scoured the country to the distance of some four leagues, and had several little skirmishes with the French troops who were waiting in the neighbourhood for reinforcements. As soon as intelligence reached Bligh that these reinforcements were coming, he levied about 3000*l.* sterling upon the unfortunate town, carried off some brass cannons and mortars, which were afterwards exhibited for a few days in Hyde Park as trophies of victory, re-embarked his men, and sailed back to the English coast. But in about a fortnight Bligh returned to St. Maloes to make another attempt there. That town was again found much too strong. The English armament had been weakened; but, as it had been so long hovering about and seesawing between the two coasts, it was not likely that the French would weaken the garrison and defences of St. Maloes. General Bligh, however, landed his troops in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes. The landing was beautifully performed under the eye of Howe, but we cannot possibly discover what it was intended the men should do when landed. They were scarcely on shore when an autumnal gale made it impossible for Howe to keep the ships where they were. Perhaps it was not easy to re-embark the troops, who had done all the work that could be done there when they had burned some fifteen or twenty sloops and fishing-boats. Howe went away with the fleet to the safer bay of St. Cas, a few leagues off, arranging with Bligh that the troops should march by land to that bay. On the 8th of September Bligh began his march, and met with some annoyance from the peasantry, who fired at his men from hedges and houses. Yet he neither hurried his march nor took the shortest road, and his men went rambling about as if they had landed in a newly discovered country. On the following morning he had some smart skirmishing near the village of Matignon; but two battalions of French drawn up at a little distance dispersed as the English grenadiers advanced towards them. That night he encamped on the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, and there received certain intelligence that the Duke d'Aiguillon had crossed the country from Brest, and was within six miles of him with a considerable regular army and some regiments of militia. The English ministry, who could hardly pretend that they were going to take Paris with 6000 men—who could not even take a third-rate town—gave out that the chief object of these expeditions was to assist the King of Prussia, by obliging the French to keep a considerable part of their forces on their own coasts instead of sending them to the war in Germany. How, then, could General Bligh expect to make a march by land along that particular part of the coast, which had been threatened for four months, without encountering a force superior to his own? But even when Bligh knew that d'Aiguillon was so near he did not make haste to the port, which was still nearer. He stayed in his encampment all night, and did not reach the bay of St. Cas till nine the next morning. The French general followed close in his rear, yet did not venture to attack till two-thirds of his little army were re-embarked. Then the French pounced upon their prey as they were engaged among the rocks or in a hollow way that led down to them. The rear guard, consisting of the British grenadiers and half of a regiment of guards under the command of General Dury, and not exceeding in all 1500 men, fought for a short time with wonderful bravery; but General Dury was shot, and, running into the sea, perished there; Sir John Armitage, one of the volunteers of fortune, met with the same fate; many of the gallant young officers of the guards were picked out by French musketeers standing on rocks right above their heads; and, after a frightful carnage, the men broke away from their ranks, and were nearly all either slaughtered or made prisoners by the pursuing crowds of the French soldiery or the vindictive peasantry.

* "Lord George Sackville said, he would no longer go *buccaneering*: the king refused to let him go to Germany, but his majesty was *obliged to submit*."—*Dodington's Diary.*

It was well for Pitt's popularity that the fleet and army in America began to furnish better materials for his gazettes. He had wisely appreciated the genius and daring of Wolfe, had procured his promotion, and sent him across the Atlantic to serve with General Amherst, who had taken the chief command out of the hands of Abercrombie. Amherst, with Wolfe and 14,000 men, partly raised in the colonies, embarked with Admiral Boscawen for the island of Cape Breton. Boscawen destroyed five French men-of-war that lay to cover Louisburg, took five French frigates, and landed the troops, who by the 27th of July made themselves masters of the whole island. Out of compliment to the minister, they changed the name of Louisburg, the capital, into that of Pittsburg. General Abercrombie, who undertook the reduction of all the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, was repulsed with the loss of 800 men at Ticonderago; but Brigadier Forbes and Colonel Bradstreet, whom Abercrombie had detached for those services, took Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, and Fort Frontenac on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, at the point where that river issues from Lake Ontario. The French were dispirited and their systems disorganised; the Indians began to forsake them and make treaties with the English, whereby they engaged to tomahawk and scalp the French for King George as they had formerly tomahawked and scalped the English for King Louis. Pitt's official humanity was not shocked: he spoke of the Indian nations as effective and valuable allies! Although there remained much to do, it was evident the tables were completely turned, and that the French, instead of driving us out of Nova Scotia, would themselves be driven out of the Canadas. The French flag was fast disappearing from the ocean; our privateers picked up nearly all their merchantmen, and our men-of-war defeated theirs wherever they met them, with but few and trifling exceptions. An expedition conquered the French islands of Guadaloupe, Deseada, and Marigalante, in the West Indies; another took the French island of Goree, to the south of Senegal; and Fort Louis on the river Senegal was reduced and occupied as an English factory. In the East Indies Clive consolidated his advantages and interests by land, and Admiral Pococke gained many advantages by sea. Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of our squadron on the coast of Coromandel, was reinforced from England with several ships, and in the month of March he fought a drawn battle with the French admiral, d'Apché, who was carrying reinforcements to Pondicherry, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who afterwards distinguished himself greatly in India. Pococke broke two of his captains by court-martial for not having behaved so well as he expected, and then went again in quest of the French admiral. In the month of August he completely defeated d'Apché, who bore away with the remains of his shattered squadron for the island of Bourbon, leaving the command of the Indian seas to the English admiral.

In the mean while our good ally, Frederick, was again fighting against armies of Austrians, Imperialists, Russians, Swedes, and French, and was not allowed to go into quarters at all. In the depth of winter Count Fermor, with 100,000 Russians, burst into Prussia, took many towns, and forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the Czarina Elizabeth. But this did not prevent Frederick from prosecuting to a successful end the siege of Schweidnitz, and undertaking the siege of Ollmutz, in Moravia, which had been the principal station for provisioning and arming the Austrian forces. Marshal Daun advanced with a large army to the relief of Ollmutz, and then, leaving a part of his army to cover Silesia, Frederick marched off with 20,000 men to make head against the Russians, who were bombarding his good town of Custrin. After an extraordinary march, and a still more extraordinary battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till seven at night, he obliged "that savage and undaunted people" to retire. It was said of the Russians that no people ever took so much killing. Their movements were slow and heavy; the generalship of their leaders was contemptible; but the men stood like rocks. The carnage was frightful. Incensed at the barbarities which had been committed on their own soil, a cry was heard all along the line—"The Prussians give no quarter to-day:"—"Nor do we," responded the Russians. Nearly 20,000 of the latter were left on the field; and yet the remainder moved off at a slow pace, and did not fully evacuate the Prussian provinces till the end of October. From this great battle of Custrin, or Zorndorf, as it is more generally called, Frederick marched away for Saxony, where his brother, Prince Henry, had been driven by the Imperialists and Austrians back upon Dresden; but on his way he was unexpectedly met by Marshal Daun, who defeated him in the battle of Hochkirchen, where Frederick lost nearly all his artillery, 5500 men, and one of the best of his generals, the brave Scottish veteran and exile, Marshal Keith, who fell mortally wounded in the arms of an English volunteer. But scarcely one of Frederick's generals escaped unwounded; and Prince Francis of Brunswick had his head taken off by a cannon-ball. The news of the victory of Hochkirchen threw the court of Vienna into transports of joy, as if the hero of so many astonishing victories was to be undone by one defeat. After keeping his ground for several days in face of Daun, who did not venture upon a second attack, Frederick went away with a grin and a sneer, saying that the game was not yet lost—that Daun did not know how to play his cards! And in a brief space of time he compelled the Austrians and Imperialists to abandon all their sieges, to clear out of Saxony, Silesia, and Pomerania, and retire for winter quarters into their own territories. And Frederick's much esteemed general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,

with the Hanoverians and Hessians, seemed almost as successful upon the Rhine. After driving the Count of Clermont out of Germany he pursued him, crossed the Rhine, came up with him near Crevelt, and gained a complete victory. Prince Ferdinand, however, was obliged to recross the Rhine to meet the Prince of Soubise, who had got into Hesse with another French force. On the 14th of August the prince was joined by the Duke of Marlborough and the English auxiliaries, who amounted to about 12,000 men. But these English troops had scarcely taken the field when an epidemic disorder broke out among them, which thinned their numbers and carried off the Duke of Marlborough. The command then devolved to the incapable and imperious Lord George Sackville, who thought it unworthy of an English Lord to submit to the commands of a German Prince. It appears that quarrels between them began immediately, and that the gallant and good-natured Lord Granby, after attempting in vain to moderate the pride of Lord George Sackville, sided with Prince Ferdinand. In spite, however, of these dissensions the Prince of Soubise was well beaten and driven out of Hesse; and King George, at the end of the campaign, sent his nephew, the King of Prussia, his hearty thanks for having lent him so good a general as Prince Ferdinand.*

Parliament re-assembled on the 23rd of November, when Pitt told them that the war must be carried on with increased vigour, and that, as war was now more expensive than in former times, additional millions must be raised. The addresses of both Houses justified and panegyrised the conduct of ministers; not a word was said about this being a war for the defence of Hanover—but our conquests in America were upheld as worth the money we were spending. Thanks were voted to Amherst and Boscawen, and ministers were applauded for their plans and their wisdom in selecting the best men to carry them into execution. Sir Richard Grosvenor, a young converted Tory, called Mr. Pitt "a blazing star." In the heat of this enthusiasm an army of 95,000 British troops and 7000 foreigners was voted, and about 12,000,000*l.* was raised for the service of the ensuing year. At this moment the French government was so miserably poor that they could not spare money for the support of their unfortunate subjects who crowded our prisons as prisoners of war, to the number of 24,000; and, but for charitable subscriptions set on foot by the English people, many of these unfortunate Frenchmen might have been starved.†

In the course of this year the ignominious punishment of the pillory, as applicable to literary offences, was revived; but Pitt's ministry dropped the cutting off of ears, which had so usually attended it in former times. The victim was Dr. Shebbeare, a reviewer, pamphleteer, and author of many books now forgotten. He had begun his career as a hot Jacobite, and had written many bitter things against the Hanoverian succession. According to Horace Walpole, the Doctor had long declared he would write himself into a place or the pillory; and he had gone such enormous lengths, that the warmest friends to the liberty of the press could scarcely regret his chastisement. He had recently published several "Letters to the People of England," taking as his motto, in allusion to the white horse in the arms of Hanover, this passage from the Revelations:—"I looked, and behold a pale horse, and his name that sate on him was Death, and Hell followed with him." The bitterest part of his works was a satire on King William and George I.; but Murray, now chief justice and Lord Mansfield, laid it down for law, that satires even on dead kings were punishable. The Doctor was sentenced in the Court of King's Bench to stand in the pillory, to be imprisoned for three years, and then to find security in 1000*l.* for his good behaviour for seven years. Shebbeare caused to be dispersed printed hand-bills, *inviting the friends of the liberty of the press and of old England to be at Charing Cross by twelve o'clock of the 5th of December, to see the British champion:* and on that day when he mounted the pillory it was surrounded by many thousands, who received him with three cheers and tremendous huzzas. Perhaps out of respect to one who occupied the position of a gentleman and scholar—perhaps, in part, through fear of the multitude,—the sheriff did not execute the worst part of the sentence, and the Doctor stood *on*, rather than *in*, the pillory, and was allowed to have a footman holding an umbrella to keep off the rain. Colonel Brudenel, who is described as "a hot-headed, foolish young officer," threatened the sheriff on the spot for allowing these indulgencies; and subsequently the King's Bench took up the business and prosecuted the sheriff. But one thing was clear—the time was gone by for pillorying authors. In the next reign Shebbeare was pensioned by the court.* Another doctor who had been guilty of absolute treason was threatened with a much more serious punishment. This was Dr. Florence Hensey, an indigent physician, who for a paltry pension had been acting as a spy for the French ministry, and sending them intelligence of our naval and military preparations. He had

* Archenholz.—Voltaire.—Frederick's own Account of the Seven Years' War.—Lord Dover, Life of Frederick.—Walpole, Memoirs and Letters.

† It is to this subscription for the French prisoners that Goldsmith alludes in his "Citizen of the World," Letter xxiii.:—"Their countrymen were informed of their deplorable situation; but they, more intent on annoying their enemies than relieving their friends, refused the least assistance. The English now saw thousands of their fellow-creatures starving in every prison, forsaken by those whose duty it was to protect them, labouring with disease, and without clothes to keep off the severity of the season. National benevolence prevailed over national animosity—their prisoners were, indeed, enemies, but they were enemies in distress; they ceased to be hateful when they no longer continued to be formidable: forgetting, therefore, their national hatred, the men who were brave enough to conquer, were generous enough to forgive; and they whom all the world seem to have disclaimed at last found pity and redress from those they attempted to subdue. A subscription was opened, ample charities collected, proper necessaries procured, and the poor gay sons of a merry nation were once more taught to resume their former gaiety."

* He was pensioned at the same time as Dr. Samuel Johnson, which led some droll to say that his majesty (George III.) had taken into pay a *She*-bear and a *He*-bear!

been the first to give notice of our design upon Rochefort. The sentence of death as a traitor was passed upon him in all its horrible forms; but on the *morning* fixed for his execution he received the royal pardon, upon condition of leaving England for ever. Smollet suggests that he may have earned forgiveness by some material discoveries, or that the English minister may have found him so insignificant as to be ashamed of taking his life: but Walpole, who knew more of the secret wheels at work, says that he owed his pardon to d'Abreu, the Spanish ambassador, whose physician he was, and who visited him often in prison;* and as, at the moment, Pitt was most anxious to conciliate Spain, it seems the more likely that this was the intervention which saved Hensey from Tyburn. Smollet, whose sympathies as an author and prejudices as a politician were engaged for Shebbeare, contrasts their fates with some heat. "This good man," he says, "suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire."†

A bill for explaining and extending the act of Habeas Corpus, with the intention of rendering that great safeguard of our liberty still stronger and of more universal application, was brought into the House of Lords, with slight chance of success. The king talked openly against the bill at his levee; and it was understood that his majesty would take offence at those who voted for it. "He was a king," says Walpole, "and could not desire to reduce the prerogative lower than it had been delivered to him."‡ It appears, however, that George's objections arose principally from his apprehension that the bill would interfere with the discipline of the forces, and reduce too much his power and that of his officers over subjects serving in the army and navy. The bill was in its essence a Whiggish bill; or at least it was in accordance with the spirit of the old Whigs who had made the Revolution of 1688; yet the Russells and Cavendishes of the day now voted against it. "The Lords," says Walpole, "were become so much more considerable than they had been before the Revolution, that they were in no danger from the crown; and, when they do not fear it themselves, they will always be ready to uphold it. They look on themselves as distinct from the rest of the nation; and, at best, leave the people to be taken care of by their representatives, the Commons. As jealous of, and as fond of, their privileges, as the king of his prerogative, they are attentive to maintain them, and deem the rights of the people rather encroachments than a common interest." We believe this to be not only true in the main, but also the inevitable consequence of our constitutional structure, which in many respects may stand the more firmly from this opposition of views and interests; and, if we have any doubt as to Walpole's censure being somewhat too severe, or not applicable to the House of Lords at all times, we cannot but admit its applicability to the vast majority of the peers of that day, any more than we can allow ourselves to doubt that they were what he describes them—"a tame, subservient, incapable set of men."* The bench of bishops, too much in the habit of complaisance to the court, opposed a bill which the king disliked. The Duke of Bedford, the head of the Russells, silently acquiesced in its rejection; but the Duke of Devonshire, the heir of the House of Cavendish, became an active emissary to procure votes against it. "A Cavendish," says Walpole, "soliciting against the Habeas Corpus, was a phenomenon!" But Pitt's Lord Temple spoke repeatedly and earnestly in favour of the bill, to the no small annoyance of his official colleague, the Duke of Newcastle, "who," says Walpole, "though approaching to seventy, still appeared in the full vigour of his nonsense." Lord Hardwicke proposed taking the opinions of the judges. But this bench was very far from being unanimous: Foster, who excused himself from attending in the House of Lords, on the ground of his wife's dangerous illness, was zealous *for* the bill, and published a large pamphlet in support of it; Wilmot spoke warmly against the bill; and his learned brother Bathurst spoke as warmly against Wilmot. The rest disagreed on sundry points and clauses, so that Lord Temple now pleaded for the bill on the very disagreement of the judges; and moved, as a part of the bill, that an affidavit of confinement ought to be cause for the judges to grant the writ of *habeas corpus*. The new and pious Lord Lyttelton accused Temple of speaking disrespectfully of the judges, and said that his words in any other place would be a defamatory libel. Temple started up, exclaiming, "This is impertinence I will not bear;" and the House thought itself obliged to interfere in order to prevent a duel. Lord Mansfield then took the rejection of the bill upon himself, and delivered one of his most argumentative, and, at the same time, most eloquent speeches. Still, however, they would not venture *directly* to reject the bill. Hardwicke artfully said that he agreed that all the judges ought to have equal power in granting the writ; and that he would move to order the judges to bring in a bill to that effect the next session. Temple and his very weak minority seemed glad to catch at this evasive proposal; and the bill was heard of no more!—until our own day, when men felt its justice and necessity, and it was passed without any reference to the judges.†

A. D. 1759.‡—New taxes were called for to

* Memoirs of George II. † History. ‡ Memoirs.

* Memoirs.

† In the year 1816.

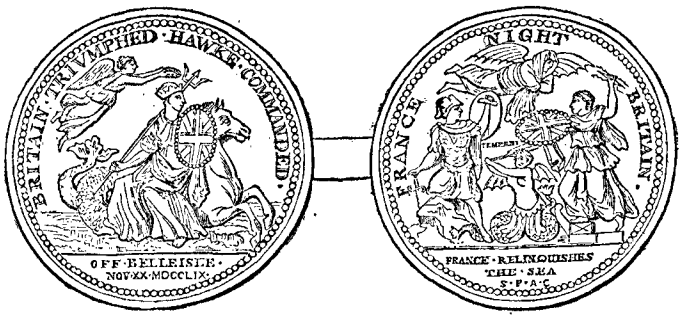
‡ In the month of January of this year died Anne, the king's eldest daughter, princess royal of England, dowager of Orange, and Gouvernante of the Dutch republic during the minority of her son. It is said that her last offices had been employed in preventing a rupture between Great Britain and Holland, which was ready to break out on account of the many captures made by our cruisers of Dutch

support our conquests and military glory. Duties were laid upon sugar and other dry goods. Pitt thought that a tax upon hops would be better than a duty upon sugar—that a tax upon wine or linen would be preferable to that upon dry goods—but, that the best thing of all would be a bill of general excise like that proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, which Pitt had vehemently opposed at the time, losing his cornetcy of horse for his opposition. While the head of Pitt was filled with splendid schemes of foreign conquest, a message was received from the king, importing that his majesty desired to be enabled to collect the militia and march them out of their several counties, as he apprehended the French intended an invasion. And, in fact, there had been for some time a great stir and show of preparation all along the French coast—a gathering of flat-bottomed boats, &c. That court had even notified to the Dutch that they intended to invade England, adding, with great modesty, that they did not intend to disturb the established succession in the House of Hanover, but only to chastise England for her late attempts on their coasts. Our militia were called out, and our 24,000 and odd prisoners of war were marched up into the interior of the island and put under the guard of our militiamen. It is true that we had only 12,000 regular troops in England; but then the dominion of the seas was ours. To meet and dissipate the apprehended storm before it should reach our shores, Admiral Rodney was dispatched to the French coasts. He bombarded Havre-de-Grace, set fire to the town in several places, and, at an enormous expense to the English, did considerable damage to the French. Shortly after, Admiral Boscawen, who had returned from America to take the command in the Mediterranean, sent three ships of the line into the outer harbour of Toulon against some French ships that were lying there. The French on shore opened a tremendous fire from some masked batteries which Boscawen had not seen; the three attacking ships were seriously injured, and the admiral felt himself obliged to descend the Mediterranean to Gibraltar, in order to refit. The commander of the Toulon fleet, M. de la Clue, whose object it was to get out into the ocean and join the Brest fleet under M. Conflans, thinking the opportunity favourable, slid down the Mediterranean soon after Boscawen's departure from Toulon. He was not wholly deceived in his calculations—he got through the straits of Gibraltar—but Boscawen watched and followed, and fell upon him off Cape Lagos, in Portugal. De la Clue, after fighting very gallantly, was mortally wounded; his ship, esteemed the finest in the French navy, and three other first-rate ships, struck to Boscawen, and a fifth was driven on shore and burnt. This battle was fought on the 18th of August. On the 20th of November Sir Edward Hawke, who had been driven from the coast he had been blockading, returned to the neighbourhood of Brest, and found that M. Conflans had stolen out with his fleet, and was then near at hand in Quiberon Bay. It blew a storm at the time, yet Hawke, disregarding the dangers of a lee-shore, off a coast roughened with rocks and sand-banks, and covered with an hostile and brave population, went at once to the attack, even before half his ships had joined him. The English had twenty-three ships in all, the French only twenty-one; but many of the English did not come up in time to engage; and, what was of still greater advantage to the French, they were sheltered among the rocks and banks, and the English, in a gale of wind, had to go through narrow and most dangerous passes in order to attack them. Commodore Howe, now, by the death of his elder brother, who had been slain in America, Lord Howe, attacked the great French ship the 'Formidable,' with fury, and came so close to her in a trough of that stormy sea, that her prow struck his ship's waist and drove in her lower tier of guns. The thick darkness of a November night fell upon this scene of horror, and slackened the fire of the English, whose guns had been out-roaring the elements. Conflans' own ship and another were driven on shore and burnt; two more were sunk, one was taken, and another struck her colours, but afterwards got off, as the storm prevented the English sailors taking possession of her. Favoured by the night, seven ships got away into the river Vilaine, where they were covered by land-batteries, and eight others escaped in a shattered, hopeless condition to different ports on that coast. Two of our ships were lost in the storm, but the crews were saved; and even in the vessels which had been most hotly engaged the loss in killed and wounded was estimated as very moderate. It is said not above eight or ten of our ships were *actually* engaged in obtaining this decisive victory, which, for the time, put an end to the navy and the hopes of France, and to all English apprehensions of invasion. A little episode, however, remains to be mentioned—"a codicil to the lofty plan of invading these kingdoms in various parts at once."* M. Thurot, a daring adventurer, who had distinguished himself as a privateer, got out of Dunkirk with four or five small frigates a short time before the battle in Quiberon Bay, intending to make a diversion either in Scotland or somewhere in Ireland, where the discontent of the people had risen almost to a rebellion, and where there was no want of French agents to stir up the flame. Thurot, after roving about for nearly three months in the northern sea, lost two of his ships

* Horace Walpole, Memoirs of George II.

vessels carrying warlike and other supplies to the French settlements in America and the Indies. But the States-General, once so powerful and heroic at sea, had lost nearly all their strength and quite all their spirit: they wished to remain neutral, because, if they joined the English, the French would invade them by land, and if they joined the French, the triumphant navy of England would sweep them from the seas. Besides, the profits of their carrying trade were more than enough to compensate the occasional seizure of their ships. They talked loud, but they never for a moment contemplated a war with England.

In the autumn of the same year died the Lady Elizabeth of England, second daughter to the late Prince of Wales. She was in her eighteenth year, had more wit and vivacity than any of the family, but was deformed and homely in person.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE HAWKE'S VICTORY IN QUIBERON BAY.
From an Original in the British Museum.

and half of his men. About the middle of February of the following year (1760) he put into the Isle of Islay, procured some provisions, and then made for Carrickfergus on the Irish coast, a defenceless town, which he took and plundered after a short blockade and a battle of stones and brickbats on the part of the inhabitants. But he was soon scared away by the approach of troops sent by the lord-lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, and Thurot took to his ships, taking along with him the poor mayor of Carrickfergus and three of the principal inhabitants. But three English ships under the command of Captain Elliot put out after him from Kinsale, came up with him in the Irish Channel, and boarded his own ship. The brave fellow fought as if he had been carrying the blood-red flag of a pirate, and could expect no quarter, and fell covered with wounds on his own deck. After his death Elliot found it an easy task to take the three ships and carry them all as prizes into the Isle of Man.

But the great harvest of laurels this year was in those lands "that see the Atlantic wave their morn restore." The Canadas had been left open to attack the year before, and the defeated, impoverished, bankrupt Louis XV., had not been able to succour them.* The time was come for executing Pitt's great scheme; and he had now wisely insisted that the execution of it should be entrusted to a hero. The king, who thought only of antiquity and seniority in the service, selected old Hopson, who may have been a very respectable jog-trot veteran, though he had certainly never done anything to distinguish himself as a general. Pitt, who would have his own way, put forward Wolfe, now a lieutenant-general of his own promoting; and never was choice more fortunate to a minister, though it sent his admired soldier to an early grave. "Ambition, activity, industry, passion for the service, were conspicuous in Wolfe: he seemed to breathe for nothing but fame, and lost no moments in qualifying himself to compass his object."* The military scheme, after being subjected to various alterations, was finally arranged thus:—Wolfe was to advance with a part of our forces and seize Quebec, the capital of the French provinces; General Amherst, with a second division, was to occupy Crown Point, reduce fort Ticonderago, then cross Lake Champlain, fall down the St. Lawrence, and join Wolfe under the walls of Quebec; while General Prideaux, with a third division and a considerable body of wild Indians, was to invest Niagara, then embark on Lake Ontario, besiege and carry Montreal, and then form his junction with Wolfe and Amherst under the capital. These combined movements had generally failed even when natural obstacles were far less numerous, and the distances to be traversed by the different corps far shorter; and when Wolfe got near to Quebec he found himself alone with the division he had brought. Amherst had, indeed, carried Crown Point and Ticonderago, and Prideaux had made himself master of Niagara; but there they stopped. No blame, we believe, attaches either to Amherst or Prideaux, who were checked by a variety of circumstances and difficulties, some of which, at least, ought to have been foreseen and provided for by those who planned the campaign. Nor does the honour of Wolfe at all rest on his being the first at the place of rendezvous; for he was carried by sea and then up the St. Lawrence by Admiral Saunders, whose ships and seamen remained to co-operate. About the last day of June Wolfe disembarked his troops upon the large and fertile Isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec. Here he erected some batteries, which Montcalm, a French general, vainly attempted to prevent by throwing a strong detachment across the river. Wolfe also prepared a military hospital and works to secure his stores. He attempted to reconcile the Canadians on the

* The term bankrupt is scarcely used in a figurative sense. Three arrêts were published by the court of France, suspending payments of orders on the treasury, and the interest due on capital vested in the treasury and public funds. The king, the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility were obliged to send their plate to the Mint to be coined into money. An English wit inserted in one of our newspapers, as an addition to the list of bankrupts:—"Louis le Petit, of the city of Paris, peacebreaker, dealer, and chapman." The French nation, not without reason, attributed all their disgraces and impoverishment to the indolence of Louis XV. and the ascendancy of his mistress, Madame Pompadour, who sold places, appointed generals, &c.

* Horace Walpole, Memoirs of George II.

island by friendly proclamations; but those rough people joined scalping parties of wild Indians that were sculking among the woods, and butchered all the English stragglers they could surprise. While the fleet lay at the Isle of Orleans it was exposed to great danger; and if once the fleet had been destroyed, or even driven from its post, nothing would have remained for Wolfe but a surrender. The troops were scarcely landed when a terrible storm blew down the river, driving several of their large ships from their anchors, and making the transports run foul of one another. Some of the smaller craft foundered, and a considerable number of boats swamped. While they were in this confusion the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fire-ships, which made for the thickest part of our shipping; but the British sailors grappled these fire-ships, towed them away to the banks, and left them fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge without doing any mischief; and some radeaux or rafts piled up with combustible materials, and sent down after the fire-ships had failed, were treated in the same manner by our seamen, who behaved with admirable spirit. Quebec by this time was strongly fortified, and its natural situation always rendered it formidable to an assailant; for it stands on a steep rock at the confluence of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence, and these rivers, rocks, and ravines render it inaccessible on three of its sides. Montcalm, as brave an officer as Wolfe, covered the town with 10,000 men, having posted himself on the left bank of the St. Charles, with encampments extending as far as the river Montmorenci, and with entrenchments thrown up at every accessible place. With an inferior force Wolfe resolved to attack Montcalm in this position. "When," he says in a letter to Pitt, "that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec, that five batteries of regular troops, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and that a victory might disperse them." On the 9th of July, at night, he crossed the north channel of the St. Lawrence, and encamped near Montcalm's left, the river Montmorenci being between them. On the following morning, a company of rangers which he threw out were almost annihilated, in a wood, by a body of wild Indians. He carefully examined the course of the Montmorenci, and found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and steep and woody, and he gave up the idea of crossing there. His escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who, though repulsed, killed or wounded some forty men. On the 18th of July, two English men-of-war, two armed sloops, and two transports, with troops on board, passed by the town of Quebec, and got into what is called the Upper River, and close to Wolfe's encampment on the Montmorenci. The French had placed some ships, and floating batteries under the town, to prevent the passage of our ships, but their fire did little damage. With the assistance of these ships, which had got into the Upper River, Wolfe reconnoitred the banks, and threw Colonel Carleton on shore, with a detachment, to make a diversion, and tempt Montcalm, or part of his forces, out of their entrenchments. But the French general stayed where he was, kept his men in their strong posts, and left Wolfe to seek an avenue to attack him. At last, on the 31st of July, Wolfe attacked Montcalm in his entrenchments: leaving Brigadier Townshend to ford the Montmorenci and attack in flank, he, with the help of the ships and the fleet's boats, threw himself on the beach, and attacked in front. The Centurion ship of war was so placed as to check the fire of a French battery, which commanded the ford of the Montmorenci; and two transports drawing little water were furnished with guns, and sent close in shore to cover the place which Wolfe had selected for his landing; but these two vessels could not get near enough to be of much use,—a number of boats filled with soldiers grounded upon a ledge of rocks,—time was lost in getting them off,—and Wolfe was obliged to send an officer to stop Townshend, who was crossing the ford. The French, meanwhile, had crowded their artillery on the point menaced, which was a rising ground beyond the river bank; and, galled by their fire, the English grenadiers, as soon as they were landed, rushed tumultuously up towards the entrenchments, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. Indeed, Townshend, though upon his march in very good order, was still at some distance, and Brigadier Monckton had not got his men out of the boats. The grenadiers were met in the teeth by a fire too terrible for the bravest of them, and they fell back in confusion after sustaining a great loss. Still further deterred by the approach of night, and the ominous roaring of the St. Lawrence—for the mighty tide was retiring and a storm was setting in,—Wolfe gave up his attack and withdrew his men. "The French," he says, "did not attempt to interrupt us; but some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead as their custom is." His situation seemed growing desperate, and his health began to fail him. In his letter to Pitt, which was written from his head quarters at Montmorenci on the 2d of September, more than a month after this failure, he confessed that he had descended to the dubiousness and despondency of consulting a council of war. After saying that he had been suffering by a fever, he adds,—"I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. . . . . To the uncommon strength of this country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of

floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the Indians round our posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. . . . We have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event." When this letter reached England, it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favourite general, and that the next news would be, either that he had been destroyed or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said he would do his best—and that best turned out a miracle in war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying, and in conjunction with Admiral Saunders he concerted a plan for scaling the heights of Abraham, and gaining possession of the elevated plateau at the back of Quebec, on the side where the fortifications were the weakest, as the French engineers had trusted to the precipices and the river beneath. In order to deceive the enemy, the admiral sailed some three or four leagues higher up the river, lay there as if intent on other business, and then, on the night of the 12th of September, glided down the river and put out all his boats to land the troops under the heights of Abraham. Through the darkness of the night, and the skill and caution of the seamen, the French sentinals posted along the banks of the river, and even close to the narrow ledge of rock selected for the disembarkation, were all passed without notice or alarm given, and the English soldiers were landed by boatfuls at a time. The first that landed were some Highlanders, who began to climb the steep face of the rocks, using their hands more than their feet, and grasping at every bush and bough, or projection, that could facilitate their ascent. The Highlanders were followed in the same manner by the English light infantry and those by the line. There was a French guard over their heads, and hearing a rustling noise, but seeing nothing, these fellows fired down the precipice at random. Our men then fired up into the air, and also at random; but, terrified at so strange and unexpected an attempt, the French piquet ran off, all but the captain, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and who begged our officers to sign a certificate of his courage, lest he should be punished as corrupted, believing that Wolfe's bold enterprise would be deemed impossible without corruption. That general now stood on the heights of Abraham; but he had no artillery with him, and excessive fatigue and disease, the French and the wild Indians, had reduced his army to less than 5000 men. His light infantry, however, seized four guns which the French had placed in battery, and the English seamen made shift to hawl up one gun from the landing-place. On the other side, Montcalm came on in too great a hurry to allow the French to bring their artillery with them, and they brought no more than two small field-pieces. At first the French general could hardly credit the evidence of his senses—so impossible did it seem for an army to ascend those dangerous cliffs,—at last he said, "I see them where they ought not to be; but, since we must fight, I will go and crush them." Quitting his intrenchments, he advanced with confident haste to the heights of Abraham, where Wolfe had formed his little army in order of battle, within long cannon-shot of the out-works of Quebec. After lining the bushes with detachments of Indians, the French and Canadians advanced to the charge in good order, and with great vivacity; but they opened an irregular fire before they got within musket range. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were within a few yards of their front; and then they poured in a terrible discharge. This first volley was succeeded by a most steady and deliberate fire, and, in less than half an hour, the French began to waver. But as Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front line cheering his men a musket-ball struck his wrist. He wrapped a handkerchief round the wound, continued giving his orders, and soon put himself at the head of his grenadiers, who had fixed their bayonets for the charge: he was hit by a second ball in the upper part of the abdomen; but he seemed scarcely to heed this more serious wound, and was giving his orders, or repeating his encouragements, when a third musket-ball hit him in the breast and brought him to the ground. His grieved men picked him up and carried him to the rear. He was dying fast, yet still continued intent on the battle. As his eyes were growing dim, he heard a wounded officer near him exclaim, "See how they run!"—"Who run?" cried Wolfe. "The French," replied the officer; "they give way in all directions." "Then," said the hero, "I die content!"—and after giving an order for Webb's regiment to move down to Charles's River and secure the bridge there in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, he expired. General Monckton, the second in command, was dangerously wounded, but Townshend completed the victory. Montcalm received a mortal wound in attempting to rally the French, and his second in command was made prisoner, and conveyed on board an English ship, where he died the next day of his wounds. The city of Quebec capitulated five days after the battle, and the disheartened remnant of the French grand army of Canada retired to Montreal. One dispatch conveyed to England intelligence of the unexpected victory on the heights of Abraham, of the death of Wolfe, and of the surrender of Quebec.

Other triumphs unmixed with that deep grief—for the nation had wept the fate of Wolfe—other victories in various parts of the world, were reported in rapid succession. In India, Colonel Coote, worthy of competing with Clive, defeated

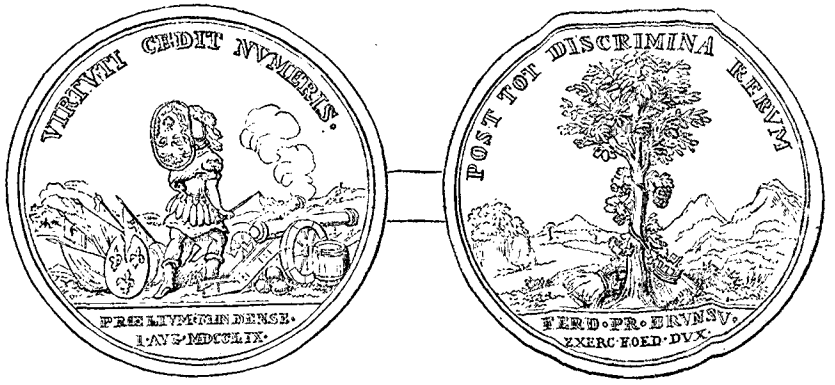
Death of Wolfe. From a Painting by West.

the French under General Lally, and conquered the whole of Arcot; Colonel Ford defeated the Marquis de Conflans, and took Masulipatam; and other advantages were gained by Captain Knox. On the continent of Europe success was not quite so invariable, for the French gained one or two battles, and once more threatened the unlucky electorate of Hanover. The regency there packed up the archives and the valuables, and sent them to Stade to be shipped for England; but Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with his Hanoverians, Hessians, and English, determined to make a bold effort for the defence of the country, and took post near Minden. Here he was attacked at the dawn of day, on the 31st of July, by Marshal Contades, the Duke de Broglie, and the French, whose recent successes made them disregard his strong position and the admirably served British artillery which garnished it. After fighting nearly to the hour of noon the French fell into disorder, and reeled back from a field covered with their dead. At this moment Prince Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville to bring up all the British and Hanoverian cavalry, which had been lying on the right wing inactive and unexposed. This order was scarcely delivered by Ligonier when a second order was brought to march with only the *British* cavalry. Lord George, who had not ceased quarrelling with the prince, replied to his aide-de-camp, in some confusion, "This cannot be!—would he have me break the line?" Young Fitzroy, the aide-de-camp, said, "My orders from the prince are positive: the French are in disorder!—here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves!" Lord George Sackville still hesitated, saying it was impossible the prince could mean to break the line. Fitzroy repeated the prince's orders, and then Lord George asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide? Young Fitzroy replied that he would guide them. Lord George hesitated again, said that he had received two contradictory orders, and would go and seek an explanation from the prince himself. Lord Granby, the second in command, was spurring on, but Lord George made him halt. In the mean while the French fled completely from the field, and the battle was over before the British and Hanoverian

cavalry came up. His dissensions with his superior in command were notorious to the whole army, but this did not hinder many officers from believing that there was cowardice mixed with spite; others, however, more friendly to Lord George, pretended that the orders had been purposely delayed, and made contradictory; that Prince Ferdinand never intended he should have any share in the honours of the victory; and that, if the orders had been explicit and consistent, and if Lord George had moved at once, he could not possibly have come up in time to be of any use. He himself insisted that the prince's orders would have made any officer pause as he had done; that, after all, he had only lost eight or ten minutes in hesitation, and that his march was obstructed by some rough, uneven ground, covered with trees and bushes. The weight of opinion was, however, generally against Lord George, both in the camp abroad and in court and city at home. He wrote for leave to resign his command, and returned to England to face and brave a court-martial, which, after Byng's affair, had become more terrible in the eyes of most officers than all the risks and dangers of a bloody battle. But, if our cavalry had no part in the honour of Minden, our infantry as well as our artillery obtained a large share of it. Six regiments of English foot sustained for a time the whole effort of the French, who exceeded 60,000 men. The whole force of the allies engaged was about 35,000. On the very same day the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated a French corps at Coveldt. After various successes Frederick was again called to defend his own frontiers against the Russians, who were advancing with 86,000 men, after defeating General Wedel in the great battle of Zullichau. Before his Prussian majesty could come up the Russians had effected their junction, at Frankfort on the Oder, with an Austrian army of 12,000 men under Marshal Laudon: yet, with only 48,000 men, Frederick attacked these hosts in their intrenchments, and was defeated after a horrible slaughter on both sides. This battle of Frankfort, or Kunersdorf, cost the King of Prussia nearly all his artillery, half of his generals and officers of distinction, and above 18,000 men in killed and wounded. He himself had two horses killed under him, and his hat and clothes were pierced with balls. But Frederick, who seldom despaired, was cheered at this very moment by news of Prince Ferdinand's victory at Minden; and then, considering his own loss was not very important, he called out more troops from a country where he had made nearly every man a soldier, and occupied his fertile genius in devising the schemes of fresh campaigns. The Russians and Austrians were again assisted by an army from Sweden, but the Swedes were soon driven back by General Manteufel.

The English parliament met on the 13th of October, when Pitt spoke as the oracle of war. He disclaimed particular praise to himself, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. Not a week had passed in the summer but had been a crisis, in which he had not known whether he should be torn in pieces for failures, or commended, as he now was, for victories and conquests. In continuation, he said that, the more a man was versed in business, the more he found the hand of providence everywhere, — that success had given us unanimity, not unanimity success, — that other ministers had hoped as well, but had not been so circumstanced as to dare to do as much for the war, as he had done, — but that more must be done still, — that all was Providence, whose favour was to be merited by virtue, — that our allies must be supported with more money and more troops, — that he had unlearned his favourite errors, and no longer thought that England could do everything by herself. But the ministerial unanimity which Pitt boasted did not exist, and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was at this very moment urging a claim that put the cabinet in jeopardy. Temple asked the king for a vacant order of the garter, — the king, it appears, had promised the first riband to the Marquis of Rockingham, and wanted one, besides, to confer upon Prince Ferdinand. Pitt, with great eagerness, pressed his majesty to gratify Temple, saying that he would take it as a personal favour done to himself. But from entreaties he proceeded to threats, hinting to the Duke of Newcastle that, if he were not gratified, he would no longer sustain "the vast and dangerous load his majesty had been pleased to lay on his feeble shoulders." The great patriot minister had openly said, and no doubt felt inwardly assured, that he, and he alone, could manage the war and serve his country effectually at this crisis; yet he was ready rather to cease serving his country than forego his brother-in-law's claim to a gewgaw! Seldom has a man been so meanly proud or so proudly mean; and, bringing his inconsistencies as it were into a sentence and an antithesis, he speaks to a courtier with an insolent scorn of courts while he is begging and bullying for a court distinction. In his letter to Newcastle he says, — "All I mean at present to trouble your grace with is, to desire that, *when next my reluctant steps shall bring me up the stairs of Kensington, and mix me with the dust of the antechamber*, I may learn, once for all, whether the king continues finally inexorable and obdurate to all such united entreaties and remonstrances, as, except towards me and mine, never fail of success."* But the old king, who loved Temple no better now than he had done two years before, continued obstinate; and Temple, on the 13th of November, just a month after the meeting of parliament, resigned. It is said that, in doing so, his lordship besought Mr. Pitt and his brothers (the two Grenvilles) not to follow his

* Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Captain John Henry Pringle, executors of his son, John Earl of Chatham.



Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of Minden.

example, but remain where their services were so much wanted. But the old king, who knew the close links that bound the parties, and who could hardly be ignorant of Pitt's menacing letter to Newcastle, took the alarm, and commissioned the Duke of Devonshire to persuade Lord Temple to resume his place, by promising him that his ardent passion for the blue riband should be gratified. Temple, whose sudden resignation had been censured by the public, who felt that it *must* lead to the retirement of Pitt, was soothed by Devonshire's persuasion and promise: within a week he kissed hands again for the privy seal; and, shortly after this violence on the old king, he got the blue riband. According to Horace Walpole, Temple pretended to Lord Hertford, that, finding himself ill treated by the king, he had asked for the garter merely as an indication of returning favour, not being so anxious to wear the *Honi soit* as to show the world that he stood well with his sovereign.

Pitt declared that this was no time for paltry economy; that the best economy was to push expenditure so as to finish the war. With more perfect truth than always attended his tropes, he painted France as in a state of bankruptcy and despondence; and described her attempts and efforts as those of a *dying* rather than a *living* monarchy. Few or none ventured to oppose or contradict; supplies, amounting to the hitherto unparalleled extent of 15,000,000*l.*, were voted; and the army, including the 18,000 militia, was fixed at more than 175,000 men in British pay! It was reported that Pitt said, in private,—"Some time before I should have been well contented to bring France on her knees, but now I will not rest till I have laid her on her back!"

A.D. 1760.—Lord George Sackville, having waited till the return of his brother officers from Germany, imperiously demanded a court-martial. He received for answer, that a question had arisen whether he could be legally tried, as the orders he had disobeyed had been given by a foreigner, and that this question must be referred to the judges. The question, however, was *not* referred to the judges, but to the attorney and solicitor-general, who gave it as their opinion that he might be tried by court-martial. Another doubt had been started, whether his lordship, who had left the army, was any longer subject to military law; but this was passed over. Lord Holderness, however, in notifying the opinion of the law-officers of the crown, told Lord George that his majesty wished to know whether his lordship really wished to have this court-martial, as there was no specific charge against him. Lord George boldly declared that such a trial was necessary to clear his honour; repeated his petition for a court-martial, and said he would bide the event, conscious that he had not been guilty of any fault. And yet he knew that the court would contain several personal and bitter enemies—that the popular outcry was against him—and that, though he was favoured exceedingly by the princess dowager and the Prince of Wales, the old king was determined to let the law take its course, should the court-martial he had called for once begin proceedings. It is supposed that Lord George relied on his imposing demeanour and his vehement and daring eloquence—and with the tongue no man was bolder—but Horace Walpole slily adds another encouraging circumstance. "The approaching reign promised to be favourable to any sufferer under the present; nor could Lord George but know that to be the enemy of Prince Ferdinand would be meritorious in the eyes of the prince and princess dowager, who hated the ducal line of Brunswick."* The court-martial was appointed, with General Onslow, brother of the speaker, for president; a messenger was sent over to Germany to procure written evidence from Prince Ferdinand. On the 28th of February the king intimated, by message, to the House of Commons,

* Memoirs of George II.

that Lord George Sackville, a member of that honourable House, had been put under arrest for unmilitary conduct and disobedience of orders. The speaker was averse to the military trial of a member who was no longer in the army, and hoped it would be opposed; but Lord Milton, brother-in-law to Lord George, said that the trial was what he earnestly desired. Lord Barrington then moved an address of thanks to the king for his communication, and for his majesty's great tenderness towards the privileges of the House. As this was readily agreed to, and no one spoke, Lord Barrington said it was *nemine contradicente:* but here Bubb Dodington, who since his loss of place had returned to Leicester House, muttered a sullky *No.* This led to a short debate, in which Sir Francis Dashwood spoke against the Mutiny Bill, and said that the time ought to be limited, and that it ought to be strictly defined how long persons who had quitted the army should be liable to martial law. Bubb Dodington said that he did not think it law at all; that they might have tried Lord George while he was yet a military man; that martial law was growing upon us and becoming dangerous to our liberties—the Mutiny Act fell to the ground every year, but, like the giant, recovered new strength on touching it. Sir John Rushout said that were he in the army he would not sit on the trial of any man out of it; and Sir Francis Dashwood promised to call for a revisal of the whole Mutiny Act. General Onslow, while sitting on another court-martial upon Lord Charles Hay, who had severely criticised the conduct of his commander, Lord Loudon, in America, was seized with an apoplectic fit and died. The king, with headlong haste, got another commission drawn up for another president; for his majesty was now most eager to show Prince Ferdinand that he had the power to punish Lord George. But General Pulteney excused himself from sitting as president, and the king was obliged to look out for another. At last Sir Charles Howard was appointed, and the trial proceeded. Prince Ferdinand had sent over one of his German aides-de-camp, Captain Wintzenrode, who, it appeared, had carried an order from the prince to Lord George to bring up his cavalry before Ligonier and Fitzroy carried their messages to the same effect. Wintzenrode deposed that Lord George had seemed not to understand his orders, and a *faint* doubt remains in favour of his lordship that they were not very intelligible. Colonel Sloper deposed that at least a quarter of an hour elapsed between the departure of Wintzenrode and the arrival of Colonel Ligonier, and both Sloper and Ligonier said that the countenance of Lord George betrayed confusion. The brave and good-natured Granby reluctantly admitted that his advance had been checked by Lord George, and that when the cavalry moved he was obliged to regulate his pace to his lordship's slowness. Lord George, on his side, accused Prince Ferdinand of malice, and his aides-de-camp of blundering. His lordship, as we have noted, was bold with his tongue, and he was skilful too. He assumed a dictatorial style to the court, and treated the inferiority of their capacities as he might have done if sitting amongst them, instead of being a prisoner before them. He browbeat the witnesses, gave the lie to Sloper, and treated the judge-advocate with contempt. "Nothing," adds Walpole, "was timid, nothing humble, in his behaviour. His replies were quick and spirited. He prescribed to the court, and they acquiesced. An instant of such resolution at Minden had established his character for ever;"* The trial ran out to a great length, and while it was yet unfinished the Mutiny Act expired. It thus became necessary to make out a new warrant and to read over again the depositions of the witnesses: but at length, on the 3rd of April, the court-martial finished their tedious business by pronouncing Lord George Sackville guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, whom, by his commission and instructions, he was ordered to obey, and declared it their opinion that he was unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. This sentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, signified his pleasure, "that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any of the English troops happened to be, that, officers being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders." Nor did the old king stop here: he, with his own hand, struck out Lord George's name from the list of privy councillors, and forbade his appearance at court; ordered the lord chamberlain to notify this prohibition to the Prince of Wales and the princess dowager; and sent the vice-chamberlain to acquaint Lord Bute with it. The potent favourite said, to be sure the prince would not think of seeing Lord George while it was disagreeable to his majesty; but the advanced age of the king gave assurance that the proscription at court could not last very long; and almost as soon as George III. was king, the haughty Sackville was taken back openly into favour, and he subsequently ob tained lucrative employment and a peerage.

During this session a bill for establishing a militia in Scotland was rejected by a large majority, though Sir Henry Erskine declared that the want of such a force was so deeply felt, that all Scotland would come and demand it at the bar of the House. Another bill of more questionable utility met with a different fate. The Qualification Act, passed in the reign of Queen Anne, to provide that every member of the House of Commons should, at the moment of his election, be possessed of property in land to the amount of 600*l.* a-year if sitting for a county, 300*l.* if for a borough,

* Memoirs of George II.

had long been notoriously evaded; for, as the act did not require any proofs of a prolonged possession while sitting in the House, it was enough to produce a fictitious transfer from some man really holding landed property, which could be restored to the owner and cancelled the moment a member had taken his seat. Sir John Philipps, a noted Jacobite, now proposed that the House should oblige every member to produce a schedule of his lands to the speaker of the House, explain his qualifications, and swear to the truth of them. Pitt, who had himself slid into the House on a fictitious qualification, and who at the time of his first election had little he could call his own, except his cornetcy of horse, promoted the bill; Lord Egmont opposed it with great ability, saying that it would subject men's estates to the inspection and iniquitous practices of lawyers; Lord Strange ridiculed a notorious blunder in it; Thomas Townshend, the younger, spoke warmly against it, tracing its origin to the four last disgraceful years of Queen Anne, when a similar bill had been attempted by the Tories; and others showed some spirit on the same side. It should appear, however, that the subject was not considered important enough to draw a full House, for it was carried by a majority of 80 against 40. It had still, however, to encounter some opposition in the Lords. The old Duke of Newcastle had been averse to it, and, though Pitt had insisted that something must be done to *gratify* the Tories, he would probably have seen it thrown out with pleasure. The Duke of Richmond and the Earls of Gower and Hillsborough spoke against it, and Lord Hardwicke was lukewarm. Gower put it home to the bishops whether the bill would not multiply perjuries; but the bench seemed to have had a sudden and wonderful reliance on human virtue; though certainly, as observed by Walpole, "perjury was not the crime at which most men stuck in that age; nor could it be hoped that they who made a seat in parliament the foundation of their fortune would not overleap any obstacle to obtain one." Lord Temple supported the bill, and made use of the old threat of disunion in the cabinet if it were not allowed to pass; and so it *was* passed by a majority of 50 against 16.

General Murray, a brave and adventurous soldier, had been left to defend the half-ruined town of Quebec, and our fleet had retired to escape being frozen up in the St. Lawrence. M. Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, spent the winter in making preparations for a desperate effort to recover all that the French had lost, and early in the spring he took the field with a mixed body of French, Canadians, and Indians, exceeding in all 10,000 men. He marched from Montreal, and in the month of April, when the weather was still inclement, he appeared before Quebec. General Murray, with scarcely 7000 men, disdaining to wait a regular siege, marched out and attacked the enemy: but he was defeated, lost most of the guns he had taken out with him, was nearly cut off in his retreat, and got back to the city with great difficulty. As the ice cleared away, Levi brought up six French frigates, and began to form the siege by land and water. But on the 9th of May Lord Colville, with two good frigates outsailing the rest of the English squadron, ascended the river and destroyed the French ships, under the eyes of Levi, who stood on the heights on the other side, but who presently decamped, and with such precipitation that he left his artillery and stores behind him. Nothing now remained to the French in Canada except Montreal, and that last stronghold, wherein the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, had collected all his magazines, was soon invested by General Amherst, General Murray, and Colonel Haviland; and, despairing of any succour from France, which could scarcely put a ship to sea, or spare a man from her wars in Europe, Vaudreuil capitulated on the 8th of September. Thus were the Canadas won, and the conquest of them had cost us comparatively but few men. This encouraged Pitt to call it "a bloodless war;" but, as he was conquering America through Germany, the blood spilt there was assuredly, in some measure, to be taken into the account; and there the carnage was and continued to be unprecedented in modern war. In the year 1758 the loss of the King of Prussia was estimated at 30,000 men, and that of his enemies at 100,000. The year 1759 was scarcely less bloody; and we shall presently see the monstrous waste of human life in the present year, 1760.

On the 23rd of June the Austrians under Laudon attacked the Prussians under Fouquet, near Glatz, in Silesia, and gained a victory which cost the Prussians 8000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Austrians themselves 3000 men; and after their victory the Austrian soldiers committed unspeakable atrocities in one or two towns which their unusual success opened to them. "At Landshut," says the royal cynic, "nothing was spared but misery and ugliness." These atrocities were of frequent occurrence, and to the fearful amount of lives and limbs lost in the field must be added the darker horrors committed on the peaceful townspeople and the unhappy peasantry during this seven years' war. From Glatz, Laudon advanced upon Breslau. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, obliged him to raise that siege; but before the Austrians departed they had reduced the greater part of the thriving Breslau to a heap of ruins. Frederick himself, after a fruitless attempt to recover Dresden, was intercepted at Liegnitz, and almost completely surrounded by Austrians and Russians; but on the 15th of August, with an union of heroism and consummate skill, he cut his way through the Austrians, killing some 2000, and taking some 5000 prisoners. He himself lost in killed and wounded about 1200 men, but this he called "only a scratch." He then joined his brother Henry, and rescued the town of Schweidnitz, besieged by Daun. But, in the mean while, a Russian army under Tottleben and

Czernichef, and an Austrian army under Lacy, after firing red-hot balls into the town, and bombarding it with shells and grenades, took Berlin, committed dreadful havock, and threw out their Cossacks and Pandours to ravage all the country round about. Frederick struck away to rescue his capital, and Daun followed him. In a moment of despondency Frederick spoke, as he had done once or twice before, of committing suicide; but the Russians and Austrians ran away from Berlin as soon as they had heard of his approach, and his genius soon gave him fresh triumphs over the mediocrity or downright stupidity of his enemies' generals. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick was defeated at Corbach, when Prince Ferdinand was at too great a distance to support him. In his retreat his army fell into confusion, and the greater part of the infantry would have been cut off had not the Hereditary Prince made a brilliant charge in person at the head of the British dragoons. The prince was wounded in the action. A few days after this affair, while the Duke de Broglie was encamped on the heights of Corbach, the Hereditary Prince defeated a detached corps at Exdorf, and took the commander of it and five entire battalions prisoners. Here the British horse distinguished themselves, Elliot's dragoons, a new regiment which had never been in the field before, charging five several times, and breaking the enemy's line at each charge. Soon after this exploit the Hereditary Prince was detached to the Lower Rhine, which he crossed in September. He took the ancient city of Cleves, and then invested Wesel. But the French, under M. de Castries, attacked him in his positions, and, after two days' hard fighting, he was compelled to retreat beyond the Rhine, which river he crossed in admirable order, though in presence of a far superior and victorious force. His loss had been very considerable, and had fallen heaviest on the British part of his army. His own person, which he had exposed like a common trooper, was covered with wounds. Lord Doun, a gallant, accomplished, and amiable young man, received three wounds, and, after languishing some weeks, died in torment. Prince Ferdinand, who had with him nearly 20,000 British troops, gave the French a complete defeat at Warburg, and drove them into the Dimel, where many of them were drowned. The British grenadiers, artillery, dragoons, and the Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in this sharp encounter, and the gallant Marquess of Granby was always found charging at the head of the horse. Such, however, was the numerical superiority of the French, who now called in their detachments and got reinforcements across the Rhine, that they were soon enabled to overrun Hesse and threaten the electorate of Hanover once more.

But George II., who had already spent nearly all his privately accumulated treasure and vast savings in defending his electorate, looked confidently to the arms of his nephew, Frederick, and the increasing poverty and disorganization of the French monarchy, and if he had any tender apprehensions about Hanover—he had been victorious for the last two years everywhere else—they were soon quieted in the grave.* On the 25th of October, the temperate, methodical old man rose as usual at six o'clock and drank his chocolate. At a quarter after seven he went into a little closet. Presently his German valet heard a noise as of some one falling, and running into the closet, he found

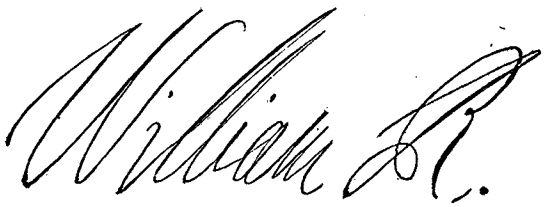
* In the course of the summer the Duke of Cumberland had a stroke of palsy. He soon recovered the use of his speech and of his limbs, but one of his eyes remained distorted, and the grossness of his habit and other disorders seemed to threaten a brief and miserable residue of existence.

GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE II.

the king dead on the floor: in falling he had cut his face against the corner of a bureau. They carried him to a bed and applied the lancet, but not a drop of blood followed:—the ventricle of his heart had burst and caused an instantaneous and painless death.—"Full of years and glory, he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable."*

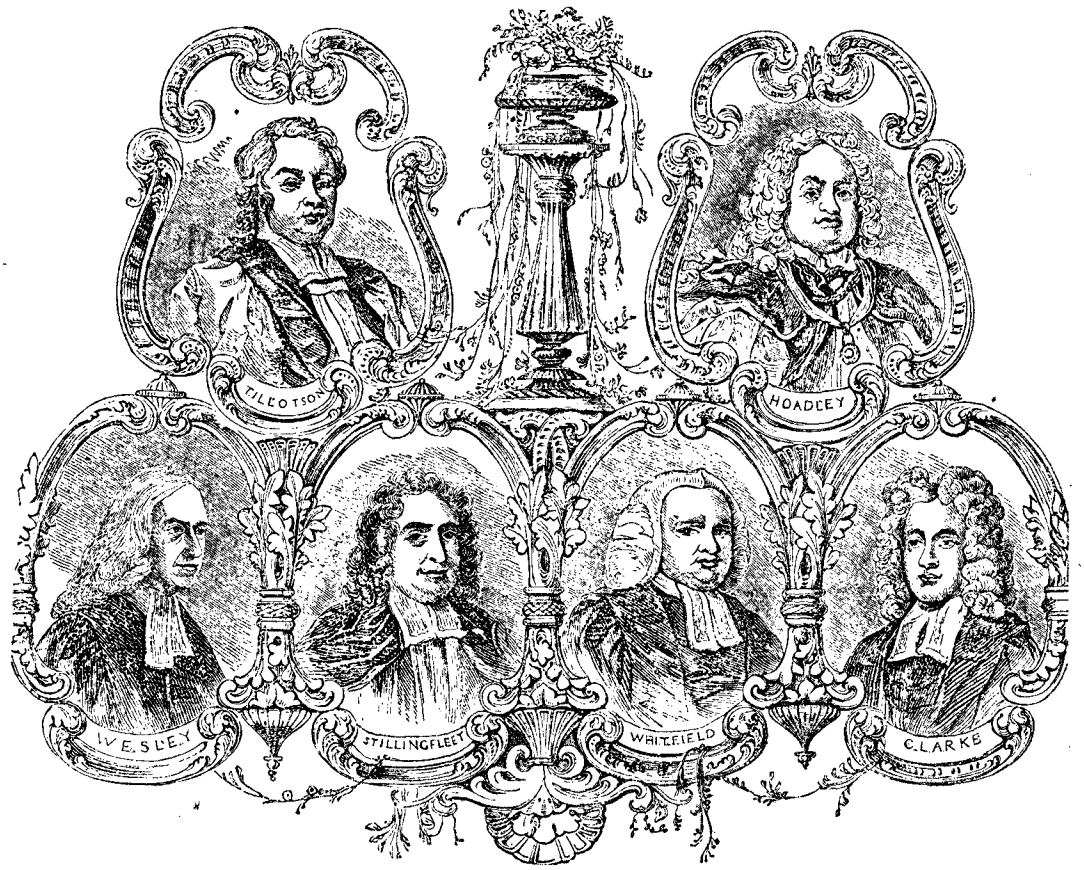
* Walpole, Memoirs.

AUTOGRAPHS OF KING WILLIAM, QUEEN ANNE, KING GEORGE I. AND KING GEORGE II.



CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.



DR. TILLOTSON, from a Painting by G. Kneller.
DR. BENJAMIN HOADLEY, from a Painting by W. Hogarth.
REV. J. WESLEY, from a Painting by J. Barry.
DR. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, from a Painting by Beal.
REV. G. WHITFIELD, from a Painting by J. Russell.
DR. S. CLARKE, from a Painting by T. Gibson.

THE Settlement, as it used properly to be styled, of 1689, was in the church as well as in the state much less of a revolution than was either the abolition of the ancient government in 1649, or its restoration in 1660. The change in regard to the one as well as the other was not of institutions, but only of persons. As the monarchy remained with only a new king, so did the established church with only the substitution of some new bishops and other clergymen.

Both in church and state this Revolution, or rather this winding up and stoppage of the Revolution, was more remarkably than anything else a victory of protestantism over popery, or rather of the half-protestantism of the Anglican and Scottish churches over the principle of absolutism (which is the essence of popery) alike in religion and in politics. As 1649 was the high day of republicanism and radicalism, of independency and sectarianism, so was 1689 that of constitutionalism, pure Whiggism, or *Juste-milieuism*, and of Protestant established-churchism, which is merely theological and ecclesiastical *Juste-milieuism*.

The Restoration in 1660, again, was, in spirit

and in effect, the restoration of absolutism and of popery. Neither the one nor the other, indeed, was openly or formally re-established; the state of the country and of the popular feeling made that impracticable at the moment; but both were introduced in disguise—the work of preparation for their complete re-establishment was begun—and in the mean time every institution in the kingdom, even while retaining its old form, took their character, and worked for their ends. The crown proceeded from violating the constitution to trampling upon the laws; the parliament was coerced until it became the obedient ally of the court; the law was perverted into the most convenient instrument of oppression, the judges themselves serving as the mere beagles and bloodhounds of the royal tyranny; the corporations and municipal franchises—those sheltering depositories of the liberties of the nation in the worst times, were now either extinguished, or forced, like everything else, into conformity and subserviency to the one dominant authority in the state, the power of the monarch. Finally, the established church, half-popish at any rate, as every established church essentially is, was made, as far as possible, except in mere name and profession, to conceal and suppress its protestantism, and to give way to its inclinations of an opposite kind; that is to say, the pressure to which it was subjected from the court, and by which of course it was swayed to a certain extent, was all in that direction. Thus in England it signalised itself by a vigorously coercive, or, as others termed it, a persecuting policy towards dissenters, from which it required dexterous management on the part of the crown to protect the Roman Catholics themselves; while in Scotland, where the Catholics were few in number, besides going faster and farther in the same course, it assumed, of the two forms or constitutions, the episcopalian and presbyterian, which ever since the Reformation had been struggling for the mastery in that country, the one—namely, the episcopalian—which was most opposed to democracy and to the popular sentiment, and had in it the largest infusion of the principle of popery and absolutism.

All these three successive revolutions, or rather grand shiftings of the scene in the progress of one revolution, were alike reactions, brought about by the opposite principle, or system, having in each case been previously carried out to the point at which it was no longer endurable. The absolutism and at least semi-popery of the early part of the reign of Charles I. produced the violent protestantism and anti-monarchism of 1649. Republicanism and sectarianism were swept away together in 1660 by a returning tide of all but absolute power in the crown, and of the most rigorous intolerance of dissent in the church. Partly from the natural tendency of things, partly from circumstances personal to Charles II. and his successor, the ascendancy acquired by the royal authority after the Restoration was employed, more perseveringly than for any other object, first in the protection and ultimately in the open encouragement and promotion of popery; and accordingly the chief characteristic of the next and final phasis of the Revolution, the settlement made in 1689, was its anti-papal spirit. It may be regarded as the completion of the Reformation begun by Henry VIII. a century and a half before.

It is true, indeed, that, with the fall of absolute power in the church, absolute power in the state was also necessarily put an end to; and the settlement made in 1689 was therefore the commencement of a new era of political as well as of religious liberty. The most self-willed of despots did not foresee, or consider, that when he cast off the supremacy of the pope he was making the first move against the supremacy of his own prerogative. Then was really begun the long contest between absolutism and constitutionalism, which, after many fluctuations, was finally decided in favour of the latter in 1689. But yet this result, whatever it was essentially, or in its more remote operation, took the shape at the time rather of a victory over popery than a victory over the prerogative. The royal prerogative, in fact, was not formally curtailed by any of the changes then made, but popery, as an element of the constitution, was expressly declared an abolished and forbidden thing.

The victory then was really in the main a victory of protestantism, and, as such, a victory of the established church. Yet, notwithstanding this character of the result, and notwithstanding also the fact that it had been principally brought about by means of the church, there is no doubt that the Revolution was far from being acceptable to the generality of the clergy. That event, indeed, brought with it no new laws directly affecting the established church in England—no alteration of anything in either its internal or external condition, in its doctrines, its discipline, its endowments, or its position in the state. On the contrary, all its ancient rights and liberties, some of which had been recently attempted to be infringed, were confirmed and more distinctly recognised than they had been at any former period. But still there were obvious enough reasons why such a body as the established clergy should be in general dissatisfied with such a change as the Revolution. It is certain, in the first place, that, although the resistance of some of the heads of the church, in which they were backed by the nearly universal body of the clergy as well as of the laity, had been principally instrumental in driving the late king from the throne, yet that was a consequence of their conduct which was neither foreseen nor desired either by some of themselves or by the great multitude of their inferiors by whom they were supported and applauded. Whether they would have taken the course they did if they had rightly discerned to what it was to lead, may be doubted; some of them might have thought the assumption and exercise of a dispensing power,—in other words, of an absolute despotism—by the

king, a less, others a greater evil, than the expulsion of the reigning family from the throne; all we can say is, that, after they had gained their immediate object, the vast majority of the clergy would have been very glad if they could have there stopped the wheel of change they had set in motion, and reduced the Revolution to a mere triumph over the crown in a trial at law. And, in truth, if it had come to a show of hands, they would probably have had the majority of the nation with them in this sentiment. The mass of the people can scarcely be said to have taken part at all in the measures that were ultimately adopted. And even in the legislature the majority of the peers were avowedly hostile to the deposition of the king. The Revolution of 1689 was the act of the House of Commons alone, in so far as it was a national act at all. And even that body might possibly have contented itself with a less decided change if it had not been for the attitude taken by the Prince of Orange himself, who soon made it be clearly understood that he would only go on with and finish the work he had been called in to do upon one condition. So that, after all, this glorious Revolution, as it is styled, may be said to have been on the part of the English nation little less than a forced leap over a precipice at the edge of which it found itself without the power of retreat. No wonder that an act performed in such circumstances, however wise it may have really been, or however fortunate it may have turned out, should have failed to give universal or even very general satisfaction at first; but there were peculiar reasons why the clergy for the most part should above all other classes regard it with little favour or with avowed hostility. The established church, the creature of the crown, had, faithful to its origin, always stood by the royal authority in its contests with the other powers of the state, and, except in so far as it came in itself for a share of what was going, it must from this its constitutional habit have rather sympathised than otherwise with James's arbitrary and high-handed style of government; at any rate, it could not be expected to see very clearly the fitness either of deposing a king for merely transgressing a few acts of parliament, or of permanently placing the throne under subjection to the law. Besides, as itself one of the great fixed institutions of the state, the church was naturally conservative in all its affections and tendencies, and simply as a change or innovation the Revolution must have been distasteful to it. And let it be admitted also that honesty and sincere conviction here did their part as well as mere selfish or sentimental considerations—that scrupulous minds, having taken up certain views in religion, might conscientiously shrink from sanctioning proceedings, which, whether agreeable or not to human laws, they deemed to be opposed to the law of God.

When the convention, which had conferred the crown upon William and Mary, had by an act of the two Houses, which received the royal assent in the usual form, been turned into a parliament, and the oath of allegiance imposed by that act came to be administered to the Lords and Commons, only eight of the bishops in the first instance consented to take it; two more, after some hesitation, followed their example; but eight absented themselves and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new government. Of the number were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough, five of the seven prelates whose refusal to read King James's Declaration of Indulgence had given the signal for the late Revolution. The other three who refused to take the oath were Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester. Lloyd of St. Asaph and Trelawny of Bristol were the only two of the seven petitioners against the indulgence who consented to sanction the change which their petition had mainly contributed to bring about; the others who took the oath along with them being Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, (to which see he had been translated from Exeter scarcely three months before, by King James,)* Compton, Bishop of London, Barlowe of Lincoln, Mew of Winchester, Sprat of Rochester, Beaw of Landaff, and shortly afterwards Smith of Carlisle and Watson of St. Davids. To these may be added Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who seems to have taken the oath in his capacity of a temporal peer. Burnet has drawn a very severe character of this double lord, who had been promoted from Oxford to Durham in 1674, but "who," writes his right reverend brother, "bating the dignity of being born of a noble, though puritan, family, had not any one quality to recommend him to so great a post, unless obedience and compliance could supply all other defects. He has neither learning nor good sense, and is no preacher. He was a fawning abject slave to the court. And thus was [he] raised [to], and has been now for above thirty years possessed of, the greatest income in the church."† At the Revolution, he afterwards tells us, "the poor Bishop of Durham, who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a ship to get beyond sea, fearing public affronts, and had offered to compound by

* "Dr. Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, flying from that city while the Prince of Orange was marching to it, was rewarded by King James with the translation to the Archbishopric of York, on November 16th; and the ceremonies of his translation were performed at Lambeth, on Saturday December 8th, by his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester, and Peterborough; and the day after he did his homage to his majesty at Whitehall; and within two days after he joined with the Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Guildhall, to invite the Prince of Orange to take the administration of the government upon him."—*Kennet's Complete History*, iii. 523.

† History of his Own Time, i. 392.—The passage is one of those suppressed in the older editions of the Bishop's work, and first published in that of Dr. Routh, 6 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1823. Crewe outlived Burnet by seven or eight years, not dying till 1722, within two years of the appearance of the first volume of the latter's History, which, if it had been published, as he intended it should be, in *six* years after he had left the world, and as he expressly directed in his will, "without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular," would have produced rather an awkward sensation in various quarters by this and other similar passages. See Burnet's will in *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esquire*, Appendix, pp. i.—xxii.

resigning his bishopric, was now prevailed on to come, and, by voting the new settlement, to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done; which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character." But indeed nearly all the other bishops who complied with the new settlement were as much opposed to it at heart as Crewe; Compton and Trelawney must be regarded as the only members of the right reverend bench who were really in favour of the transference of the crown from the head of James to that of William; only these two voted in the majority of fifty-one against forty-nine, by which it was carried that the vacant throne should be filled, not by a regent but by a king, while thirteen of their brethren were counted in the minority — among whom were York, Winchester, St. Asaph, Rochester, St. Davids, and Lincoln, who afterwards submitted, as well as Norwich, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Gloucester, who stood out. The thirteenth was Hall, Bishop of Oxford, who does not seem to have presented himself in the House after the passing of the act imposing the new oath of allegiance, being probably prevented by the state of his health, for he died in about a year after. He had been made a bishop by the late king only a few months before his abdication, being, according to Bishop Kennet, "one of the meanest and most obscure of the city divines, who had taken no other degree than that of Bachelor of Arts, and had indeed no merit but that of reading the king's declaration in his church, when all his brethren of conscience and honour did refuse it."* Burnet, in the like temper, describes him as "one Hall, a conformist in London, who was looked on as half a Presbyterian." † Cartwright, who had been made Bishop of Chester in 1686, took fright and fled, and, having afterwards gone to Ireland with King James, died there in neglect and destitution. "He was," Burnet allows, "a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning;" but, he adds, "he was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous; and by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the worst sort. He had set himself long to raise the king's authority above law, which he said was only a method of government to which kings might submit as they pleased; but their authority was from God, absolute and superior to law, which they might exert as oft as they found it necessary for the ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of popery than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that slip, even in the most desperate state of his affairs." ‡ Cartwright, in fact, it is recorded, died a Protestant. Croft, Bishop of Hereford, and Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, were probably both too old and infirm to attend in parliament; the former died in May, 1691, the latter in April, 1692. Finally, the two sees of Exeter and Salisbury were vacant. So that, on the whole, of the twenty-six spiritual peers, seven may be said to have been at this time, owing to one cause or another, absent from parliament; and, of the remaining nineteen, eleven consented to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, and eight refused or withdrew from the House to avoid it.

Before, however, they took this step, some of them, Burnet tells us, moved the House for a bill of toleration and another of comprehension, "that they might recommend themselves," he is pleased to add, "by a show of moderation." But the truth is, these nonjuring prelates, while they evinced their sincerity and conscientiousness by the strongest of all tests, were most of them, in all probability, more mildly disposed towards the dissenters, and really more favourable to a measure of toleration, than some of their brethren who took a different course. The seven bishops had distinctly declared, in their famous petition, that their averseness to the distributing and publishing of the declaration for liberty of conscience did not proceed from any want of tenderness to dissenters; "in relation to whom," said they, "we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation." On the other hand, from whatever motive the measures they now recommended were brought forward, it is at all events certain that they met with no cordial acceptance from the opposite party; nor, as we shall find, was all the influence of the crown able to obtain the assent of the House to the comprehension thus moved for by the nonjuring prelates after they had withdrawn from it.

Meanwhile, when it was found that the bishops who were averse to take the oaths could not be reached by the existing law, so long as they chose to refrain from presenting themselves in parliament, a new bill was brought into the House of Commons, which was eventually passed under the name of "An Act for Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and appointing other Oaths;" and which, among other regulations, declared that every archbishop and bishop neglecting to take the new oaths should be liable to the same penalties as they would have been liable to by any statute for refusing to take the abrogated oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and, further, that every holder of any ecclesiastical office whatsoever, by whom the new oaths should not have been taken before the 1st of August, should be in the first instance suspended for six months, and at the end of that time, if he had not taken them, should be deprived. The debates upon this bill brought out very strongly the determined attachment of the majority of both Houses to the sacramental test,— the great bar which kept the dissenters without the pale of the constitution. The measure, Burnet relates, "was followed with a particular eagerness by some who were known enemies to the church;

* Complete History, iii. 491.
† Own Time, i. 740.
‡ Id. i. 696.

and it was then generally believed that a great part of the clergy would refuse the oaths. So they hoped to have an advantage against the church by this means. Hampden [the grandson of the famous John Hampden is supposed to be here meant] persuaded the king to add a period to a speech he made, concerning the affairs of Ireland, in which he proposed the admitting *all* Protestants to serve in that war. This was understood to be intended for taking off the sacramental test, which was necessary by the law to qualify men for employments, and was looked on as the chief security the Church of England had, as it excluded dissenters from all employments. And it was tried if a bargain could be made for excusing the clergy from the oaths provided the dissenters might be excused from the sacrament. The king put this into his speech without communicating it to the ministry, and it had a very ill effect. It was not only rejected by a great majority in both Houses, but it very much heightened the prejudices against the king, as bearing no great affection to the Church of England, when he proposed the opening such a door, which they believed would be fatal to them. The rejecting this made the act imposing the oaths to be driven on with the more zeal."* Accordingly, notwithstanding the exertions of Burnet, who, having been made Bishop of Salisbury, was, he tells us, "the chief manager of the debate in favour of the clergy both in the House of Lords and at the conferences with the Commons," the measure passed with no further mitigation of its original severity than the annexation of a clause leaving it to the king to allow to any twelve of the nonjuring clergy he might think fit to select "an allowance out of their ecclesiastical benefices or promotions for their subsistence, not exceeding a third part, and to continue during his majesty's pleasure, and no longer."† Burnet says, that, seeing no more could be obtained, he acquiesced the more easily, by reason that, though when the debates began, he was assured that those who seemed resolved not to take the oaths yet prayed for the king in their chapels, he afterwards found that this was not true, for they named no king or queen, so that it was easy to guess whom they meant by such an indefinite designation. "I also heard many things," he adds, "that made me conclude they were endeavouring to raise all the opposition to the government possible."

After all, the generality of the clergy took the oaths, "though," according to Burnet, "with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience."‡ In another passage he imputes much of the general corruption of principle, which, he affirms, notwithstanding an outward face of virtue and sobriety, was now fast spreading through the nation, to this conduct of the ministers of religion:—"It must be confessed," he says, "that the behaviour of many clergymen gave atheists no small advantage; they had taken the oaths and read the prayers for the present government; they observed the orders for public fasts and thanksgivings; and yet they showed in many places their aversion to our establishment but too visibly; so that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the nation, was too evident; in some places it broke out in very indecent instances, that were brought into courts of law and censured. This made many conclude that the clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray, even against their consciences, rather than lose their benefices; and, by consequence, that they were governed by interest, and not by principle." Those of the bishops, however, who had in the first instance refused the oaths, had so far committed themselves that they could not well retract; and, accordingly, after remaining suspended for six months, they became, from the 1st of February, 1690, *ipso facto*, deprived under the late act. They were allowed, nevertheless, to continue at their sees for a year after this,—all the while, Burnet complains, neglecting the concerns of the church, and living privately in their palaces doing nothing; but, in truth, their hands were tied up from performing any of the duties of their office by the position in which they legally stood. Burnet states that he had, by the queen's order, moved both the Earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who had great credit with them, to try whether, in case an act could be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, they would consent to go on and officiate in ordinations, institutions, and confirmations, and assist at the public worship as formerly; but, if we are to believe his account, "they would give no answer; only they said they would live quietly"—which he interprets, with no excess of charity, to mean, that "they would keep themselves close till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly." They were no doubt scrupulous about doing or saying anything which might have the appearance of complying with the new settlement. However, all hope of winning them over was at length given up; and their actual ejection from their sees was resolved upon. Of the eight bishops who had expressly refused to take the new oath of allegiance, Thomas of Worcester had died in June, 1689, and Lake of Chichester in August of the same year; and their places had been already filled up by the appointment, in the following October, of Dr. Stillingfleet to Worcester, and Dr. Patrick to Chichester. The other six, Sancroft of Canterbury, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough, were all now put out of their sees on the same day, the 1st of February, 1691, being exactly a year after they had incurred deprivation under the late act; and immediately thereafter Dr. Tillotson was appointed to Canterbury, Dr. Patrick to Ely, Dr. Fowler to Gloucester, Dr. Moore to Norwich, Dr. Cumberland to Peter-

* Own Time, ii, 8. † Stat. 1 W. & M. cap. 8.
‡ Own Time, ii. 28.

borough, and Dr. Kidder to Bath and Wells; Patrick being succeeded in Ely by Dr. Grove. Salisbury and Bangor, which were vacant when King William came to the throne, had, soon after that event, been given, the former to Dr. Burnet, the latter to Dr. Humphreys. Exeter, also, which had become vacant just before the Revolution, by the promotion of Lamplugh to York, had been filled up in April, 1689, by the translation of Trelawny from Bristol,* where he was in the following October succeeded by Dr. Ironside; and now in July, 1691, Croft of Hereford having lately died, Ironside was removed to that see, and was succeeded in Bristol by Dr. John Hall. The death of Cartwright of Chester, immediately after the Revolution, had made room for Dr. Strafford in that see. Dr. Timothy Hall, whom James had made a bishop in October, 1688, died in April, 1690; upon which Dr. Hough was appointed to his see of Oxford. Finally, Lamplugh of York died in May, 1691, and Barlowe of Lincoln in October of the same year; when the former mitre was bestowed upon Dr. Sharp, the latter upon Dr. Tenison. Altogether, it thus appears that before he had been three years on the throne King William, without including his completion of the translation of Trelawny, had issued no fewer than eighteen *congés* for the election of bishops, namely six in 1689, one in 1690, and eleven in 1691; by which sixteen new prelates, all indebted for their promotion to the existing government, and recommended by their attachment to the principles of the Revolution, were introduced into the House of Lords, and of the whole twenty-six sees only ten were left in possession of persons who had been bishops in the former reign. Of these ten, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry was the only one who is not stated to have taken the oaths to the new government; and he died in April, 1692. Burnet, himself one of them, draws a flattering character of the new occupants of the episcopal bench. Tillotson and Sharp, he observes, were the two best *preachers* that had sat in the sees of Canterbury and York in his day; "only," he adds, "Sharp did not know the world so well, and was not so steady as Tillotson was;" and, doubtless, if these defects appeared merely in Sharp's preaching, they were the less worth minding. The new prelates, according to Burnet, "were generally looked on as the learnedest, the wisest, and best men that were in the church."† And he continues, "It was visible that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion, no ambition nor court favour had appeared; men were not scrambling for preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their retirements; and most of them very much against their own inclinations: they were men both of moderate principles and of calm tempers. This great promotion was such a discovery of the king and queen's designs with relation to the church, that it served much to remove the jealousies that some other steps the king had made were beginning to raise in the Whigs, and very much softened the ill-humour that was spread among them." In point of fact the *nolo episcopari* had been pronounced by several of those upon whom the royal choice had fallen with apparent sincerity, and in other instances the mitre had dropped upon heads that were not dreaming of any such honour. Even among the friends of the new order of things there were scruples about taking the places of the deprived bishops. Thus, the learned Dr. Beveridge (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) refused to succeed Kenn in the see of Bath and Wells. Tillotson, himself, though chiefly, it is probable, from motives of a different kind, is stated to have long resisted the wish of their majesties to elevate him to the primacy. "They had both," says Burnet, "for above a year pressed him to come into this post; and he had struggled against it with great earnestness: as he had no ambition nor aspiring in his temper, so he foresaw what a scene of trouble and slander he must enter on, now in the decline of his age. The prejudices that the Jacobites would possess all people with, for his coming into the room of one whom they called a confessor, and who began now to have the public compassion on his side, were well foreseen by him. He also apprehended the continuance of that heat and aversion that a violent party had always expressed towards him, though he had not only avoided to provoke any of them, but had upon all occasions done the chief of them great services, as oft as it was in his power. He had large principles, and was free from superstition; his zeal had been chiefly against atheism and popery; but he had never showed much sharpness against the dissenters. He had lived in a good correspondence with many of them; he had brought several over to the church by the force of reason, and the softness of persuasion and good usage; but was a declared enemy to violence and severities on those heads. Among other prejudices against him, one related to myself: he and I had lived for many years in a close and strict friendship. He laid before the king all the ill effects that, as he thought, the promoting him would have on his own service; but all this had served only to increase the king's esteem of him, and fix him in his purpose." It is related, again, that the first notice or thought Dr. Cumberland had of his appointment to Peterborough was by reading it in a newspaper at Stamford, where he was minister.* Burnet himself, who was the first bishop made by King William, was, he tells us, nominated by his majesty on his own motion, without any notification to him of the royal intention; but he must have been sure of getting upon the bench from the moment the

* The translation of Trelawny from Bristol to Exeter had been commanded, though not completed, by James before his abdication.

† Burnet speaks of them as only fifteen in number, all named, as he says, by William in two years' time. His enumeration does not include Tenison, whose appointment took place late in 1691.

* Note on Burnet's Own Time, ii. 76, by Speaker Onslow.

course of events had set his master, or patron, on the throne.

Nor, general as was the at least outward submission of the church, was the number of ministers that openly stood out and seceded altogether insignificant. About four hundred of the inferior clergy followed the eight bishops in refusing the new oath of allegiance, and lost their livings in consequence. These, with the laity who accompanied them, formed a nonjuring church, avowedly Jacobite in its political predilections and principles, which, though ultimately reduced to a very quiescent as well as feeble condition, continued for many years after the Revolution to wage fierce controversy with the establishment on the theological aspects of the great question which divided them, as well as to give considerable uneasiness to the government on various occasions. In England, however, the open profession of nonjuring principles was little heard of after the accession of George I., when the precipitation with which the persons of that persuasion generally threw themselves into the projects that exploded in the rebellion of 1715 afforded a good apology for tightening the legal bonds by which the allegiance of the subject was sought to be secured to the family on the throne.

It has already been noticed that two measures for the relief of the dissenters—a bill of toleration and a bill of comprehension—were left as legacies to the House of Lords by the section of the episcopal bench, which the new oath of allegiance scared away from parliament. The bills were actually brought forward, as well as drawn up, by the Earl of Nottingham, the Tory secretary of state, and the single representative of his principles in the cabinet, who on this occasion, however, not only acted as the mouth-piece of his party, but advocated opinions and views which were cordially participated in by his majesty himself. Very little opposition was made from any quarter to the bill of toleration, which accordingly was soon passed under the title of "An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws."* Proceeding avowedly upon the consideration that some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion might be an effectual means to unite their majesties' Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it relieved dissenters from all penalties for not going to church or for attending their own places of worship, provided they were duly registered, and had not the doors locked or barred, on condition only of their taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation. Instead of the oaths, the Quakers were permitted to make and subscribe a declaration of fidelity to the government and a profession of their Christian belief. The only classes of religionists excepted from the benefits of this act were the Papists and the Socinians, or such as should deny, in preaching or writing, the doctrine of the Trinity as declared in the Thirty-Nine Articles. "Some," says Burnet, "proposed that the act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the dissenters, that they might demean themselves so as to merit the continuance of it when the term of years now offered should end. But this was rejected: there was now an universal inclination to pass the act; but it could not be expected that the nation would be in the same good disposition towards them at another time." "I showed so much zeal," he adds, "for this act, as very much sunk my credit, which had risen from the approbation I had gained for opposing that which enacted the taking the oaths." The feeling in favour of the act, then, we see was not, as he has just told us it was, universal. Indeed, it is certain that this was far from being the case.

The chief object of the comprehension bill was to admit presbyterian ministers into the church without compelling them to acknowledge the invalidity of their former ordination; and it also proposed to allow certain ceremonial forms in the public worship to be observed or omitted at discretion. The hostility to the dissenters, which found little that it could conveniently fasten upon in the simplicity of the toleration bill, took advantage of the greater vagueness of the principle of this measure, and the difficulty of applying it uniformly and consistently, to urge all sorts of objections; while at the same time its progress appears to have been further embarrassed by some counter-projects proceeding from real or professing friends of the objects it had in view. Among other things it was proposed that a body of persons, partly clergymen, partly laymen, should be commissioned to prepare a general scheme for the reformation of the church, which might be afterwards offered for the approval of the king and parliament. Burnet takes to himself the credit of having caused the failure of this proposition. "This," he says, "was pressed with great earnestness by many of the temporal lords. I at that time did [not?] imagine that the clergy would have come into such a design with zeal and unanimity; and I feared this would be looked on by them as taking the matter out of their hands; and for that reason I argued so warmly against this, that it was carried by a small majority to let it fall." "But," he goes on, "I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong measures; and that the method proposed by these lords was the only one likely to prove effectual." Whatever credit he gained with the clergy, too, for the course he took as to this matter was insufficient to balance the censure he incurred by moving, when they came to the clause of the bill relating to subscription to the articles, that the subscribing party should be held to bind himself, not to *assent* and *consent*, but only to *submit* with a promise of conformity. He further supported with great zeal a proviso for allowing kneeling at the sacrament and the use of

* 1 W. and M. c. 18.

the sign of the cross in baptism to be dispensed with in the cases of such persons as, after being conferred with on the subject should solemnly protest that they were not satisfied as to the lawfulness of these forms. This was carried, though not without vehement opposition to the proposed relaxation in regard to kneeling, which, it was maintained, constituted the chief objection the dissenters had to taking the sacrament according to the mode required by law, and the abrogation of which would therefore make a nullity of the great bulwark of church and state, the test act itself. Burnet concludes his account as follows:—"Those who had moved for this bill, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part; for, while they studied to recommend themselves by this show of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it; and such as were very sincerely and cordially for it were represented as the enemies of the church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill was sent down to the House of Commons it was let lie on the table; and, instead of proceeding in it, they made an address to the king for summoning a convocation of the clergy to attend, according to custom, on the session of parliament. The party that was now beginning to be formed against the government pretended great zeal for the church, and declared their apprehensions that it was in danger; which was imputed by many to the Earl of Nottingham's management. These, as they went heavily into the toleration, so they were much offended with the bill of comprehension, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with. Nor was this bill supported by those who seemed most favourable to the dissenters: they set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a *strong* faction both in church and state; and they thought it was not agreeable to that to suffer so great a body as the presbyterians to be made more easy, or more inclinable to unite with the church. They also thought that the toleration would be best maintained when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it. So that, this good design being zealously opposed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground."

But before the project of church reform was altogether dropped, a trial was made of what could be effected by means of a convocation. The address to the king, praying him to summon that body, was not from the Commons alone, as Burnet seems to state, but from both Houses, and was presented on the 19th of April. The convocation, it may be observed, though regularly assembled with every parliament since the Restoration, had done no business since the year 1662; so that the members were detained in town at considerable expense during the session merely to go through the parade duty of reading the church service in Latin. The clerical legislature had been kept thus tame and quiet, in part by the general spirit of subserviency to the crown which had taken possession of the church, but chiefly through the subjection to which the convocation had been reduced by an act of parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., absolutely prohibiting it from either assembling except by authority of the king's writ, or attempting to enact any canons, constitutions, or ordinances, without the royal assent and license.* The king, too, as head of the church, was admitted to have, or at least had, ever since the Reformation, exercised the power of proroguing, or adjourning, and dissolving the convocation, as well as of summoning it; so that the entire regulation of its proceedings was really in the hands of the crown, especially since the clergy had given up the right of taxing themselves, which they had done ever since the year 1665.† All this considered, the prudence of reviving the parliament of priests at the present crisis might have been reasonably doubted. In compliance with the address of the Lords and Commons, however, the king's writ was issued for a convocation to meet during the next session of parliament. This announcement immediately set in action all the latent discontent with the course affairs were taking which was so generally diffused among the clergy, and inflamed to fury the various passions to which the late change had given birth. Burnet asserts, and probably with truth, that the Jacobites, or friends of the deposed king, took advantage of the occasion to fill men's minds with all sorts of false rumours and unfounded fears. "It was said," he writes, "the church was to be pulled down, and presbytery was to be set up; that all this now in debate was only intended to divide and distract the church, and to render it by that means both weaker and more ridiculous, while it went off from its former grounds in offering such concessions. The universities took fire upon this, and began to declare against it, and against all that promoted it, as men that intended to undermine the church; severe reflexions were cast on the king, as being in an interest contrary to the church,—for the church was the word given out by the Jacobite party, under which they thought they might more

* Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

† "It was first settled by a verbal agreement between Archbishop Sheldon and the lord chancellor Clarendon, and tacitly given into by the clergy in general, as a great ease to them in taxations. The first public act of any kind relating to it was an act of parliament in 1665, by which the clergy were, in common with the laity, charged with the tax given in that act, and were discharged from the payment of the subsidies they had granted before in convocation; but in this act of parliament of 1665 there is an express saving of the right of the clergy to tax themselves in convocation if they think fit; but that has been never done since, nor attempted as I know of, and the clergy have been constantly from that time charged with the laity in all public aids to the crown by the House of Commons."—*Note by Mr. Speaker Onslow on Burnet, O.T.* ii. 281. Onslow adds, that in consequence of this, but from what period he cannot say, the clergy have assumed and been allowed to exercise the privilege of voting for members of parliament in virtue of their ecclesiastical freeholds,—a privilege which several acts of parliament have acknowledged to be a right, although it certainly began without any particular law. Gibson, Bishop of London, told Onslow that he conceived this to be the greatest alteration in the constitution ever made without an express law; and if his lordship meant to refer to the abandonment of the right of self-taxation by the clergy, as well as to their acquisition of the right of voting at elections, which they got as a compensation for the other, he was perhaps right. The House of Commons itself, which the crown enjoys the same right of convening, proroguing, and dissolving, might now have been reduced to as mere a formal nonentity as the convocation, if it had ever relinquished its hold of the strings of the public purse.

safely shelter themselves. Great canvassings were everywhere in the elections of convocation-men, a thing not known in former times. So that it was soon very visible that we were not in a temper cool or calm enough to encourage the further prosecuting such a design."* In the mean time, however, with the view of getting in readiness the propositions to be laid before the convocation, royal letters had been directed to ten bishops and twenty dignified clergymen, commissioning them to meet and prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such plans for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, as might in their judgments be best suited to the exigencies of the time and to the correction of existing deficiencies and abuses. Great care, according to Burnet, was taken to name the commissioners so impartially that no exceptions could lie against any of them. Among them were all the bishops except the six under suspension, and Barlowe of Lincoln, Beaw of Llandaff, Watson of St. David's, Crew of Durham, Croft of Hereford, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, and Hall of Oxford, all of whom were either old and in infirm health, or notoriously disaffected although they had taken the oaths to the present government—some objectionable on both these grounds.† The list also comprised Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Kidder, Hall, Tenison, Fowler, and Grove, all of whom were raised to the bench within the next two years. The commissioners had many meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber, and occupied themselves with the business intrusted to them very diligently for some weeks. "They had before them," Burnet tells us, "all the exceptions that either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the church service: they had also many propositions and advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our bishops and divines upon those heads: matters were well considered and freely and calmly debated: and all was digested into an entire correction of everything that seemed liable to any just objection."‡ He adds, however, that they had some very rigid as well as very learned men among them, though the most rigid either never came to their meetings or very soon withdrew, declaring themselves dissatisfied with all that was doing, and some openly avowing that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought too much had been already done for the dissenters by the Toleration Act, and would do nothing still farther to level the old distinctions between the church and her enemies. At the head of these very rigid men is said to have been Dr. William Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; the others were Mew, Bishop of Winchester; Sprat, Bishop of Rochester; Dr. Henry Aldridge, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Dr. Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; Dr. John Mountague, Master of Trinity College in that University; Dr. John Goodman, Archdeacon of Middlesex; Dr. William Beveridge, Archdeacon of Colchester; and Dr. Charles Alston, Archdeacon of Essex. Jane, Aldridge, Mew, and Sprat withdrew after the first meeting, under pretence of being afraid of incurring a premunire by acting under the royal letters, which they contended erected a court equally illegal with the court of ecclesiastical commission revived by the late king, of which, by the by, Sprat himself had been a member. The rest, however, proceeded with their work, and, if we may trust to the account given by a learned dissenting divine, who had, he tells us, obtained a copy of the alterations drawn up by them, "very unanimously, and without any heats."* They agreed, it seems, among other things, that the chanting in cathedrals should be laid aside—that the Apocryphal lessons, and those from the Old Testament "which are too *natural*," should be thrown out,—that the legendary saints' days should be omitted in the calendar,—that the use of the cross in baptism should be recommended in a new rubric, but not made imperative,—that to those who wished it the communion should be administered without kneeling,—that the word *remission* should be removed from the form of absolution, "as not very intelligible,"—that for all titles and epithets applied to the king or queen in the public prayers should be substituted simply the word *sovereign*,—that a few obsolete or otherwise objectionable terms in the other prayers should be changed,—that the use of the surplice in each particular case should be left to be regulated by the discretion of the bishop, having a regard to the desire of the people,—that those who preferred having their children baptised without godfathers and godmothers should be allowed to present them in their own names,—and that, as to the Athanasian Creed, "lest the wholly rejecting it should, by unreasonable persons, be imputed to them as Socinianism," a rubric should be made setting forth that the curses therein denounced were not to be held as applying to each particular article, but were intended only against such as denied the substance of the Christian religion in general.†

* Own Time, ii. 33.

† The sees of Chichester, Worcester, and Bristol were vacant when the commission was issued.

‡ In an account of the proceedings of the commissioners which he gives in a Triennial Visitation Charge delivered and published in 1704, Burnet says that they had the use of a great collection of the books and papers in which the dissenters had at different times set forth their demands, and of the propositions that had been made for the purpose of satisfying them, which belonged to the most learned Bishop of Worcester (Stillingfleet).

* Dr. Edmund Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's History of his Own Time.

† The account given by an eminent clergyman of the establishment, Dr. William Nichols, in his Defence of the Church of England, somewhat varies from that of Dr. Calamy, and contains also some additional particulars. Dr. Nichols asserts that it was left to the minister to use the Athanasian Creed, or to change it for the Apostles', as he chose. "New Collects," he adds, "were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole course of the year; and these were composed with that elegance and propriety of expression, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect the hearts of the hearers and elevate their minds toward God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick, who was reckoned to have great skill in liturgical composition. Bishop Burnet added to them yet farther force and spirit. Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his easy and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the Oriental tongues, made a new version of

Calamy gives it as his opinion that such alterations as these, with a qualified allowance of ordination by Presbyters, would in all probability have brought over two-thirds of the English dissenters to the established church.

But the labours of the commissioners were never so much as laid before the convocation. That body met on the 21st of November, when the Lower House immediately showed the temper in which it was, by the election of "the rigid" Dr. Jane as its prolocutor or president, and the rejection, by a great majority, of Dr. Tillotson, the person proposed by the moderate party for that office.* It is said that this vote was procured principally by the management of the two brothers, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, with a view to embarrass the government. When Jane was presented to Compton, Bishop of London, who in the absence of the primate sat as prolocutor of the Upper House, he delivered, as was customary, a long Latin speech, in which he extolled the Church of England, not only as standing above all other Christian communities, but as absolutely perfect, and requiring no amendment in anything; concluding, in triumphant defiance, with the celebrated expression of the unanimous barons in the time of the third Henry—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*—We will not that the laws of England be changed. Compton, to whom Jane had formerly been chaplain,† replied with good temper, telling the inferior clergy that they ought to preserve a moderation in such things as were not essential in religion, thereby opening a door of salvation to a multitude of straying Christians; and observing that it could not but be their duty to show the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under King William which some of the bishops had promised in their addresses to King James. This mildness, however, had no effect. At their next meeting Compton, perceiving that there was certain to be a majority against the wishes of the court, prorogued the convocation till the 4th of December, on the pretence that the royal commission, empowering them to proceed to business, had been found to be defective from not having the great seal, which it was therefore necessary to procure before anything more could be done. In the interval great exertions were made to bring over some of the stiffest of the leaders and their partisans in the Lower House, but with very little effect. When both Houses were met again in Henry the Seventh's Chapel on the appointed day, the Earl of Nottingham presented the commission properly sealed, and also a written message from his majesty, in which he declared that he had summoned the convocation not only because it was usual to do so upon the holding of a parliament, but out of a pious zeal to do everything that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which was so eminent a part of the Reformation, and therefore most signally deserved, and should always have, his favour and protection. His majesty, therefore, the message proceeded, did not doubt but that they would assist him in promoting the welfare of the church, so that no prejudices with which some men might have laboured to possess them should be suffered to disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the church of any benefit from their consultations. In answer to this message the bishops forming the Higher House readily and unanimously agreed upon an address, thanking his majesty for the grace and goodness he had expressed, and the zeal he had shown for the Protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular. "We look upon these marks of your majesty's care and favour," said the address, "as the continuance of the great deliverance Almighty God wrought for us by your means, in making you the blessed instrument of preserving us from falling under the cruelty of Popish tyranny." The Lower House at first stood up for the privilege of presenting a separate address of their own; and then, when they found they could not maintain that pretension, they fell to making amendments upon that drawn up by the bishops, their objections being especially directed to what was therein said about the Protestant religion in general, which they seemed to think tended to degrade the Church of England by classing it with the other churches calling themselves Protestant. A conference and various messages between the two Houses ensued; and at last this part of the address was modified so as to contain merely an acknowledgment of his majesty's zeal for the welfare of the Church of England; "whereby we doubt not," it was added, "the interest of the Protestant religion in all other Protestant churches, which is dear to us, will be the better secured." Burnet asserts that the Lower House "expressed a resolution not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations; so that they would take no notice of the second part of the king's message;" but, in fact, it was only in the address ultimately agreed upon by both Houses that that part of the message was expressly noticed. The address, which was presented on the 12th, assured King William that, in pursuance of the trust and confidence he had reposed in them, they would consider whatever should be offered to them from his majesty without prejudice and with all calmness and impartiality. His majesty returned a gracious answer, expressing all satisfaction with the ad-

the Psalms more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tenison made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the Liturgy which had been excepted to, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to objection." The use or omission of the cross in baptism, according to Nichols, was left to be determined by the convocation; as was also a proposition "that a nonconformist minister going over to the church should not be ordained according to the common form, but conditionally, much in the same manner as t e baptising of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient church when clerks were received who had been ordained by heretics."

* The Lower House of Convocation consists of all deans and archdeacons, one representative for every chapter, styled a proctor, and two proctors for the clergy of each diocese; making altogether 166 members.

† It is said that Jane, having been sent to the Prince of Orange by his university to make him an offer of their plate, conceived that he ought to have been rewarded with the bishopric of Exeter; and, upon that preferment being given to Trelawny, became a professed enemy to King William and the Revolution.

dress; but still it was evident that there was no chance of the Lower House being brought to another disposition. "There was at this time," says Burnet, "but a small number of bishops in the Upper House of convocation; and they had not their metropolitan with them, so they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the king to suffer the session to be discontinued." The convocation was accordingly again prorogued to the 24th of January, 1690, and on the 6th of February was, along with the parliament, dissolved; nor was it suffered to meet again for the transaction of business during the present reign. As Burnet phrases it, "they were kept from doing mischief" by a series of prorogations for a course of ten years.

And thus ended the project of a comprehension, or, in other words, of a remodelling of the established church, as entertained at the Revolution, being the last attempt of the kind that has been made. No concession for the purpose of satisfying the dissenters, no change of any kind in liturgy or canons, in doctrine or discipline, was wrung from the church at this crisis. Burnet was originally a zealous advocate for the proposed alterations; but he lived to feel and to acknowledge that it was fortunate the scheme had not succeeded. "There was," he remarks in his History, "a very happy direction of the providence of God observed in this matter. The Jacobite clergy who were then under suspension were designing to make a schism in the church, whensoever they should be turned out and their places should be filled up by others. They saw it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and personal account; they therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences; and, if we had made alterations in the Rubric and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have pretended that they still stuck to the ancient Church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it and setting up new models. And, as I do firmly believe that there is a wise providence that watches upon human affairs, and directs them, chiefly those that relate to religion, so I have with great pleasure observed this in many instances relating to the Revolution; and upon this occasion I could not but see that the Jacobites among us, who wished and hoped that we should have made those alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for serving their ends, were the instruments of raising such a clamour against them as prevented their being made; for, by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a majority in the convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good."

What perhaps more than anything else operated to excite among the English clergy, and throughout the nation, a distrust of William's attachment to the established church, was the course which he found it necessary to allow ecclesiastical affairs to take in Scotland. In that kingdom the Revolution of 1688 threw the church to the ground at the first shock. The bishops had indeed precipitated themselves upon the advancing tide of change, before it came up to them, with a most singularly unseasonable expression of their loyalty and devotion to the doomed system that was just about to break up and come tumbling down upon their heads. On the 3rd of November, only two days before the landing of the Prince of Orange, and after all public demonstrations of attachment to James had ceased in England, they drew up and sent off to London an address, in which—after telling him that they prostrated themselves in devout adoration to God for his goodness in having stilled the madness of unreasonable men, and peaceably seated his majesty, as the darling of heaven, upon the throne of his royal ancestors,—"whose long, illustrious, and unparalleled line," said the right reverend adulators, "is the greatest glory of this your ancient kingdom"—they went on to express the amazement with which they had heard of the apprehended invasion from Holland, and concluded by stating their confidence that the same God who had already so often preserved and delivered his majesty would do so again now, by giving him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies. But in these sentiments the poor bishops stood almost alone in the midst of the people over whom they had been set up as lights and guides; at least the wishes and hopes of the vast majority of the nation set strongly in the opposite direction. Upon the last day of this month, while all things were still in suspense, the general feeling against the established church was, quietly enough, but only therefore the more emphatically, indicated, by the public burning at Glasgow of the effigies of the pope and the two Scottish archbishops. The Earl of Loudon and other students of the university were the directors of the ceremony; and it was performed without opposition from either the inhabitants or the authorities.* A few weeks later, when the game was more evidently up with the old government, the same spirit expressed itself in a more determined fashion. The last act of the Scottish privy council was the issuing of a proclamation, on the 24th of December, calling upon all his majesty's Protestant subjects to put themselves in their best posture of defence for the protection of the Protestant religion, and of their own lives, liberties, and properties, and appointing commanders, and times and places of rendezvous for the heritors of each shire, "armed and provided according to their conditions and qualities." By this time the government, although several of its chief members were Catholics, had deemed it prudent to profess a most edifying dread and horror of popery; indeed, so early as the 4th of the present month they had issued a proclamation ordering the houses of Papists to be searched, and all arms and ammunition that should be found therein to be seized. But all this had no effect in allaying the popular fury

* Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, iv. 472 (Edit. of Glasgow, 1830). Wodrow adds, "And the (since) famous Mr. Toland, at this time a student there, assisted at that solemnity."

against Episcopacy, which indeed (and no wonder, considering the atrocities of the last two reigns) had become as hateful to the mass of the nation as Popery itself. The last proclamation of the government was not yet dispersed when, not the heritors (or landed proprietors having above a certain rental), but the general population of several of the southern counties, were up in arms, to the number of six thousand men. They had collected at first on a rumour of an invasion of Papists from Ireland, whom they proceeded to face in a united body; but when this imaginary foreign enemy could nowhere be discovered they were not long in finding other employment that suited them quite as well. It was Christmas Day, and, dividing themselves into many small parties, they proceeded to the different parish churches, and, seizing the officiating ministers in their pulpits or at the altar, carried them in triumphant procession through their parishes, and then, stripping them of their canonical attire, drove them forth with derision and violence if they attempted a vain resistance, or permitted them to depart in peace on their solemn promise never to return. It is asserted that two hundred clergymen were thus summarily ejected in this part of the country; and that within a few weeks the same sweeping process had been extended over all the rest of Scotland.* In this way the people themselves had in fact abolished Episcopacy before either the legislature had pronounced any decision on the question or King William had even mounted the throne. After James had fled from London the leaders of both the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians hastened to the English capital to endeavour to secure the support of the new sovereign. The Dean of Glasgow was sent up by the Episcopal party, and directed by them to apply to Burnet, who introduced him to the Prince of Orange. To the dean's request to know what were his intentions with regard to him and his friends his highness "answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians; but this was in case they concurred in the new settlement of the kingdom, for if they opposed that, and if, by a great majority in parliament, resolutions should be taken against them, the king could not make a war for them; but yet he would do all that was in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions." "This," adds Burnet, "he ordered me likewise to write back, in answer to what some bishops and others had writ to me upon that subject. But the Earl of Dundee, when he went down, possessed them with such an opinion of another speedy revolution that would be brought about in favour of King James, that they resolved to adhere firmly to his interests. So, they declaring in a body with so much zeal in opposition to the new settlement, it was not possible for the king to preserve that government there, all those who expressed their zeal for him being equally zealous against that order." In truth, the course thus taken by the Episcopal party made the case an extremely simple one: they made their contest with the Presbyterians a contest on the principle of the Revolution itself; and, if the Revolution succeeded, it was clear that they and their church must go to the wall. In the public proceedings that took place at London the question between the two parties was apparently kept in abeyance; but in reality an important advantage was gained for the Presbyterians, which is attributed to the artful management of Sir John Dalrymple, the president of the meeting of Scotch noblemen and gentlemen in the Council Chamber at Whitehall on the 9th of January, at which was drawn up and agreed upon the address, or advice, to the Prince of Orange, requesting him to take upon himself the administration of affairs in Scotland, and to call a convention or general meeting of the states of that kingdom, to be holden on the 14th of March following. As William, in the short speech which he addressed to them when he first called them into his presence two days before, had simply desired their advice as to what ought to be done for securing the *Protestant* religion and restoring the national laws and liberties, so the answer drawn up by Dalrymple, running in corresponding terms, proposed that the elections for the convention should be made by the whole number of the freeholders having the requisite amount of valued rent in counties, and the burgesses in burghs; and that both the electors and the members of the convention should simply "be Protestants, without any other exception or limitation whatsoever." By the adoption of this rule, the effect of the test which had been enacted in 1681, excluding from public employment all who would not recognise the royal supremacy and disavow the national covenant, was done away with, and the whole force of the popular sentiment, all but universally Presbyterian as that was, was admitted into the convention. Still the opposite party hoped to have a majority of the nobility, as well as all the bishops, on their side; and as, in the Scottish parliament, the peers and commons sat in the same house and voted together, the course the convention would take remained somewhat doubtful up to the day of its assembling. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who officiated at the opening of the convention, boldly prayed for the safety and restoration of King James; but the first vote, by which the Duke of Hamilton, put forward by the presbyterians, was elected president, by a majority of fifteen,* over the Marquess of Atholl, the nominee of the other party, was conclusive as to what would follow. When the house proceeded to appoint a committee for deciding disputed elections, a demand made by the bishops to exercise their customary right of naming their proportion of the committee by their own vote as a separate estate, instead of being mixed up with and swamped by the temporal peers, was disregarded without a vote. In the circumstances in which they found themselves, the Episcopal party, on pretence that

* History of Scotland, by Malcolm Laing, Esq., iv. 194.

* Laing, on the authority of the MS. Minutes of the Convention. Kennet says, "by near forty voices."—*Complete History*, iii. 535.

they were in personal danger from the populace of Edinburgh, and especially that a plot had been laid to assassinate their two leaders, Viscount Dundee and Sir George Mackenzie, now proposed to withdraw, and hold a separate convention at Stirling. But this design was not carried into effect; and after a few days they abandoned their legislative functions altogether, and left the Presbyterians to themselves, who now, secured from annoyance by the presence of a military force sent down by William, as well as supported and urged on by the national voice, proceeded to take their measures with as much unanimity as decision. In the answer, however, which they returned to a letter from King William on the 23rd of March, they only went the length of expressing their hope that they should "shortly, by the blessing of God, fall upon such resolutions as might be acceptable to his majesty, secure the *Protestant* religion, and establish the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom upon solid foundations, most agreeable to the general good and *inclinations of the people*."* Though somewhat cautiously expressed, however, this was sufficiently significant, and was no doubt perfectly well understood on all hands. On the 26th, when a committee was appointed for settling the government, the members were named in equal proportions from the nobility, the knights, and the burgesses, but the bishops were altogether left out. In the act brought in by this committee for settling the crown upon King William and Queen Mary, forming the Scottish Declaration of Rights, it was averred, among other things, "that prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is and hath been a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from Popery by presbyters); and therefore ought to be abolished."

This Act was passed on the 11th of April. On the 11th of May, when the crown was accordingly solemnly offered to and accepted by their majesties in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and the coronation oath was administered to them by the Earl of Argyll, the chief commissioner from the convention, who read the words slowly and distinctly, their majesties repeating them after him, William paused at a clause about the rooting out of heretics; nor does he appear to have been satisfied with the explanation by which the commissioners attempted to remove his scruples. "The commissioners," we are told, "by authority of the estates, represented to his majesty that the clause of the oath in relation to the rooting out of heretics did not import the destroying of heretics; and that by the law of Scotland no man was to be persecuted for his private opinion; and even obstinate and convicted heretics were only to be denounced rebels, and outlawed, whereby their moveable goods are confiscated. Hence his majesty, at the repeating that clause in the oath, did declare that he did not mean by these words that he was under any obligation to become a persecutor. To which the commissioners made answer, that neither the meaning of the oath nor the law of Scotland did import it. Then the king replied that he took the oath in that sense, and called the commissioners and others there present to be witnesses of his so doing."* It is evident that William did not quite agree with the commissioners in their notion that there was no persecution in merely visiting heretics with the pains of outlawry and rebellion.

The convention having been turned into a parliament by an Act to which the royal assent was given on the 5th of June, his majesty continued the presidency of the assembly in the Duke of Hamilton, as his commissioner. But now the members, though all calling themselves presbyterians, began to split into parties, and to quarrel both among themselves and with the king they had just set up. The retirement of the bishops and the other friends of episcopacy, instead of producing concord and unanimity, seemed to have only removed a pressure that tended to restrain the sectarian and divergent propensities of their adversaries and to keep them a compact and harmoniously acting body. They were now divided and arrayed into hostile knots and cabals, by diverse personal animosities and rivalries, as well as by opposition of principles. A contest for the office of secretary of state, which was in fact that of prime minister, between Sir James Montgomery and the Lord Melville, had been, previous to the meeting of the parliament, decided in favour of the latter, chiefly through the influence of the episcopalians, who dreaded the rigorous temper of Montgomery, and looked upon Melville, though a presbyterian, "as an easy man, who would have credit enough to restrain the fury of that party." But his appointment "proved," continues Burnet, "a very unhappy step; for, as he was by his principles bigoted to presbytery, and ready to sacrifice everything to their humours, so he proved to be in all respects a narrow-hearted man, who minded his own interest more than either that of the king or of his country." Melville, having thus obtained the premiership, had of course the nomination of the rest of the ministry; and he selected a set of persons whom Burnet characterises generally as "weak and

* King James had also sent a letter by an Englishman of the name of Crane, who was said to be a servant of his queen; it was delivered to the convention on the 16th, when Hamilton, the president, immediately announced that the Lord Leven had arrived express with another letter from King William. It was voted, after some debate, that King William's letter should be first read; but afterwards that from King James was also read. It promised pardon to all such as should return to their duty before the last day of March, and threatened that his majesty would punish, with the utmost rigour of his laws, all such as should stand out in rebellion against him or his authority. "This menacing letter," says Kennet, "was the more ungrateful, it being countersigned by the Earl of Melfort, a person odious to all the Presbyterians of Scotland, who made up the major part of the convention. So that, instead of serving the interest of King James, it rather provoked that assembly to be the more unanimous and forward in settling the government after the example of England. The messenger that brought the said letter was first secured, and then, as if not thought worth detaining, he was dismissed with a pass instead of an answer."—*Complete History*, iii. 536.

* Kennet, iii. 538.

passionate men." From this and other causes the parliament opened in much ill humour. Upon the great question of religion, the king, by Melville's advice, had sent down instructions to Hamilton to agree to establish that form of ecclesiatical government most agreeable to the people; but when they came to take up this subject, the ultra-presbyterian majority, feeling their strength and the advantages of their position, demanded not only the abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of presbytery, but also the repeal both of the royal supremacy and of the law of patronage. "And they asked," says Burnet, "so high an authority to their government, that Duke Hamilton, though of himself indifferent as to those matters, yet would not agree to them. He thought these broke in too much on their temporal concerns, and would establish a tyranny in presbytery that could not be easily borne. He writ to me very fully on that head, and I took the liberty to speak sometimes to the king on those subjects, my design being chiefly to shelter the Episcopal clergy, and to keep the change that was now to be made on such a foot that a door might still be kept open. But Lord Melville had possessed the king with a notion that it was necessary for his service that the presbyterians should know that I did not at all meddle in those matters, otherwise they would take up a jealousy of everything that was done; and that this might make them carry their demands much further. So I was shut out from all meddling in those matters; and yet I was then, and still continue to be, much loaded with this prejudice, that I did not study to hinder those changes that were then made in Scotland. And all the king's enemies in England continued still to charge him for the alterations then made in Scotland; though it was not possible, had he been ever so zealous for episcopacy, to have preserved it at that time; and I could do no more than I did, both for the order itself and for all those who adhered to it there." *

Nothing, indeed, it is clear, that the king could do, could possibly have preserved the Episcopal church as the national establishment in Scotland, unless he had taken the settlement of the question out of the hands of the parliament altogether, and, as was done by Charles II., attempted to maintain the authority of the bishops, against the fierce, determined hostility of the whole people, by the mere power of the sword. He failed even in the endeavours he made to resist the most extreme demands of the now all-powerful zealots of presbytery. At least, if they gave way to him in one or two mere points of phraseology, they yielded nothing that was essential either to persuasion or to force. On the 22nd of July they at length passed an act utterly abolishing prelacy, as a form of church government which was, and had been ever since the Reformation, a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people. Burnet says that these words were used, because "the king would not consent to a plain and simple condemnation of it." For the present also, it was only declared in general terms, that in lieu of Episcopacy their majesties, with the advice and consent of the estates of this parliament, would settle by law that church government in the kingdom which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people. And this was all that was done in the matter during the present session.

But when the parliament reassembled in April of the following year (1690), with Melville himself as lord high commissioner, the work was resumed and carried through in a style sufficiently direct and high-handed. On the 25th of April an act was passed ordaining that all the presbyterian ministers yet alive who had been thrust from their charges since the 1st of January, 1661, or banished for not conforming to prelacy and not complying with the courses of the time, should forthwith have free access to their churches, that they might presently exercise the ministry in their parishes without any new call thereto; "and to the effect," proceeded the act, "that these ministers may meet with no stop or hindrance in entering immediately to their charges, the present incumbents in such churches are hereby appointed, upon intimation hereof, to desist from their ministry in these parishes, and to remove themselves from the manses (parsonages) and glebes thereunto belonging, betwixt and Whit Sunday next to come (the 15th of May), that the presbyterian ministers formerly put out may enter peaceably thereto." By another act, passed on the 7th of June, the parliament ratified and established the Westminster Confession of Faith, as the public and avowed confession of the Scottish church; restored the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies; revived, renewed, and confirmed the statute of 1592, by which presbytery was originally established; rescinded, annulled, and made void all the acts passed before and since that statute in favour of episcopacy, and all other acts in so far as contrary or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or derogatory from, the Protestant religion or presbyterian government now established; and finally declared that the government of the church should be established in the hands of, and exercised solely by, those presbyterian ministers who had been restored by the late act, and such ministers or elders only as they had admitted or received, or should hereafter admit or receive. Of these old presbyterian ministers the entire number surviving was only sixty; and this small number of persons therefore had now the filling up of all the remaining livings in the church. "Some furious men," says Burnet, "who had gone into very frantic principles, and all those who had been secretly ordained in the presbyterian way, were presently taken in. This was like to prove a fatal error at their first setting out. The old men among them, what by reason of their age or their experience of former mistakes, were disposed to more moderate counsels; but the taking in such a

* Own Time, ii. 26.

number of violent men put it out of their power to pursue them; so these broke out into a most extravagant way of proceeding against such of the episcopal party as had escaped the rage of the former year. Accusations were raised against them: some were charged for their doctrine, as guilty of Arminianism; others were loaded with more scandalous imputations; but these were only thrown out to defame them. And, where they looked for proof, it was in a way more becoming inquisitors than judges. So apt are all parties, in their turns of power, to fall into those very excesses of which they did formerly make such tragical complaints."* The act, after appointing the first meeting of the general assembly of the church, as thus re-established, to be held at Edinburgh on the third Thursday of October ensuing, had further declared all the churches from which the ministers had either fled or been removed, no matter how, previous to the 13th of April, 1689, or of which the incumbents had been deprived for not giving obedience to the proclamation of the estates on that day, appointing public prayers for King William and Queen Mary, to be vacant; and had authorised the presbyterian ministers exercising their ministry within any of these parishes by desire or consent of the people to continue their possession, and to enjoy the benefices and stipends for the last year and for all time coming, until the church should take further course therewith. And finally, to ensure the thoroughness of the purification, the general assembly, thus set up and thus composed, was empowered, either by itself or by such visitors as it should appoint, according to the custom and practice of presbyterian government, throughout the whole kingdom and the several parts thereof, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censures, and likewise to redress all other disorders in the church; and it was declared that whatsoever minister, being called before the assembly or the visitors, should either be found guilty or prove contumacious by not appearing, and should be therefore adjudged to be punished, whether by suspension or deposition, should *ipso facto* be suspended or deposed accordingly.

One impediment, however, still required to be removed to allow the free operation of these drastic remedies, and in order that the restored liberties of "the true kirk" might be complete. Lay patronage, abolished in 1649, had been revived after the Restoration, and was at this moment the law of the land—as, indeed, it always had been, with the exception only of the interval from 1649 to 1661; for even the act of 1592, by which presbytery first obtained a legal establishment, had bound and astricted the church, in collating to vacant benefices, to receive and admit any qualified clerk presented by his majesty or other lay patron.† The church, however, had always contended against this right of presentation in the crown and the other patrons of livings, as an oppressive grievance; and, in later times more especially, it had become more hateful than ever to all zealous presbyterians, as a badge or portion of that abhorred episcopacy, from the yoke of which the nation was now shaking itself free. The act of June 7th, 1690, accordingly, while reviving the act of 1592 in all its other provisions, expressly excepted "that part of it relating to patronages," which, it was declared, should be reserved for after consideration. We have explained in a former book what was the real nature of the system which took the place of lay patronage in 1649;* the act of parliament merely ordained, in general terms, that whosoever should, upon the suit and calling of the congregation, after due examination of his literature and conversation, be admitted by any presbytery to the exercise and function of the ministry in any parish, should thereby become entitled to the manse, glebe, and stipend, and left it to the next general assembly to determine, by some clear rule, the just and proper interests of congregations and presbyteries in providing of kirks with ministers—in other words, the shares which the congregation and the ecclesiastical court respectively were to have in the appointment; upon which the general assembly drew up a Directory, by which it was provided—first, that the congregation were to be of right entitled to hear and to make their choice from only such preachers as the presbytery should send to them; secondly, that, if they desired to hear any other, and the elders chose to make suit to the presbytery for that purpose, the presbytery should endeavour to procure them that satisfaction; thirdly, that the election should be made in the first instance by the session, and only submitted to the congregation for their approval; fourthly, that, if the majority of the congregation should dissent from the choice of the session, the matter should be submitted to the judgment of the presbytery, who should appoint a new election, unless they should find the dissent "to be grounded on causeless prejudices;" and fifthly, that, where the congregation should be "disaffected and malignant," in that case the presbytery should provide them with a minister. It is evident that under this system the appointment of ministers was in the hands of the presbyteries or church-courts much more than in those of the people; and yet this is undoubtedly the nearest approach that was ever made to the popular election of the clergy in the practice of the Scottish church. It was the system which the clergy, and probably the majority of the people also, would have been best pleased to see restored along with the rest of the old presbyterian establishment at the Revolution. One of the demands in a petition which was drawn up for presentation to the Prince of Orange soon after his landing was, "that the laical patronages be discharged, as was done in the parliament, 1649, and the people restored to their right and privilege of

* Own Time, ii. 64.

† See vol. iii. p. 444.

* See vol. iii. p. 490.

election, according to the warrant of God's word." * There was found to be somewhat greater difficulty, however, in arranging this matter than in effecting any of the other restorations called for by the popular voice. The revival of the practice introduced in 1649, however agreeable it might have proved to the church, and to the mass of the population, which was at the moment identified in feeling with the church, would undoubtedly have been opposed both by the crown and by the generality of the noblemen and landed proprietors, the holders of advowsons or rights of patronage, whose influence in the parliament was of course very formidable. It appears, accordingly, that a bill for restoring the system of 1649, introduced by the Earl of Morton in concert with the presbyterian ministers, could not make its way through the House.† It is affirmed indeed that King William had specially instructed Lord Melville not to consent to any change in the law of patronage, or at least to any such change as should take the right out of the hands of the crown and the other lay-patrons. Burnet seems to think that both patronage and the royal supremacy might have been preserved if Melville had been very zealous in their defence. His lordship had assured the king that, without the settlement of presbytery, it would be impossible to carry anything, and therefore he had received full authority to agree to that; but patronage and the supremacy William declared he would not give up. "Yet," continues Burnet, "he found these so much insisted on, that he sent one to the king to Ireland for further instructions in those points: they were enlarged, but in such general words that the king did not understand that his instructions could warrant what Lord Melville did, for he gave them both up. And the king was so offended with him for it, that he lost all the credit he had with him; though the king did not think fit to disown him, or to call him to an account for going beyond his instructions." ‡ The Act abolishing patronage was passed on the 19th of July. It gave the right of selecting the candidate in the first instance, which seems to have been regarded as nearly equivalent to the right of actual appointment, or at least as the most important part of that right, not, as in 1649, to the elders, but to the elders conjointly with the heritors; which term, though now used for landholders in general, then signified the landed proprietors having a certain amount of valued rent. The person thus selected by the heritors and elders was then to be proposed to the congregation, who might indeed disapprove of him, but their dissent did not necessarily involve his rejection; the matter was to be finally submitted to the presbytery, who, if they thought the reasons alleged against his settlement insufficient, might proceed to induct him into the benefice in the face of the opposition of the people. This new system then was distinguished from that of 1649 chiefly by the share in the appointment of ministers which it allowed to the superior landed proprietors, in the number of whom were of course to be found all the ancient patrons, or holders of advowsons, whose rights of presentation were now taken from them. And the act also gave these persons a direct compensation for the rights of which it deprived them; first, by conferring on the patron all the tithes of the parish to which no one else could show an heritable title; and secondly, by providing that there should be paid to him a sum of 600 marks, (about 33*l.* sterling) by the heritors, on his renouncing his right in their favour. It does not appear however that the acquisition of the right of appointing their own clergyman by the parish, in so far as such right was conferred by the new act, was made dependent upon the payment of this money, which indeed it has been doubted if the act made it compulsory upon the patron to accept. It is certain that in point of fact patronage was abolished, and popular election substituted in its stead, as soon as this law was passed; and yet it appears that in the space of more than twenty years, during which it subsisted, only four parishes in all Scotland obtained renunciations from their patrons by the payment of the 600 marks. It is somewhat difficult therefore to understand what might be the precise meaning or purpose of this provision. We are not aware that such an interpretation has ever been suggested; but perhaps the payment of the money compensation to the patron was intended to purchase the transfer of his rights only in so far as the heritors were concerned, the power of nomination in the elders, considered as representing the congregation, being held to be complete without any such payment. However, the voting of the heritors, or landholders, it must be confessed, does not appear to have been confined to the four parishes that purchased renunciations; it seems, on the contrary, to have been as general as that of the elders; and indeed the accounts we have of the practical operation of the system imply that all the heads of families were usually allowed to vote along with the heritors and elders, so loosely or liberally was the law understood and acted upon.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, a large proportion of the benefices from which episcopalian clergymen had been ejected at the Revolution were filled up, in the first instance, without the observance of any particular form of election or appointment, under the clause of the act restoring presbytery, which directed that the presbyterian ministers who had taken their places by desire or consent of the parish should continue in possession till the church should further determine. By the same act the church, considered as consisting of these presbyterian ministers, and such others as survived of those who had been deprived in 1661, was armed with absolute authority over all the other benefices in the kingdom, in so far at least as respected the ejection of the existing incumbents,

* See the paper in Wodrow, iv. 477-481. The historian is not sure that it was actually sent to the prince; but it was, he says, drawn up by ministers and gentlemen who had suffered in the preceding time of persecution, and thousands were ready to sign it.

† Report from Committee of House of Commons on Church Patronage, Scotland, 1834, p. 361.

‡ Own Time, ii. 62.

the places of as many of whom as were thereupon turned out would of course be filled up according to the provisions of the other act abolishing patronage, shortly after passed. It is rather surprising that so rough a winnowing should have left in their livings so many of the old prelatical clergy as we are told were suffered to remain; it is said that about three hundred of them retained their churches out of a body not numbering quite a thousand in all. It will be remembered, that, where they had not run away or been driven out by violence on the first rising of the people against them, the act re-establishing presbytery only subjected them to suspension or deposition on being found insufficient, negligent, scandalous, or erroneous; if none of these charges could be made out against them, they could not be legally deprived, provided they were willing to comply with the new order of things. This large number of the former clergy that were received into the new church is sometimes quoted as a proof of the tolerance and lenity of the presbyterian ministers who were commissioned "to try and purge out" all unworthy incumbents; and sometimes regret is expressed that they gave too much way to this temper; but the dispositions in question, whether virtues or the reverse, are certainly not to be lightly attributed to the followers of Calvin and Knox. The complete extermination of the old clergy was probably deemed impracticable or inexpedient, for one thing, on account of the want there must have been at first of a sufficient number of presbyterian preachers to supply their place. But in all fairness it ought also to be admitted that the circumstance of so many of the episcopalian ministers passing unscathed through the searching inquisition that was now instituted by their enemies into their lives and qualifications, furnishes a strong presumption that they were not so generally either incompetent or unpopular as it has been usual to represent them. And it is also to be presumed, that the most conscientious and deserving among them were not in the number of the three hundred or thereby, who complied with presbyterianism in order to retain their livings.

Very various and opposite accounts are given by different authorities of the working both of the new mode of appointing ministers to parishes, and of the re-established presbyterian system generally. If we may believe Burnet, who had certainly no strong prejudices against presbyterianism, the conduct of the clergy in their church courts very soon disgusted both the king, who had been the means of restoring them to power, and even the people of Scotland themselves. The Jacobites, indeed, he tells us, did their best to make a breach between them and his majesty, or to cool their affections for one another. In the spring of 1691, after the king's return from Ireland, many of those who had at first opposed the Revolution, and even entered into plots against the government, came up to London, and, confessing everything, took out their pardon. "They excused themselves," says Burnet, "as apprehending that they were exposed to ruin; and that they dreaded the tyranny of presbytery no less than they did popery; and they promised that if the king would so balance matters that the Lord Melville and his party should not have it in their power to ruin them and their friends, and in particular that they should not turn out the ministers of the episcopal persuasion who were yet in office, nor force presbyterians on them, they would engage in the king's interest faithfully and with zeal. They only desired that episcopal ministers might continue to serve in those places that liked them best; and that no man should be brought into trouble for his opinion as to the government of the church; and that such episcopal men as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories should be admitted, without any severe imposition in point of opinion." All this seemed to William very fair and reasonable; and Burnet states that he himself, believing the professions that were made to be sincere, endeavoured to promote what was proposed with all his influence. But it was soon found that the object of the Jacobites was merely to separate the king from the presbyterians, who were his only real friends in Scotland, and that they were in fact intriguing and plotting for the overthrow of the government, and entering into a close correspondence with St. Germains, at the very time when they were coming forward with these overtures of submission, and even actually taking the oaths to the new settlement. Had it not been for this conduct of the Jacobites, Burnet seems to think that the zealots of presbytery, left to themselves, would probably soon have done their own business;—that the kirk only required to be allowed rope enough to run itself over a precipice. "The truth was," he says, "the presbyterians, by their violence and other foolish practices, were rendering themselves both odious and contemptible: they had formed a general assembly in the end of the former year, in which they did very much expose themselves by the weakness and peevishness of their conduct: little learning or prudence appeared among them; poor preaching and wretched haranguing; partialities to one another, and violence and injustice to those who differed from them, showed themselves in all their meetings. And these did so much sink their reputation, that they were weaning the nation most effectually from all fondness to their government; but the falsehood of many who, under a pretence of moderating matters, were really undermining the king's government, helped in the sequel to preserve the presbyterians, as much as their own conduct did now alienate the king from them."*

Such were the opposite effects of the Revolution upon the national church in the two ends of the island;—in England consolidating and confirming the established episcopacy—in Scotland sweeping it utterly away, and in its place re-erecting the old abolished edifice of presbytery on broader and deeper foundations than ever. In both kingdoms, however, the Revolution, regarded in reference to

* Own Time, ii. 75.

this matter, was alike the completion of the Reformation, or at least the accomplishment of the first aim of that great movement—the attainment of the first stage to which it sought to elevate the national condition, namely, the acquisition and secure establishment of a national church in harmony with the national faith. Tried by this test, what episcopacy was to England presbytery was to Scotland—the ecclesiastical system to which the people had been attached ever since they had become Protestants, partly perhaps through some peculiarities in their character or circumstances, at any rate by the strong associations arising out of the fact that it was the system in connexion with which what they deemed the light of religious truth had been first set up among them. Both in the Bill of Right, and in the acts subsequently passed abolishing prelacy and restoring the presbyterian government, the Scottish parliament put the expediency of that proceeding on the ground of the nation, as it is expressed, "having reformed from popery by presbyters." And to this its accordance in both countries with the general sentiment is no doubt to be attributed the continuance of the settlement of religion made at the Revolution down to our own day, without alteration in any essential respect.

The position in which the Revolution placed the generality of the Protestant Dissenters has been explained in the account given in a preceding page of the Toleration Act, which was the only measure passed in their favour—for the Corporation and Test Acts, which excluded them from public employments, were still left upon the statute-book. But even the limited relief granted by the Toleration Act was not extended to the most numerous class of nonconformists—the Roman Catholics. Nay, so far was this portion of the population from participating in the removal or relaxation of old bonds which the Revolution brought with it to all other descriptions of religionists (unless, indeed, we are to except the Socinians or Anti-trinitarians, who were excluded along with the adherents of popery from the benefits of the act of toleration) that the penal laws affecting them were actually extended, and carried to a pitch of severity and wild oppression far transcending what they had ever before reached, in the boasted era of light and liberty which succeeded the expulsion of the Stuarts. Some hot spirits, we are informed by Burnet, were for having some new and more stringent laws enacted against the papists as soon as they had got King William fairly seated on the throne; and his majesty could only restrain their zeal by frightening them with the danger of exciting another European Catholic league against this country, and giving France the advantage of making the war a quarrel of religion, in which she would have all the powers of that faith assisting her, if such a course should be followed. "This was so carefully infused into many," says Burnet, "and so well understood by them, that the papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it." This, however, must be understood as true only of the first few years after the Revolution, when the passage was probably written. The national craving for more and more virulent laws against popery, which had with difficulty been kept down for a time, became, before the end of the reign of William, too ardent to be repressed either by fear of Catholic leagues or any other consideration of mere state policy. Indeed, the popular bigotry was now taken advantage of by the heartless politicians of both the great parties of the day, and the persecution of the Catholics which it yearned and clamoured for became the game at which they endeavoured to out-manœuvre and turn the tables upon each other in their contention for place and power. An act was passed in the year 1699 "For the further preventing the growth of popery," which, after a preamble complaining of the neglect of the due execution of the laws already in force, proceeded to deal with the matter in the following extraordinary fashion:—First, a reward of a hundred pounds was ordered to be paid to every person who should apprehend any popish bishop, priest, or jesuit, and prosecute him to conviction for saying mass, or exercising any other part of his office within these realms. Secondly, it was enacted that the priest so convicted should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. Thirdly, the keeping a school, or undertaking the education, government, or boarding of youth, by any papist, or person making profession of the popish religion, was made a crime to be visited on conviction by the same penalty. Fourthly, every person educated in the popish religion, or professing the same, who within six months after attaining the age of eighteen should not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass,—in other words, abjure his or her religion,—was disabled and made incapable of inheriting, or taking by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this realm, and the next of kin being a Protestant was authorised to take possession of and enjoy what the rightful owner, in consequence of being a Roman Catholic, was thus deprived of. Fifthly, all papists, or persons professing the popish religion, were disabled and made for the future incapable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, either in their own names or in those of any other persons. Sixthly, the penalty of a hundred pounds imposed by an act of James I. upon the offence of sending a child to be educated abroad in the Romish religion, was directed to be paid in whole to the informer, instead of half only to the informer and the other half to his majesty, as heretofore. And, seventhly, it was directed that if any popish parent should refuse to allow his or her Protestant child a fitting maintenance, suitable to the degree and

ability of the parent, and to the age and education of the child, then upon complaint thereof made to the lord chancellor his lordship should make such order in the case as should be agreeable to the intents of the present act.*

The history of this monstrous act of parliament, as detailed by Burnet, is exceedingly curious. The bill was originally brought in by the Tory or Jacobite opposition in the House of Commons, in the hope that the court would have opposed it, and thereby drawn upon itself the odium of favouring and protecting the papists. "But the court," continues Burnet, "promoted the bill: so, when the party saw their mistake they seemed willing to let the bill fall; and when that could not be done they clogged it with many severe and some unreasonable clauses, hoping that the Lords would not pass the act; and it was said that, if the Lords should make the least alteration in it, they in the House of Commons who had set it on were resolved to let it lie on their table when it should be sent back to them. Many lords who secretly favoured papists, on the Jacobite account, did for this very reason move for several alterations, some of these importing a greater severity; but the zeal against popery was such in that House that the bill passed without any amendment, and it had the royal assent."† "And thus," as Burke has strikingly put it, "this act, loaded with the double injustice of two parties, neither of whom intended to pass what they hoped the other would be persuaded to reject, went through the legislature, contrary to the real wish of all parts of it, and of all the parties that composed it. In this manner these insolent and profligate factions, as if they were playing with balls and counters, made a sport of the fortunes and the liberties of their fellow-creatures."‡ But the act had also many sincere friends and advocates, to some of whom it even seemed not to go far enough. Among these last was Burnet himself, notwithstanding what he calls his principles of toleration, and his being, as he tells us, against all persecution for conscience sake. It is plain that what such persons wanted was nothing less than the utter extermination of the Roman Catholics, or the driving every man of them out of the country; and, indeed, Burnet confesses that this was his object. "This act," he says, "hurt no man that was in the present possession of an estate; it only incapacitated his next heir to succeed to that estate if he continued a papist; so the danger of this, in case the act should be well looked to, would put those of that religion, who are men of conscience, on the selling their estates, and in the course of a few years might deliver us from having any papists left among us." But he complains that the act wanted several necessary clauses to enforce the due execution of it: "the word *next of kin* was very indefinite, and the *next of kin* was not *obliged* to claim the benefit of this act, nor did the right descend to the remoter heirs if the more immediate ones should not take the benefit of it." He affirms, indeed, that the new law was not followed nor executed in any sort; but this can scarcely have been the case, except perhaps in regard to the atrocious clause depriving papists of their inheritances, — preventing the son from succeeding to the estate left by his father,—which the bishop thought so lenient and harmless a regulation because it did not take the estate from the present possessor as well as from his heir, or make a beggar of the father as well as of the son. But means were found of making even this part of the law operative in course of time.* And at any rate, when an imitation of the English act was passed three years afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of Anne, by the parliament of Ireland, such "effectual clauses" were added as, the bishop admits, were sufficient to make its full force be felt in that country. By this Irish act it was provided that estates of papists should in all cases, notwithstanding any settlements made to the contrary, be equally divided among all the children, unless the persons on whom they were settled qualified themselves by taking the oath, and receiving the sacrament according to the forms of the established church; for by this act, too, the English sacramental test was for the first time imported into Ireland—having, it is said, been tacked to the original bill by the influence of the friends of the Catholics in the English cabinet, in the hope that the measure in this shape would be opposed by the numerous and powerful body of protestant dissenters in Ireland, and so defeated. "Yet upon this occasion," says Burnet, "the Irish parliament proceeded with great caution and wisdom: they reckoned that this act, so far as it related to papists, would have a certain and great effect for their common security, and that when it was once passed it would never be repealed; whereas, if great inconveniences did arise upon this new clause, it would be an easier thing to obtain a repeal of it in a subsequent parliament, either of England or Ireland. So the act was passed, and those who thought they had managed the matter with a master-piece of cunning were outwitted by an Irish parliament."† The deviation from the English law that was made in the main provision of the Irish act was thought, it seems, both to make the latter look less invidious, and also to be "more effectual for breaking the dependence on the heads of families"—by which must be meant, better fitted to promote the diabolical object of setting the children in Catholic families at variance with their parents. It had no doubt been found that the plan of altogether wresting their estates from the children of deceased Catholics, if they did not abjure the religion of

* Stat. 11 & 12 W. III. c. 4.
† Own Time, ii. 229.
‡ Speech at Bristol previous to the election in 1780.

* See instances quoted by Burke in his Speech at Bristol; and the account of the case of Roper in a note to Burnet (ii. 229), by Mr. Speaker Onslow, who remarks that, in consequence of the decision in that case, "all the papists now have their land estates in England upon a very precarious holding."
† Own Time, ii. 362.

their parents, was a little too revolting to the common feelings of mankind to be easily carried into execution—and probably, too, it was thought that in Ireland *the next of kin being a protestant* might in most cases be a personage somewhat hard to discover.

Nor did these severe acts terminate the long course of penal or otherwise oppressive legislation, in regard to persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, which the English government had pursued from the reign of Elizabeth. In 1713 Anne's last parliament deemed it necessary to strengthen and make more effectual certain old statutes disabling popish patrons from presenting to livings in the church;* and after the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the first parliament of George I. passed an act compelling all papists of the age of twenty-one years to register their names and estates, with the yearly rent thereof, in books to be kept by the clerk of the peace for every county. The preamble of this statute boasts of the tender regard that had been shown the papists for many years past, "by omitting to put in execution the many penal laws, which, on occasion of the many just provocations they have given, and horrid designs they have framed for the destruction of this kingdom and the extirpation of the Protestant religion, have been made against them," and asserts that they had enjoyed and did then enjoy the protection and benefit of the government, as well as the rest of his majesty's subjects. Yet, notwithstanding of this indulgent treatment, they had all, "or the greatest part of them," it is affirmed, been "concerned in stirring up and supporting the late unnatural rebellion;" among the objects of which is enumerated, not only "the destruction of the Protestant religion," but "the cruel murdering and massacring its professors"—"by which," says the invective, "they have brought a vast expense upon this nation." And the new regulation compelling them to register their estates is specially put upon the grounds that "it manifestly appears by their behaviour that they take themselves to be obliged, by the principles they profess, to be enemies to his majesty and to the present happy establishment, and watch for all opportunities of fomenting and stirring up new rebellions and disturbances within the kingdom, and of inviting foreigners to invade it; and for as much as it is highly reasonable that they should contribute a large share to all such extraordinary expenses as are or shall be brought upon this kingdom by their treachery and instigation." It would seem from this as if some intention had been entertained of taking advantage of the registration of their estates for the purpose of a separate taxation of the Roman Catholics. Nothing of this kind, however, was actually attempted; the hard words and angry menaces of the statute of 1715 were soon forgotten: during the remainder of the present period, if the penal laws against popery were not repealed or even mitigated, they were not extended or made more severe; even the next much more serious Jacobite outbreak of 1745 came and passed away without either setting the inventive powers of parliament to work to forge new fetters for the Roman Catholic part of the population, or so much as provoking another impassioned preamble.

The legislation affecting the other descriptions of dissenters, subsequent to the Toleration Act, did not amount to much. For the most part, however, it consisted in the removal, either wholly or in part, of old disabilities and restrictions, and in affording relief from inconveniences occasioned by conscientious scruples. Generally, this relaxation of the law seems to have been proceeded with as far and as fast as the state of public feeling would allow;—in some instances, indeed, the legislature rather outran the progress of opinion in favour of the principles of religious liberty. In 1701, immediately after the accession of Anne, the same zealous parliament which two sessions before had held out a similar bribe to the children of Catholics to desert the religion of their parents, passed an act authorising the lord chancellor to make such order as he should think fit against any Jew who should refuse to allow his protestant child a fitting maintenance, suitable to his own degree and quality, and to the age and education of the child. This law, we believe, still remains unrepealed.* We have noticed in the preceding chapter the act passed in 1753, for permitting persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalised without taking the sacrament;† and its repeal within a few months in obedience to the popular clamour, or, as it was expressed, because occasion had "been taken from the said act to raise discontents and to disquiet the minds of many of his majesty's subjects."‡ And, it might have been added, to put in jeopardy the seats of many honourable members; for the parliament was now in its last session, and the prospect of a general election no doubt sharpened the vision of the legislature to the inconveniences even of a good law which chanced to be for the moment unpopular. But in truth this was a very insignificant measure after all, in comparison with another enactment relating to the same subject which had passed very quietly more than a dozen years before, and which during all that while nobody had attempted to disturb. The act of 1753 was not a general Jew naturalisation act; it only provided that any individual Jew might be naturalised, upon application to parliament, without taking the sacrament. In each case a special naturalisation act was still necessary as before. And even with this relaxation the naturalisation of a Jew was to remain clogged with various limitations: the bill was always to contain a clause, in conformity with an act passed immediately after the accession of George I., declaring that the party should not thereby be enabled to be of the privy council or a member of either House of parlia-

* 12 Ann. Stat. 2, c. 14.

* 1 Anne, st. 1, c. 20. This law was passed on occasion of the daughter of a very wealthy Jew, who had embraced Christianity, having been turned out of doors by her father.

† 26 Geo. II. c. 26. ‡ 27 Geo. II. c. 1.

ment, or to take any office or place of trust, civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or any other person in trust for him;* no Jew was to be naturalised under this act who had not resided in Great Britain or Ireland for three years, without being absent more than three months at any one time, or who could not prove that he had professed the Jewish religion for three years before his naturalisation; and by another clause all Jews whatsoever were disabled from purchasing or inheriting any advowson or right of patronage in the church. But the chief misapprehension and delusion was that entertained as to the general object and effect of the act: it had no reference whatever (except in the restrictive clause just mentioned) to persons of the Jewish religion born in the country—such Jews were British subjects already, and required no naturalisation; it merely enabled foreign Jews to obtain bills of naturalisation without complying with an old act of the time of James I., which directed that all foreigners who should be naturalised should first receive the sacrament as well as take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.† Now, in 1740 an act had been passed, which in a certain sense might be styled a general act for the naturalisation of the Jews, for it provided that, without either taking the sacramant or repeating the words *upon the true faith of a Christian* in the oath of abjuration, all foreign-born Jews who should have lived seven years in any of his majesty's colonies in America, without having been absent for more than two months at any one time during the period, should "be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be his majesty's natural-born subjects of this kingdom, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if they and every of them, had been or were born within this kingdom."‡ By the same act, which granted naturalisation upon the same conditions of residence in one of the American colonies to all other foreigners as well as Jews, Quakers also were exempted from taking the sacrament in order to obtain that benefit: and they had already by various acts been allowed to substitute declarations and affirmations for the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and generally for all oaths in civil causes.§ Some years after this (in 1749) for removing certain doubts and scruples that had arisen, it was enacted that in all cases whatsoever in which by any act of parliament an oath then was, or ever should be, allowed, authorised, directed, or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers should be allowed or taken instead of such oath; provided, nevertheless, that no Quaker should "be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cases, or to serve on juries, or to bear any office or place of profit in the government."‖

As for the general body of protestant dissenters or non-conformists, the most important legislative measure affecting them, next to the Toleration Act, which the present period produced, was the Annual Indemnity Act, which was first passed in 1728, upon the accession of George II., and was repeated, we believe, every year from that date till the total repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts a century after. By the Indemnity Act persons appointed to offices and promotions for which they had omitted to qualify themselves by taking the sacrament within the time limited by the Test and Corporation Acts were allowed such an extension of the time for doing so as brought them within the protection of the next similar measure of relief; so that the mode of qualifications in question might be said to be in this way practically abolished for all who chose to escape from it, and only the stigma of a nominal exclusion from public employments remained in the case of the generality of the Protestant dissenters.

To this period belong the act against occasional conformity, passed in 1711, and that for preventing the growth of schism, passed in 1714; but, as both of these statutes, in all their material enactments, were repealed in 1718, it is unnecessary to add anything here to the account that has already been given of them in the preceding chapter.*

The history of the two established churches, subsequently to their settlement at the Revolution, also presents a few incidents which require to be shortly noticed.

As long as Queen Mary lived, William left the management of the affairs of the English church wholly in her hands. "He found," says Burnet, "he could not resist importunities, which were not only vexatious to him, but had drawn preferments from him which he came soon to see were ill bestowed: so he devolved that care upon the queen, which she managed with strict and religious prudence: she declared openly against the preferring of those who put in for themselves, and took care to inform herself particularly of the merits of such of the clergy as were not so much as known at court, nor using any methods to get themselves recommended: so that we had reason to hope, that, if this course should be long continued, it would produce a great change in the church and in the temper of the clergy." Her majesty's chief confidant and counsellor was Archbishop Tillotson, whose tolerant temper, however, and liberal principles did not tend to procure him much favour or influence among the clergy over whom he had been placed. "They complained," continues Burnet, "of everything that was done, if it was not in their own way; and the archbishop bore the blame of all. . . . He grew very uneasy in his great post: we were all soon convinced that there was a sort of clergymen among us that would never be satisfied as long as the toleration was continued; and they seemed resolved to give it out that the church was in danger, till a prosecu-

* 1 Geo. I. st. 2, c. 4. † 7 Jac. I. c. 2.
‡ 13 Geo. II. c. 7.
§ See, besides, the Act of Toleration (1 W. & M. c. 18, § 13), 7 & 8 W. III. c. 34; 1 Geo. I. c. 6; 8 Geo. I. c. 6; and 12 Geo. II. c. 13, § 8.
‖ 22 Geo. II. c. 46, § 36 & 37.

* See ante, pp. 147, 148, 183, 259, 296, 297, 350, 351.

tion of dissenters should be again set on foot; nor could they look at a man with patience, or speak of him with temper, who did not agree with them in these things."* In the end of the year 1694, first the archbishop and then the queen were suddenly cut off; on which the primacy was bestowed on Dr. Tenison, who presided over the church for the remainder of William's reign and for the whole of that of Queen Anne. Tenison seems to have owed both this his last and highest promotion and also his first considerable preferment in the church to his corporeal rather than his mental qualities; he had been recommended to Chancellor Nottingham by Tillotson, some years before the Revolution, to be placed in the ministry of St. Martin's, London, according to Lord Dartmouth, "as a strong-bodied man, therefore fit to take care of so large a parish;"† and now, when Tillotson died, Burnet tells us that, although Stillingfleet was admitted, from his learning and talent, to be the man best deserving the vacant post, all the Whigs "concurred to desire Tenison, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper, and was universally well liked for having served the cure of St. Martin's in the worst times with so much courage and discretion; so that at this time he had many friends and no enemies." Tenison was, however, a man of some professional learning, though of no shining talent; and his government of the church, during twenty years of considerable heat and contention, was, on the whole, moderate and judicious—evidencing a steady but nowise hard or ungentle bridle-hand, nor anything either of the over tenacity or the over activity which might have been looked for from one so distinguished for his robust constitution and other gifts of body. For, indeed, in the national clergy he had by no means the most peaceably disposed portion of the population under his special command or superintendence. The repeal of the penal statutes against protestant non-conformity produced a pause in the old battle with the dissenters for some years after the Revolution; but the unaccustomed tranquillity outside the establishment seemed only to have driven the spirit of strife inwards, or to have left the clergy, deprived of other adversaries, no means of expending their superfluous pugnacity except by getting up a war of factions among themselves. "The toleration of all the sects among us," Burnet writes, under the year 1700, "had made us live more quietly together of late than could be expected when severe laws were rigorously executed against dissenters. No tumults or disorders had been heard in any part of the kingdom, these eleven years, since that act passed: and yet the much greater part of the clergy studied to blow up this fire again, which seemed to be now, as it were, covered over with ashes."‡ And then, proceeding more particularly to describe the division which rent the clergy of the establishment into two hostile parties, he says, "All moderate divines were looked upon by some hot men with an ill eye, as persons who were cold and indifferent in the matters of the church: that which flowed from a gentleness, both of temper and principle, was represented as an inclination to favour dissenters, which passed among many for a more heinous thing than leaning to popery itself."* It was now, according to Burnet, that the names High Church and Low Church first began to be used; the latter appears to have been originally applied to their opponents as an epithet of disparagement by those who at the same time took the former to themselves as a title of honour. "Those men," continues Burnet, in the passage before us, "who began now to be called the High Church party had all along expressed a coldness, if not an opposition to the present settlement: soon after the Revolution some great preferments had been given among them, to try if it were possible to bring them to be hearty for the government; but, it appearing that they were soured with a leaven that had gone too deep to be wrought out, a stop was put to the courting them any more." Henceforth, as may be supposed, the hostility of the High Church party to the government, and, in as far as they durst show it, to all parts of the settlement in church and state made at the Revolution, and to the whole course of policy, domestic and foreign, that flowed from that settlement, or was entered upon and pursued with a view to maintaining it, became more decided than ever. Their opponents they affected to regard as at once usurpers of the patrimony of the church, and betrayers of her interests and her principles. In another passage, in the beginning of his account of the reign of Anne (which we have already had occasion to quote in the last chapter), Burnet explains the imputations they intended to convey by the nickname (for such it appears originally to have been) of the Low Church—"All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France, were represented as secret favourers of presbytery, and as ill-affected to the church, and were called Low Churchmen: it was said that they were in the church only while the law and preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. With these false and invidious characters did the high party endeavour to load all those who could not be brought into their measures and designs."† In fact, the Low Churchmen were the Whigs, the High Churchmen the Tories of ecclesiastical politics; and the two church parties kept up the same continual warfare and struggle for supremacy as the two state parties.

A chief complaint of the High Church party ever since the stoppage put to the proceedings of the convocation that met immediately after the Re-

* Own Time, ii. 118. † Note to Burnet, ii. 137.
‡ Own Time, ii. 247.

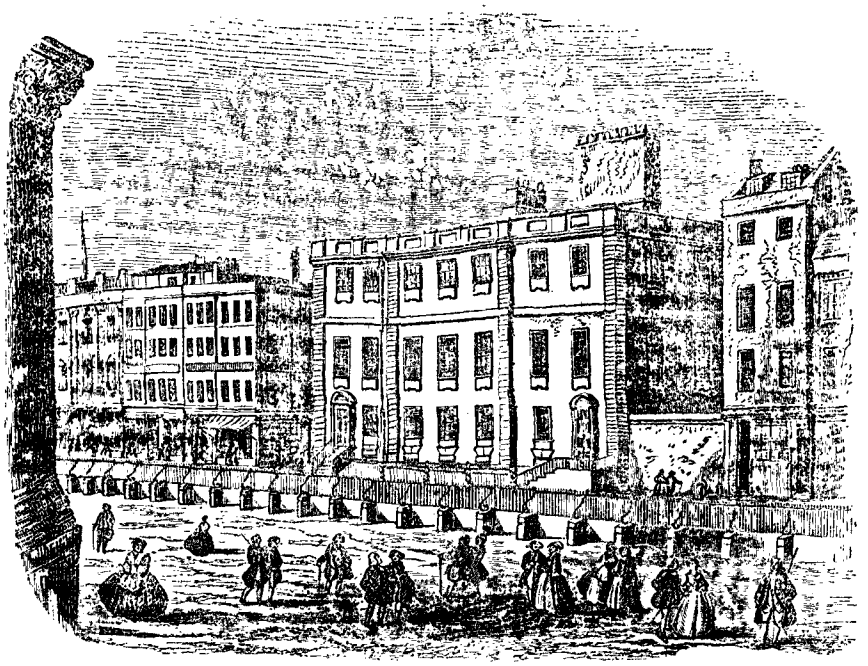
* Own Time, p. 249. † Id. p. 347.

volution, had been the state of suspended animation in which that body was held by being called together at the opening of every new session of parliament only to be adjourned before it could proceed to business. In their irritation and impatience some more fiery spirits had begun at last to show symptoms of a disposition to question the right of the crown thus to muzzle the church, or at least the legality of the process by which the convocation had been hitherto kept inefficient and silent,—its prorogation by the archbishop in his capacity of president of the Upper House. Several publications appeared about the year 1700 advancing such pretensions, the most remarkable of which was one by the celebrated Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester—"one Atterbury," as Burnet calls him, "who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him, but was both ambitious and virulent out of measure, and had a singular talent in asserting paradoxes with a great air of assurance, showing no shame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many instances; but he let all these pass without either confessing his errors or pretending to justify himself; he went on still venting new falsehoods in so barefaced a manner that he seemed to have outdone the Jesuits themselves."* We may gather from all this how greatly Burnet and his party felt annoyed by Atterbury's controversial powers and the unscrupulous use he made of them. One curious effect, we may remark, was produced by the new position into which the two church parties were now thrown; an effect, however, often exemplified in party warfare. Just as in the revolutions of state politics the Tories, when in opposition, have usually forgotten much of their natural love of prerogative, and the Whigs, when in power, a considerable portion of that jealousy of prerogative, which is equally the proper spirit of their principles and professions; so now, in the church, the Tories were become the questioners and deniers of that kingly authority which, in other circumstances, they had been wont to look up to as the very breath of their nostrils; and it was left to be asserted and defended by their opponents, the Low clergy, the representatives, as they might be considered, of the old puritans, who truly had never before distinguished themselves on that side of the question. Burnet perceives clearly enough that one party at least had shifted its ground: Atterbury, he observes, "attacked the supremacy of the crown with relation to ecclesiastical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our divines with great zeal; but now the hot men of the clergy did so readily entertain his notions, that in them it appeared that those who are the most earnest in the defence of certain points, when they seem to be for them, can very nimbly change their minds upon a change of circumstances." But the hot men, in truth, might as to this matter have retorted upon the cold men pretty much in the same style.

When King William, in the last year of his reign, threw himself into the hands of the Earl of Rochester and the Tories, one of the stipulations made by the new ministry was, that a convocation should have leave to sit. Atterbury's book was now republished, with important additions and corrections; and the controversy on the subject of it, maintained on the other side principally by Dr. Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was recommenced and carried on with increased eagerness and violence. Meanwhile, on the 10th of February, 1701, the same day on which the parliament was opened, the two Houses of Convocation met, as usual, in St. Paul's, where they first heard service in the cathedral, and then proceeded to the Chapter House. The Lower House chose for their prolocutor Dr. Hooper, Dean of Canterbury, whom Burnet allows to have been "a man of learning and good conduct hitherto;" but, he adds, "he was reserved, crafty, and ambitious; his deanery had not softened him, for he thought he deserved to be raised higher." The representatives of the parochial clergy then proceeded to follow up their election of Hooper by some very decided steps in assertion of the novel rights they had been lately taught to claim. According to Burnet, "the things the convocation pretended to were, first, that they had a right to sit whensoever the parliament sat; so that they could not be prorogued but when the two Houses were prorogued: next they advanced that they had no need of a license to enter upon debates, and to prepare matters, though it was confessed that the practice for an hundred years was against them; but they thought the convocation lay under no farther restraint than that the parliament was under; and as they [the parliament] could pass no act without the royal assent, so they confessed that they [the convocation] could not enact or publish a canon without the king's license."* In vindication of these pretensions, when, on the 25th of February, the third day of their meeting, the schedule, or order, signed by the archbishop, proroguing both Houses in the usual form, was brought down to the Lower House, then sitting in Henry VII.'s Chapel, they continued their session in defiance of it, and, after a short debate, adjourned themselves to the same day (the 28th) named in the archbishop's prorogation, but to this, their own place of meeting, instead of to the Jerusalem Chamber, another room in Westminster Abbey, which was the regular synodical apartment in which the prorogation had, as was customary, directed that both Houses should re-assemble. On being farther prorogued, however, to the 6th of March, they consented on that day to give attendance upon the bishops in the usual place, only protesting that their so doing should not be construed into any abandonment of their rights. At this sitting the two Houses

* Own Time, ii. 249.

* Own Time, ii. 281.



Convocation or Chapter House, St. Paul's. From an Old Print.

agreed in voting the usual address to the king; and on their next day of meeting, the 20th of the same month, the Lower House occupied themselves, harmlessly enough, in drawing up a representation touching certain pernicious, dangerous, and scandalous positions contained in Toland's "Christianity Not Mysterious," which had been published four or five years before. On the 31st, however, they resumed the question of privilege, and, after having voted their right to adjourn themselves, sent up their prolocutor with a message to the archbishop and bishops, praying their lordships to grant them a *Free Conference* upon the subject in debate between them. This was an assumption of the forms of the House of Commons of the boldest sort; even in parliament a Free Conference was one of the rarest of occurrences, a deviation from the ordinary course of proceeding reserved for occasions of the last degree of difficulty or urgency; and in the practice of the convocation the thing had never, till now, been heard of. At the next meeting, on the 8th of April, an answer was returned by the bishops, in which they asserted that, so far from a Free Conference being the regular way of settling a difference between the two Houses, no instance of any kind of conference whatever desired by the Lower House was to be found in the registers: "they have, indeed," continued their lordships, "been called up *ad colloquium* upon occasion; and some here present cannot but remember that they were so called up in the convocation in the year 1689, by the Bishop of London, being then president in the vacancy of the see of Canterbury; but the consequences of it were such as do by no means encourage the doing of the like at this present time." When this answer had been read to the members of the Lower House, summoned for that purpose, with their prolocutor at their head, to the Jerusalem Chamber, the archbishop prorogued the convocation to the 8th of May. "But the prolocutor," continues the detailed account of these transactions in Kennet's History, "with several of the Lower House, returned to Henry VII.'s Chapel (though divers members refused to join with them, as well knowing the whole convocation was legally prorogued, and all things were to continue in the same state till the next synodical day), and sate there as a House for some time, and then adjourned themselves to the next day. An affectation of independence that was unknown to former convocations, and never before attempted by any presbyters in any episcopal church." The two Houses might now be considered as at open war. When they both re-assembled on the day to which the convocation had been prorogued, the Lower House, after receiving a very gentle reproof from the archbishop, seemingly without attending to it, delivered by their prolocutor a paper both justifying their own proceedings and recriminating upon the bishops for certain alleged irregularities in theirs. This put the Upper House in a downright passion. "Their lordships take notice," thus ran one passage in a long reply which

was immediately drawn up, "that in this paper the lower clergy do solemnly profess that they do not in the least desire that his grace or their lordships should depart from any of their just rights; and the archbishop and bishops cannot but wish that their actions were agreeable to this profession; but those have been quite contrary, and carried up to higher degrees of disrespect and invasion of the metropolitan and episcopal rights (even such rights as are supported by the law of the land and the king's writ), than ever was attempted by any Lower House of Convocation before this time, or perhaps by any body of presbyters where episcopacy was settled and acknowledged of divine and apostolical institution; unless it were by such presbyters as designed to destroy that institution, which the archbishop and bishops are fully persuaded the body of the Lower House do not, though the actions of a part of them manifestly tend that way." And then the paper went on to enumerate the particular instances of "the exorbitant claims and practices" of the inferior clergy, "in separate adjournments; in appointing committees of the whole House; in giving leave, as a House, to their members to be absent; in not answering the archbishop or bishops in writing when so required; in demanding a free conference; in pretending a power of making a distinct recess, and some other practices;" "which," it concluded, "together with some reports raised upon them, have given the greatest blow to this church that hath been given it since the Presbyterian Assembly that sat at Westminster in the late times of confusion. God grant that these reports, and the present conduct of divers in the Lower House, may not bring on the like again!" At the same time five bishops were appointed to inspect and report upon all the acts of both Houses of the present convocation, in concert with any of their members, not exceeding ten in number, whom the other House might name for that purpose. "But in a new and unprecedented way of contempt," continues Kennet, "the Lower House answered that they did not think fit to appoint such a committee. And when the schedule of prorogation was, as usual, brought down to the Lower House, to be intimated to them by the prolocutor, he refused to intimate the archbishop's schedule, and adjourned the House to the next day." The archbishop's prorogation was to the 16th. The Lower House seem to have continued their sittings from day to day; but, according to Burnet, "they entered into such a secrecy, that it could not be known what they sat so close upon." He tells us also, that "many of the most eminent and learned among them not only refused to sit with them on those days, but thought it was incumbent on them to protest against their proceedings." The actual protest, however, shows that the opposition was in point of numbers a very insignificant minority, consisting at the most of only fifteen individuals.* At last it appeared that they had been engaged in drawing up a sort of impeachment of Burnet himself for certain erroneous and dangerous doctrines alleged to be contained in his lately published 'Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles.' Burnet was very curious to know what objections could be made to his book, which he believed to be nearly immaculate;* and he earnestly begged that the dispute between the two Houses about other matters might be suspended till this should be settled; but when it was at last agreed, upon his repeated request, that the paper of complaint against him should be received, it was found to be so general, that it was sent back to be amended and drawn out in a more detailed form. This was on the 6th of June, and on the same day the archbishop prorogued the convocation to the 13th. In the mean time a committee of the Upper House, which had been appointed to consider the various questions that had arisen, agreed upon the following, among other, resolutions:—"That the Lower House of Convocation has no manner of power judicially to censure any book; that the Lower House of Convocation ought not to have entered upon the examination of a book of any bishop of this church without first acquainting the president and bishops with it; that the Lower House of Convocation's censuring the book of the Bishop of Sarum in general terms, without mentioning the particular passages on which the censure is grounded, is defamatory and scandalous." The same committee also resolved that the minority in the Lower House had "acted as became true sons of the Church of England," and deserved "the protection of the Upper House for their dutiful and worthy behaviour;" while, on the other hand, the majority, or, as they were styled, "the prolocutor and some others," had been guilty of manifest disobedience and contempt. These hard words (which appear to have been adopted by the general body of the bishops on their re-assembling) were not very likely to bring the rebellious clergy to submission; but the contest in which so many months had been spent was put a stop to at this point, for the present, by the prorogation of the convocation, on the 24th of June, by royal writ directed to the archbishop, at the same time with the parliament, whose counterpart it had been throughout the session in the general character of its proceedings. For, indeed, the Lower House of Convocation had only all this while been following, or sometimes outrunning, the Tory House of Commons, which also had signalised itself by a violent struggle about certain matters of privilege with the other House, several of whose members it had impeached without any result, both ordinary and free conferences being

* One paper given by Kennet is signed by twelve clergymen, and another by thirteen; but two of the subscribers to the former are not among those to the latter.

* "Though there have been some books writ on purpose against it, and many in sermons and other treatises have occasionally reflected with great severity upon several passages in it, yet this has been done with so little justice or reason that I am not yet convinced that there is one single period or expression that is justly remarked on, or that can give me any occasion either to retract or so much as to explain any one part of that whole work."—*Own Time*, ii. 228.

had recourse to with no effect except the more to embroil the fray.* According to Burnet the inferior clergy had been all along encouraged in their conduct by Rochester and his associates in the government: these new servants of his majesty "were displeased," he says, "with the bishops for adhering to the old ministry; and they hoped, by the terror of a convocation, to have forced them to apply to them for shelter."† On the other hand, the bishops, he tells us, were unanimous in the stand they made against the pretensions of the Lower House, with the exception only of Compton of London, Sprat of Rochester, and Trelawny of Exeter. For the line taken by these three their right reverend brother is at no loss to account, rightly or wrongly. "The Bishop of London," he says, "had been twice disappointed of his hopes of being advanced to the see of Canterbury; so, for several years, he was engaged with the Tory party, and opposed the court in everything, but with little force or authority. The Bishop of Rochester had been deeply engaged in the former reigns, and he stuck firm to the party, to which, by reason of the liberties of his life, he brought no sort of honour." "These bishops," he continues, "gave no great reputation to the proceedings of the Lower House, to which they adhered. They likewise entered their dissent to the resolutions taken in the Upper House. From the fire raised thus in convocation a great heat was spread through the whole clergy of the kingdom: it alienated them from their bishops, and raised factions among them everywhere."‡

Nor was this fire quenched for a long time, but, blazing out afresh every year, it continued to convulse the church, and more or less to agitate the country, to the end of the reign of Anne. With the new parliament, which met in the end of December of this same year, a new convocation also assembled as usual; when the battle between the two Houses, about the power of adjournment, was immediately resumed with as much fury as ever. But while it was every day waxing hotter and hotter, first the prolocutor of the Lower House, Dr. Woodward, died (13th February, 1702),§ and then the king (8th March); upon which latter event the convocation was obliged to admit itself to be in law dissolved, though a few of the more fiery spirits among the clergy, supported by their friend Rochester in the Lords, would very fain have made out that the late act continuing the existing parliament for six months after the demise of the crown also continued the convocation, which they contended was a part of the parliament. But the attorney-general declared this pretension to be an invasion of the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy; and the Judges also were all of opinion that the late act had nothing to do with the convocation, which was not so much as mentioned in it.

The accession of Anne almost turned the heads of the Tory and high church clergy, and probably by that very means prevented them from acquiring the power and ascendancy which they might now have secured had their proceedings been less incautious and violent. Throughout the greater part of her reign the convocation sat regularly at the same time with the parliament; but the session was seldom anything else than one long, stormy altercation between the two Houses, for the most part about the same point of privilege that had originally set them against each other, or, rather, which had been taken up as the most convenient bone of contention around which their mutual animosities might gather and encounter; but, on one or two occasions, involving also some other matters which in like manner derived nearly their whole importance from the opposing passions to which they served as excitement and fuel. But, as we have just intimated, the bishops, with everything against them, the queen at heart with the high church majority of the Lower House, and court and government openly adverse or secretly thwarting them, managed to maintain their ground, and sometimes even to drive back their assailants with loss and discredit, merely by the greater moderation and coolness which they opposed to the impetuosity and overconfidence of the other party, who, with the advantages they now seemed to possess, never could believe in the possibility of their own defeat until they found themselves actually discomfited and sprawling in the mud.

Thus, for example, in the convocation which met at the same time with Anne's first parliament, in May, 1702, the Lower House, secure in their possession of the queen's favour, proposed, as we have already seen,* that the question in dispute between them and the bishops should be submitted to the decision of her majesty. "It would have been a strange sight," exclaims Burnet, "very acceptable to the enemies of the church, chiefly to papists, to see the two Houses of Convocation pleading their authority and rights before a committee of council, that was to determine the matter." So the bishops declined referring the rights of the church even to royal interpretation; and, when the Lower House upon this addressed the queen, desiring her protection, and begging her to hear and settle the dispute of her own authority, her majesty received the application favourably, and said that she would consider of it and send them her answer, but no further answer was ever returned. It was believed that the opinion of the Judges and law officers had been taken, and was against the pretensions of the inferior clergy; "and therefore," as Burnet says, "the ministers chose rather to

* See ante, pp. 120, &c.

† Own Time, ii. 281. ‡ Id. p. 285.

§ "At his lodgings in Westminster," says Kennet, "in very unhappy circumstances." Woodward was dean of Burnet's diocese of Salisbury; and, according to Kennet, "had grown popular by opposing his diocesan, to whom he owed his preferments." He had lodged a complaint against Burnet in this very convocation, in prosecuting which his enemies alleged that he forgot the rules both of common sense and common veracity.

* See ante, p. 150.

give no answer, and that it should seem to be forgot, than that such an one should be given as would put an end to the debate, which they intended to cherish and support." Nor did the Lower House make anything more of an application to the House of Commons; all that they could obtain from the Commons was "a general vote, which amounted to nothing, that they would stand by them in all their just rights and privileges."* They then tried another tack, hoping by a resolution which they passed, affirming the divine and apostolical right of episcopacy, at once to wipe off from themselves the imputation of being favourers of presbyterianism, and either to fasten that stigma upon the bishops, if they should refuse to concur in the resolution, or to entrap them by such a bait into a concurrence which might have been construed as a breach of Henry VIII.'s act, prohibiting the convocation from making any new canon without permission of the crown under the penalties of a premunire. How this attempt was defeated has been already told:† the bishops answered that they acquiesced in what was already declared on the subject of the resolution in the preface to the Book of Ordinations, but did not think it safe either for themselves or the Lower House, to go farther in that matter without a royal license. In the next session (of 1703-4) the convocation, says Burnet, "continued their former ill practices; but little opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: they drew up a representation of some abuses in the ecclesiastical discipline, and in the consistorial courts; but took care to mention none of those greater ones of which many among themselves were eminently guilty, such as pluralities, non-residence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible."‡ The next year (1704-5), the convocation, he tells us, in the same contemptuous tone, which however betrays quite as much anger as contempt, was "so little considered, that scarce any notice was taken of them, and they deserved that no mention should be made of them." "The Lower House," he adds, "continued to proceed with much indecent violence: they still held their intermediate sessions, and brought up injurious and reflecting addresses to the Upper House, which gave a very large exercise to the patience and forbearance of the archbishop and bishops. The archbishop, after he had long borne with their perverseness, and saw no good effect of it, proceeded to an ecclesiastical monition against their intermediate meetings: this put a stop to that, for they would not venture on the censure that must in course follow, if no regard was had to the monition. At the final prorogation the archbishop dismissed them with a wise, well composed speech: he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong steps they had made: to this he added a severe but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headstrong and factious, and designed to force themselves into preferments by the noise they made, and by the ill-humour that they endeavoured to spread among the clergy, who were generally soured, even in relation to the queen herself, beyond what could be imagined possible."*

In October, 1706, a new convocation met, along with the new parliament: "it was chosen," says Burnet, "as the former had been, and the members that were ill-affected were still prevailed on to come up, and to continue in an expensive but useless attendance in town." The rupture between the two Houses was now carried so far that all communication between them was put a stop to—the inferior clergy holding their meetings, and debating all sorts of questions, in open defiance of the authority of their bishops. These extreme proceedings, however, increased the numbers of the opposition in the Lower House, and above fifty members signed a protest against the conduct of the majority, which they presented to the archbishop. Even the queen herself now found it necessary to discountenance the violence of the High Church party. While they were deliberating in the Lower House how to vent their indignation on the protesters, who had retired from the convocation as soon as they had given in their protest, they were summoned to the Jerusalem Chamber, where the archbishop read them a letter that had been written to him by her majesty, in which, after expressing her concern at seeing that the differences between the two Houses were still kept up, and were indeed rather increased than abated, she went on to declare her determination to maintain both her own supremacy and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops, as alike essential parts of the constitution of the church; adding, that the archbishop and bishops, if they acted, as she expected they would do, in conformity to these principles, should be sure of the continuance of her protection and favour, which also should not be wanting to any of the clergy, so long as they were dutiful to her and their ecclesiastical superiors, and preserved the temper becoming persons in holy orders. And the archbishop was not only directed to read this reproof to the Lower House, but also to prorogue the convocation to such time as he thought fit. "They were struck with this," continues Burnet, "for it had been carried so secretly that it was a surprise to them all. When they saw that they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the door, and with some difficulty were kept in the room till the prorogation was intimated to them: they went next to their own house, where, though prorogued, they sat still in form, as if they had been a house, but they did not venture on passing any vote. So factious were they, and so implicitly led by those who had got an ascendant over them, that, though they had formerly submitted the matters in debate to the

* Burnet's Own Time, ii. 346. † See ante. p. 150.
‡ Own Time, ii. 380.

* Own Time, ii. 413.

queen, yet now, when she declared her pleasure, they would not acquiesce in it."* But the change that had taken place in the House of Commons had now given the Whigs the ascendancy in the government; and Tenison and his brethren in the Upper House of Convocation were supported by Godolphin and Sunderland in the cabinet, from which Harley and St. John, the friends of the high church majority in the Lower House, had been compelled to retire. The frowns of the court, however, did not frighten the clergy, or drive them from their course: the next winter (of 1706-7), as Burnet expresses it, "the same temper that had for some years possessed the Lower House did still prevail among them." This year the proposed union with Scotland afforded them matter for much tragical declamation; they even talked of calling upon the House of Commons to join them in opposing that measure: on this they were prorogued by royal order for three weeks, during which interval the Act of Union was carried through both Houses of Parliament, and their interference became useless. But this course only gave rise to a new pretension on the part of the Tory clergy: as soon as they met again they drew up a representation, in which they contended that to prorogue the Convocation during the sitting of parliament was a stretch of prerogative never before attempted; and they wanted the bishops to join them in resisting such a violation of their common rights and privileges. The bishops replied by ordering a search of the records; from which it appeared that there were seven or eight instances of such prorogations, and thirty or forty more of the convocation sitting before or after the parliament, or sometimes even when there was no parliament in existence. So little foundation was there for the main position taken by the clergy, and from which they deduced all their recent pretensions, that the convocation was a part of the parliament. Another letter in the queen's name was now written to the archbishop, directly and sharply rebuking the conduct of the Lower House, which her majesty declared was an attempt to invade her supremacy, and which, if persisted in, she would be compelled, with whatever reluctance, to visit with the penalties provided by the law. When the Lower House was summoned to hear this letter read, only a very few of the members made their appearance; the prolocutor himself, Dean Stanhope, had gone out of town "without so much," says Burnet, "as asking the archbishop's leave;" who thereupon pronounced him contumacious. Stanhope was urged by some of his party to set the archbishop and his edict at defiance; but, on consideration, he thought proper to make his submission.

Burnet makes no mention of any sitting of the convocation at the same time with the first British parliament, in the winter of 1707-8; and that which was summoned and returned along with the next parliament in November, 1708, was prevented from ever assembling during that winter by a succession of prorogations at the royal command; it being "too evident," says Burnet, "that the same ill temper that had appeared in former convocations did still prevail, though not with such a majority. "The secret encouragement," he continues, "with which they did most effectually animate their party was, that the queen's heart was with them; and that, though the war, and the other circumstances of her affairs, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet, as soon as a peace brought on a better settlement, they promised themselves all favour at her hands. It was not certain that they had then any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes which were not done, so that they seemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which kept still life in their party: and, indeed, it was but too visible that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences—enemies to the toleration, and soured against the dissenters."*

During the next session of parliament (1709-10), which is memorable for the prosecution of Sacheverell, we hear nothing of the convocation; the series of prorogations was probably continued so as to prevent it from ever meeting. But when Sacheverell's affair, and the intrigues of Mrs. Masham together, had thrown out the Whig ministers and brought back the Tories, the clergy found themselves in a new era. A new parliament and a new convocation met on the same day, the 25th of November, 1710. The clergy of the Lower House chose Dr. Atterbury for their prolocutor; and then came down a royal rescript in a style very different from that to which they had of late years been accustomed, a license empowering the convocation to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the church required, and particularly to consider of such matters as her majesty should lay before them, accompanied by a letter to the archbishop, directing that an account should be drawn up by the two Houses of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, and that they should take into consideration how to redress abuses in excommunications—how rural deans might be made more serviceable—how terriers (registers of land) might be more exactly made and preserved—and how a correction might be applied to the abuses in licenses for marriage. In all this, according to Burnet, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; everything was dictated by Atterbury, who had the confidence of Harley, the prime minister. As for Tenison, he was prevented from attending after the first meetings by a sharp attack of the gout: the royal license, by an unprecedented deviation from the usual form, had named Compton, Bishop of

* Own Time, ii. 443.

* Own Time, ii. 526.

London, and Hooper of Bath and Wells (the same that was prolocutor of the Lower House in 1701), as the only substitutes the archbishop could appoint; but Compton was also unwell; and Hooper, "seeing," says Burnet, "how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a stand till a new license was sent us, in which the Bishops of Winchester (Trelawny), Bristol (Robinson), and St. David's (Bisse), were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before; so the queen not only passed over all the bishops made in king William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren."* A great stir was made in this convocation about a variety of matters, but, as usual, absolutely no business was done. Most of the winter was spent in considering a work published by the learned and ingenious but eccentric William Whiston, who, having been turned out of his professorship of mathematics at Cambridge for his heretical notions, had written this vindication of himself and his doctrines, and dedicated it to the convocation; but, after many difficulties and objections had been got over, and the two Houses had at last agreed upon a deliverance to be submitted to the queen for her assent, her majesty contrived to lose the paper, and, although another copy was sent to her, persisted in declining to take any notice of it. Upon the state of religion and the church, the two Houses could come to no agreement; so no statement upon that subject was laid before the queen; but each House printed a separate representation of its own, that of the inferior clergy, which was drawn up by Atterbury, being, according to Burnet, "a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administrations from the time of the Revolution." "The bishops," concludes the account given by this historian, "went through all the matters recommended to them by the queen, and drew up a scheme of regulations on them all; but neither were these agreed to by the Lower House; for their spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the session of parliament and convocation came to an end."

The next winter (1711-12) began with a new dispute between the two Houses; the bishops proposing to take up the business of the preceding year at the point at which it had been stopped by the prorogation, Atterbury and the Lower House insisting that, as in parliament, a prorogation by royal writ made it necessary that all proceedings should be begun afresh. The result was, that the unfinished business of the last year was dropped altogether. But an act having been passed in the last session of parliament for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, an office for consecrating churches and churchyards was proposed by the bishops; "and probably," says Burnet, "this will be all the fruit that the church will reap from this convocation."* Other two subjects were taken up, indeed, the one by the Lower, the other by the Upper House; but only to end in nothing. Several books had been published by Jacobite and nonjuring divines, containing notions that were thought to savour of popery; in particular Dr. George Hickes, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, had promulgated something like the Roman Catholic doctrine of there being a real sacrifice in the eucharist; and a clergyman of the name of Brett had preached and printed a sermon in which he maintained the necessity of priestly absolution in a very high strain, asserting that no repentance could be of any avail without it. A motion was made in the Lower House to censure these opinions; "but it was so ill supported," says Burnet, "that it was let fall." The bishops seem to have stood aloof from this business; but they also had a heresy of their own. This was a conceit, said to have been originally started by the learned Henry Dodwell, and to have obtained extensive circulation, that there was no validity in baptism unless when performed by a clergyman episcopally ordained. "This," observes Burnet, "made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view; and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of re-baptising them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done." "Nothing," he adds, "of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptised by dissenters."† To put a stop to this new doctrine, the bishops drew up a declaration, pointing out the *irregularity* of baptism by persons not in holy orders, but stating also that, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism, if it were only performed in the orthodox mode, ought to be reiterated. In the Upper House, Bishop Sprat, who had no reputation as a theologian, was the only person who refused his assent to this exposition; but when it was sent down to the Lower House, "they would not so much as take it into consideration," Burnet tells us, "but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood." Thus passed another winter in contention between the two Houses, and a busy doing of nothing. In the next year the convocation seems to have met only to present the usual formal address to the crown; and in 1714 the two Houses presented a joint address, concluding with the expression of their wishes and prayers that her majesty might be able to transmit the protection of the church and state "to a Protestant successor in the illustrious House of Hanover."‡ The majority in the Lower House, therefore, can scarcely be considered as Jacobiti-

* Own Time, ii. 570.

* Own Time, ii. 603.—Burnet says by mistake that the bill for the new churches was then in parliament.

† Own Time, ii. 604.

‡ Tindal, iv. 340.—Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 671.

cally inclined at this time. The close of the reign of Anne, we may here notice, was marked by several changes among the heads of the church. Sharp, Archbishop of York, died in February, 1714, and was succeeded by Dawes, Bishop of Chester, one of the most eminent of the party styled Hanover Tories. In the preceding year Atterbury had been raised to the bench as Bishop of Rochester, on the death of Sprat; and Dr. John Robinson (the diplomatist of the peace of Utrecht) had been translated from Bristol to London, as successor to Compton, who died in the beginning of July, in his eighty-first year,—"a generous and goodnatured man," says Burnet, "but easy and weak, and much in the power of others."* Archbishop Tenison still survived; but he also died in the end of the year 1715, about a year and a half after the accession of King George. He was succeeded by Dr. Wake, translated from Lincoln, a prelate of distinguished learning and ability.

Meanwhile the restless volcano, which had so long disturbed the church and the public mind, was fast approaching its final extinction. The convocation which sate in the earlier part of the year 1714, along with Queen Anne's last parliament, had found a new case of heresy whereupon to exercise its powers of censure, in a book published two years before by the famous Dr. Samuel Clarke, entitled "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity." The work, which was considered to be objectionable chiefly on account of the undue preeminence which it was thought to assign to the first person in the Trinity, had already excited a good deal of controversy when the subject was taken up by the Lower House of Convocation. That House soon came to a resolution condemning the doctor and his doctrines; but the bishops, who had from the first entertained the question coldly enough, readily availed themselves of an explanation of his opinions, which Clarke was induced to submit to them, as an excuse for dropping it altogether. The Lower House, nevertheless, or rather, perhaps, the more by reason of the indifference shown by the bishops, persisted in their course, and on one of the last days on which they sate they voted that the doctor's paper was no recantation of his heretical assertions, nor any such satisfaction for the great scandal he had occasioned, as should put a stop to the further investigation of the matter. The effect of these proceedings, as may be supposed, was to give a great impetus to the controversy that had been previously going on, and vastly to inflame and exasperate the zeal of the combatants on both sides. To such a height, indeed, was the dispute carried, that it was deemed expedient, before the end of the year, to address certain royal injunctions to the archbishops and bishops, entitled "Directions for the preserving unity in the Church, and also for preserving the peace and quiet of the State;" in which the clergy were strictly commanded to confine themselves in explaining the doctrine of the Trinity to such ways of expression as had been commonly used in the church—to abstain from bitter invectives and scurrilous language against all persons whatsoever—and not to presume, in their sermons and lectures, to intermeddle in any affairs of state or government, or the constitution of the realm, save only on feasts and fasts appointed by public authority, and then no farther than the occasion should absolutely demand.

The convocation appears to have been allowed to sit as usual for the next two years; but its proceedings, if any, were unimportant. In 1717, however, the Lower House discovered a new case of erroneous doctrine, upon which it fell probably with the more avidity that the delinquent was a bishop, a member of the other House. Dr. (then only Mr.) Benjamin Hoadly had already incurred the animadversion of the Lower House of Convocation in the last reign for a sermon preached by him before the lord mayor in 1705, which was denounced as "containing positions contrary to the doctrines of the church expressed in the first and second parts of the homily against disobedience and wilful rebellion." Hoadly, in fact, in vindicating the Revolution, had necessarily attacked the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, which, whether or no they still formed part of the creed of the church, had unquestionably by that event been obliterated for ever from the constitutional theory of the state. He had continued throughout the last reign to advocate the same principles, and had so greatly distinguished himself by his eloquence and ability on that side, that in 1709 the Whig House of Commons which impeached Sacheverell voted, "That the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter's Poor, London, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of this House, and that an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly for his eminent services both to the church and state." Anne answered the Commons that she would take a proper opportunity to comply with their desires; but before she found any such the government fell again into the hands of the Tories, who of course found no opportunity a proper one for anything of the kind. George I., however, upon coming to the throne, made Hoadly one of his chaplains, and soon after appointed him Bishop of Bangor—the beginning of a long course of professional prosperity; for Hoadly afterwards wore in succession the mitres of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, over the last of which dioceses he presided for twenty-seven years, not dying till 1761, at the age of eighty-five. The attack of the convocation was provoked partly by a book which he published soon after his elevation to the episcopal bench, entitled, "A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors," partly by a sermon he had preached before the king, and

* Own Time, ii. 630.

then printed, on "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." A committee appointed by the Lower House drew up a representation censuring both these performances, as tending—"1. To subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, and to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion. 2. To impugn and impeach the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions." On this report being printed, such a storm of controversy arose as even the fury of opposing theologians had scarcely ever before given birth to. Hoadly defended his own cause almost alone against a host of adversaries,—Sherlock (afterwards Hoadly's successor in Bangor and also in Salisbury, and finally Bishop of London), Potter (at this time Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Hare (afterwards successively Bishop of St. Asaph and of Chichester), Law, the celebrated author of "The Serious Call," and many others of less name. The controversy branched out, ere long, into many of the most remote and intricate questions not only of theology, but of politics and private morals; and the publications which it produced are said to have amounted to about seventy in all. "After turning over some forty or fifty tracts," says a late writer, "and consuming a good many hours on the Bangorian controversy, I should find some difficulty in stating with precision the propositions in dispute. . . . . There was nothing whatever in Hoadly's Sermon injurious to the established endowments and privileges, nor to the discipline and government, of the English church, even in theory. If this had been the case he might be reproached with some inconsistency in becoming so large a partaker of her honours and emoluments. He even admitted the usefulness of censures for open immoralities, though denying all church authority to oblige any one to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God. . . . Another great question in this controversy was that of religious liberty as a civil right, which the convocation explicitly denied. And another related to the much debated exercise of private judgment in religion, which, as one party meant virtually to take away, so the other, perhaps, unreasonably exaggerated. Some other disputes arose in the course of the combat, particularly the delicate problem of the value of sincerity as a plea for material errors."* Hoadly's intellect, though not a far-seeing or subtle one, was one of great clear-sightedness and logical dexterity; and in mere argumentation, therefore, he was likely to have the best of it, the more as the views he espoused, whether really true or false, were obviously of a sort much more easy to be defended in debate than those of his opponents; but, on the other hand, he could not but be a good deal embarrassed by his position as a member of the Anglican church, which assuredly has nowhere, in its standards of doctrine, professed any such extreme Protestantism as his system involved, any more than it has his political liberalism and purely rationalist morality. In one other material respect, however, his self-command and mildness of character gave him a decided advantage over some of his assailants, whose zeal outstripped all bounds of decency. A Dr. Snape, who had been among the first to pounce upon the obnoxious sermon, in a letter which he addressed to the Bishop of Bangor, called upon him to ask his conscience whether certain evasive words were not omitted in the sermon as it was at first composed, and whether he had not been with difficulty prevailed upon by a person, to whom he had shown it in its original state, to insert them by way of caution? "If you think fit to answer in the negative," added Snape, "a person of as high a station as your lordship will charge himself with the proof of the affirmative." The rest of the story is thus told by Tindal:—"The bishop, two days after, in an advertisement, solemnly denies all this, and challenges the doctor to name his author. The doctor, pressed by the solemnity of the challenge, names the Bishop of Carlisle [Nicholson, the author of the well-known Historical Libraries], who, being called upon to prove what he had asserted, disputed awhile with Dr. Snape, affirming he had not said the words were put in before the sermon was preached, but before it was published; owning, withal, that he knew there was such a person in the world who had averred the same. The Bishop of Carlisle, being pressed to name him, names Dr. White Kennet, and writes to him of what had passed, telling him he did not question but he would own his own words. Dr. Kennet positively denied the fact, saying, 'I never affirmed, never suggested to any mortal, that the late sermon of the Bishop of Bangor was preached with my knowledge or submitted tomy correction.' Notwithstanding this, the Bishop of Carlisle asserted in print that Dr. Kennet was the man that told him he had prevailed with the Bishop of Bangor to put in the forementioned words. In short, the Bishop of Carlisle pledges his eternal salvation that Dr. Kennet did say so: Dr. Kennet, in one of his papers, says, God so help him and judge him, if he did. They went on advertising against each other, till the Bishop of Carlisle resolved to give no more answers to whatever should be said. However, the Bishop of Bangor, resolving that calumny should lie where it ought to lie, published a long advertisement, as Dr. Kennet did another, to fix the fact upon the Bishop of Carlisle, and to convict him of forgetfulness at least, in charging a fact upon the Bishop of Bangor which was not true, and quoting a witness for it who knew nothing of the matter."* Even Sherlock indulged in much violent and acrimonious personality, enlivening his refutation of Hoadly's reasonings with some very precipitate attacks on the moral conduct of his

* Hallam, Const. Hist., ii. 599, note.

* Continuation of Rapin, iv. 539, note.

adversary, which the latter had no difficulty in triumphantly repelling. The convocation, in the mean while, had been stopped in an early stage of its proceedings by a royal prorogation, which put an end to its debates for that year; and since then, although this clerical assembly has continued, as formerly, to be summoned, and to meet, with every new parliament, it has never been suffered to sit for the transaction of business, being always prorogued as soon as the mere preliminary formalities have been gone through.*

The suppression of the convocation in modern times has taken from the clergy of the English church their only arena of debate, and even chamber of common deliberation, thus leaving the greatest corporation in the kingdom without any such organ for making its voice be publicly heard as is possessed even by the smallest. The representation of the church, if so it may be called, by the bishops in the House of Lords is all that now remains either of its ancient legislative authority, as one of the estates of the realm, or even of its power of independent self-regulation. Of the church of Scotland the liberty of public debate and internal legislation may be said to be a necessary part of the constitution—to its democratic and republican character the very breath of life;—and accordingly that establishment has preserved to our own day, and can scarcely lose so long as it continues to exist, its presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. But in another important particular the system of the Scottish church, as settled at the Revolution, was innovated upon before that event was many years old. The law of 1690, which gave the filling up of vacant churches to the heritors and elders, was repealed in 1712, and the rights of the ancient patrons restored by an act, the preamble of which asserts that that way of calling ministers had proved inconvenient, and had occasioned great heats and divisions in parishes.† There is no doubt that this act of 1712 was a most unpopular measure in Scotland, where, whatever inconveniences it might profess to be intended to remedy, it was generally looked upon both as opposed to the true spirit and principles of presbyterianism, and as a direct violation of the Treaty of Union, passed only five or six years before, by which it was stipulated that no alteration should ever be made in any part of the worship, discipline, or government of the Scottish church, as established by the act of 1690 ratifying the Confession of Faith, and by all the other acts relating thereto passed in prosecution of the Declaration of Rights. But, as the Scottish Declaration of Rights made no mention of patronage, it was probably held that the law regulating that matter was not one of those which were thus made for ever unalterable. Not only the general temper and conduct of the government, however, but several other proceedings and incidents, at this time, conspired to impress the people of Scotland with strong apprehensions, that the restoration of patronage was only preparatory to an ecclesiastical revolution of a much more sweeping kind. Under the protection of Harley and Bolingbroke, and favoured by the partialities of the court, episcopacy was now advancing pretensions, and manifesting an aggressive character, such as it had not ventured upon in either kingdom since the earlier part of the reign of Charles I. In this same session of parliament another act had been passed, not only, for the first time since the Revolution, tolerating the worship of persons of the episcopal communion in Scotland, but granting something like an establishment to that mode of worship, by repealing an act of the year 1695, which prohibited their pastors from baptising children or solemnising marriages episcopally performed, by compelling the established clergy to publish the banns for such marriages, and by hedging round the sect thus singled out with various other protections and immunities.* Some minor circumstances also seemed to indicate the same tendency of events.† The act of repeal was further complained of as unfair, inasmuch as, while it restored the patrons to the rights of which the act of 1690 had deprived; them it left them in possession of certain new rights; in particular the property of the unexhausted tithes, which had then been for the first time bestowed upon them in part compensation for what they were made to surrender. All this was strenuously urged upon parliament by the commission of the general assembly while the bill was in progress; and the aversion to the new law was undoubtedly general both among the clergy and among the people. Many attempts were afterwards made to obtain its repeal; and, indeed, from 1750 down to so late a date as the year 1784, it continued to be an annual instruction of the general assembly to the commission to seize every opportunity of effecting that object. Nor was the law universally enforced till many years

* The convocation, it is proper to observe, is not a national, but only a provincial synod. The convocation of the province of York does not appear to have ever been in the habit of meeting regularly: the convocation of whose proceedings an account has been given in the text, and which still subsists in form, is that of the province of Canterbury only.

† Stat. 10 Ann. c. 12. There has been much difference of opinion, as has been already stated, about the actual working of the law of 1690. Much information on the subject may be found in the evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons which sate on Church Patronage in Scotland in 1834; we would refer particularly to the evidence of Dr. Cook, which is unfavourable, to that of Dr. MacCrie on the other side, and above all to that of Dr. Lee, who treats the question with the least of a bias, and whose facts and illustrations are at the same time collected from by far the widest range of reading and research.

* Stat. 10 Anne, c. 7.

† "It is very well known that in a number of churches in the north [of Scotland] during that very year, the year 1712, the English Liturgy was introduced; immense numbers of copies of the Book of Common Prayer were sent to Scotland, and they were used in divine service, particularly in the presbytery of Aberdeen and in the neighbourhood; . . . . at the same period, a professor of divinity was appointed in the only college in which the king has the power of presenting professors of divinity—a professor who was known to be an episcopalian, and who had not so much as studied divinity at all, and of course who had not obtained a licence to preach; this was Professor Scrimseour, in the university of St. Andrew's, who was long afterwards removed for his disaffection: all these circumstances, and others which I could mention, had excited great alarm in the minds of the members of the Church of Scotland, with regard to the permanency of the establishment."—*Evidence of Dr. Lee, in Report on Church Patronage, Scotland, p. 415.*

after its enactment; it is said, indeed, that at one time it became for some years almost inoperative, in consequence of a clause in an act of parliament passed in 1719, by which it was declared that the *jus devolutum*, or legal right of the presbytery to fill up the vacant charge within six months, should not be prevented from taking effect by any presentation from the patron issued in favour of a person who should not signify his willingness to accept the charge.* It would appear that presentees had been accustomed quietly to take advantage of the presentation as if it had been a mandate which they had no power to resist, and that they now shrunk from the odium of making themselves distinctly consenting parties to the transaction by the formal acceptance demanded by this act.† Such scruples or apprehensions, however, were in course of time overcome; and from about the year 1725, when a presentation was issued it was generally accepted of in terms of the late act, while the general assembly and the other church courts, although still professing to regard the law of patronage as a grievance, had now also adopted the principle and the practice of yielding obedience to it and seeing it carried into effect so long as it remained the law.

It is commonly asserted or assumed that it was this acquiescence by the general assembly in the law of patronage, as fixed by the statute of 1712, which provoked the schism that took place in the church of Scotland in the early part of the last century, and gave rise to the Secession that still subsists. But this is quite a loose and incorrect view of the matter. The facts are simply the following:—. The act of 1712, while putting an end to the system of election by heritors and elders established in 1690, had, as already explained, reserved to the church what was called the *jus devolutum*, or the right of having vacant charges filled up by the nomination of the presbytery in all cases in which a qualified person should not have been presented by the patron within six months. By the Act of 1719, the operation of the *jus devolutum* was very considerably extended; the patron, to escape that interference, being now obliged, not only within the limited time to present a qualified person (and the qualification was by this statute made to include subscription to a new oath), but a person who should accept, or declare his willingness to accept, of the presentation, and also who should not be a pastor or minister of any other church or parish.‡ In 1732 the general assembly passed an act directing that presbyteries in the exercise of the *jus devolutum* should in all cases appoint to the vacant charge the person elected by the heritors and elders of the parish—in other words, that, whenever the *jus devolutum* came into operation, substantially the same method of filling up the vacancy should be followed that would have been followed if the act of 1712, restoring patronage, had never been passed.* Strange as it may be thought, it was actually in opposition to this partial restoration of the popular law of 1690, that the founders of the Secession originally set up their banner. It is true that their real objection no doubt was, that the assembly on this occasion did not go far enough—that it did not restore (in so far as the exercise of the *jus devolutum* was concerned) the system of 1649, instead of that of 1690, or rather perhaps that it did not pronounce in favour of something going a great way beyond either, and throw the election of the clergyman absolutely into the hands of the people, without either previous nomination by the elders or subsequent control by the presbytery. But the fact, nevertheless, undeniably is, that it was the law of 1690, and not, as commonly represented, the law of 1712, against which the originators of the secession first put themselves in motion, and which they made the pretext and ground of their separation. Their leader, the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, whatever may have been his private sentiments, had submitted for twenty years to the patronage law of 1712, when he began that course of resistance to the assembly which speedily terminated in his secession, along with his associates, from the church. When the act of 1732 was passed by the assembly, Erskine was one of fifteen members who entered a protest against the decision of the majority, which the assembly refused to record in conformity with an act passed two years before, prohibiting the recording of reasons of dissent against the determinations of church judicatories. A speech in which he insisted, ineffectually, that his protest should be recorded has been preserved, and there we find him distinctly directing his objections against the adoption in the new act of the law of 1690:—"I am so far," he says, "from thinking this act, conferring the power upon heritors, beyond other men, to come and choose ministers of the gospel, to be founded on the word, that I consider it to be diametrically opposite to it. What difference does a piece of land make between man and man in the affairs of Christ's kingdom, which is not of this

* Stat. 5 Geo. I. c. 29, § 8.

† "It was generally understood that this limitation was equivalent to an express repeating of the law of patronage. For some time after the passing of the act [of 1719] no minister or preacher ventured to accept a presentation; and vacant churches were settled by means of a call from the parish, without annoyance from patrons."—*Life and Diary of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, by the Rev. Donald Fraser. Edinburgh*, 1831, p. 356.

‡ This last-mentioned restriction upon the rights of patrons imposed by the act of 1719 appears to have been generally disregarded in practice. Yet the words of the act are sufficiently clear.

* It has been attempted, indeed, to make out that the plan laid down in the assembly's act of 1732 was not at all the same with that established by the act of the Scottish parliament of 1690. Those who are anxious to see what melancholy shifts determined party spirit will descend to in the way of argumentative fence when pushed into a corner, may turn to the demonstration of the difference between the two plans proffered by the Rev. Dr. Burns, in his evidence before the Church Patronage Committee, Question 646. It is sufficient to observe here that the Rev. Doctor cannot deny that the election and appointment of the clergyman were by both plans vested in the heritors and elders, and that the congregation was as much excluded from the exercise of any *effective* voice, in any part of the proceeding, by the one as by the other. As for any change of arrangement that may have been made in regard to the particular stage of the business at which the people were to be allowed to make their objections for the presbytery to judge and dispose of, which is the principal change alleged by the Doctor, that is altogether a subordinate and trivial matter.

world? &c. &c."* The speech does not contain a syllable in reference to the patronage law of 1712. A few days after the assembly rose, Erskine, in preaching to his own congregation, characterised its proceedings as arbitrary and tyrannical, and in a few months after he resumed the same theme in a sermon which he delivered in his quality of moderator, or president, before the synod of Perth and Stirling. This sermon occasioned a furious debate in the synod, which terminated, after three days, in a resolution, carried by a small majority, that Mr. Erskine should be censured for some expressions he had used, "tending to disquiet the peace of the church, and impugning several acts of assembly and proceedings of church judicatories." Against this sentence Erskine appealed to the next general assembly, by which, however, it was confirmed, and he was actually rebuked and admonished at the bar of the House. This was in May, 1733. While thus submitting to the censure of the assembly, however, Erskine thought fit to tender a protest against it, in which he declared that he should still hold himself at liberty notwithstanding to go on preaching and testifying the same as ever; "and I do hereby," he concluded, "adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodical sermon." This protest, which was concurred in by three friends of Erskine's, the assembly took up as a new insult and act of disobedience; and, after an unsuccessful attempt had been made to persuade the four reverend gentlemen to withdraw the paper, they were ordered to appear in August next before the Commission, which, in the event of their continued contumacy, was authorised to suspend them, and, in case they should in the interim have disregarded the sentence of suspension, to visit them at a subsequent meeting with a higher punishment. The result was that in August 1733 they were suspended by the Commission—that they protested against the sentence as null and void, and continued to officiate in their churches as usual—and that on the 16th of November thereafter they were deposed. A few weeks after they met and constituted themselves into a presbytery. But notwithstanding this decided step, the next general assembly, which met in May, 1634, influenced probably by a feeling that the proceedings in the case had been somewhat passionate and precipitate, after rescinding both the act of 1730, about the recording of protests, and that of 1732 about the exercise of the *jus devolutum*, authorised the synod of Perth and Stirling, to which all the four deposed brethren belonged, to restore them to communion and to their respective charges. The synod, accordingly, when it met in the beginning of July, came to a vote declaring them to be reinstated in their office. Erskine and his three friends, however, seem to have construed this lenity on the part of the church only as an evidence of fear and conscious weakness, and they declared their determination to remain in a state of separation until they should have what they would account satisfactory evidence that the conduct of the church would, for the future, be agreeable to their notions. In this state the affair remained for some years, the church taking no further steps, but the four brethren appealing to the public, first in 1735, in a representation which they entitled "Reasons why they have not acceded to the judicatories of the Established Church;" and again, in 1736, in a more elaborate vindication of their conduct and principles, known by the title of their Second or Judicial Testimony, to distinguish it from another paper of the same kind, called their First or Extra-Judicial Testimony, published soon after their deposition by the Commission in 1733. In the mean time they had been joined by four other clergymen of the county of Fife,—one of them Mr. Ralph Erskine, of Dunfermline, a younger brother of Mr. Ebenezer Erskine. At length, in 1738, the attention of the Assembly was again called to the subject by representations from the synods of Fife, and of Perth and Stirling, and the commission was directed to prepare a libel, or indictment, against the eight ministers calling themselves the Associate Presbytery, and to cite them to appear to answer it before the next Assembly. It was only, nevertheless, by a narrow majority that the motion for proceeding in the case was carried in the Assembly of 1739; but the eight ministers, being called to the bar, thought proper to obey the summons. In answer to the libel, one of them, styling himself their moderator, read a long paper, entitled "An Act of the Associate Presbytery, finding and declaring that the present judicatories of this national church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ; and declining all authority, power, and jurisdiction that the said judicatories may claim to themselves over the said presbytery, or any of the members thereof, or over any that are under their inspection; and particularly declining the authority of a General Assembly now met at Edinburgh." After this open defiance the court seemed to have only one course to pursue; but still the motion to proceed to a final sentence was negatived by a small majority, and for the present the Assembly satisfied itself with declaring the libel proven, and the defenders worthy of deposition, but forbore to pass that sentence upon them for yet another year; earnestly recommending it, however, to the next Assembly to depose them if they should not in the mean time have returned to their duty. In pursuance of this recommendation they were finally deposed, and their parishes declared vacant, by an act of the Assembly of 1740, passed on the 15th of May, by a majority of 140 to 30 votes. It is evident from this detail, that, whatever respect may be due to the sincerity and upright intentions of the clergymen who were thus expelled from the national church, the church could not, in the circumstances, have acted otherwise than it did.

* See Speech from his own notes, in Dr. Fraser's Life, p. 359.

Indeed, they had thrown off the church before it threw off them.

In 1743 the ministers of the Associate Presbytery agreed to renew both the Scottish National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant; and the following year they went the length of passing an act by which the swearing of these old persecuting bonds was imposed upon all the members of their church, lay as well as clerical, as a condition of Christian communion. After some time, however, this act, if never formally repealed, was allowed to fall into oblivion, and to be wholly disregarded in practice, as new views were gradually adopted by the generality of the Seceders in regard to the rights and duties of the state in matters of religion, quite opposed both to the emphatic declarations of the solemn League and Covenant, and to the principles of the founders of the Secession themselves. In 1744 the Associate Presbytery, now consisting of above thirty ministers, transformed itself into the Associate Synod, comprehending the three presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dunfermline. Sixteen congregations also at this time belonged to the body, for which ministers had not yet been provided, but were providing with all expedition, for a theological class had been founded so early as the year 1736, which in 1741 is said to have been attended by a greater number of students preparing for the ministry than were to be found at any one of the Scottish universities, with the exception of Edinburgh.*

The Secession Church, however, had scarcely been well set up when it was rent in twain by a violent difference of opinion that suddenly arose among its members. The subject of this dispute was a clause in the oath required to be taken by burgesses in some of the Scottish municipal corporations, by which they made a declaration of their profession and hearty allowance of "the true religion at present professed within the realm, and authorised by the laws thereof," and their resolution to "abide by and defend the same" to their life's end. A large body of the Seceders, though discountenanced and opposed by the two Erskines, insisted that such a declaration could not be conscientiously taken by any who dissented from the established church; and after the controversy had raged with great fury for some years, it ended in a separation between the two parties on the 9th of April, 1747. From this date the Seceders continued to be divided into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, till, in the year 1820, the two branches again coalesced into the United Associate Synod. Two smaller bodies, however—the Original or Associate Burgher Synod, and the Synod of Original Anti-Burgher Seceders†—distinguished from each other by the same difference as to the burgess oath—had in the mean time separated from the main body of the Secession upon the discontinuance by the latter of the practice of covenanting. These two small bodies adhered to the old views on the question of religious establishments, or the union of church and state, which they still maintained to be expedient and according to the word of God, notwithstanding that they felt themselves bound to withdraw for the present from communion with the established church of Scotland, on account of what they deemed to be her abandonment of her own standards and principles in her submission to the law of patronage and other matters. Since the recent breaking out of the agitation on the subject of what is called the voluntary principle in Scotland, a considerable proportion of the ministers and congregations of the Original Burgher Synod, merging the question as to the still subsisting obligation of the Covenant, have returned into the bosom of the establishment.

A few years before the great schism of 1733, of which we have thus briefly traced the history and the results, a new sect of Independents had started up from the bosom of the Scottish church as the followers of the Reverend John Glas, minister of Tealing, a country parish near Dundee, whose first publication, entitled "Testimony of the King of the Martyrs," appeared in 1725, and who was deposed by the General Assembly in 1730. There are still a few small congregations of persons calling themselves Glassites in Scotland; but they, and also the Sandemanians, a slightly varying denomination, founded by Robert Sandeman, a son-in-law of Glas, have, we believe, been generally mixed up and confused among the Independents, whose Congregational Union in Scotland now comprises about ninety churches, of very miscellaneous origin, and perhaps not perfect agreement even as to doctrine, but all holding the fundamental tenet of the sufficiency of each separate congregation for all the purposes of a church, and consequently being opposed to the principle not only of a state church, but of a church at all, in the sense in which that term is understood by other sects. In 1752, also, a new breach was made in the national church by the Reverend Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock in Fife, who, refusing to preside at the induction of an unpopular presentee, was that year deposed by the Assembly, and, being afterwards joined by the Reverend Thomas Boston, founded the body still subsisting under the name of the Relief Synod, and now forming, after the Associate Synod, the most numerous dissenting body in Scotland. Their distinguishing tenet may be said to be a more extended freedom of communion than is allowed either by the established church or by any other sect in Scotland. Lastly, we may notice the remnant of the old Cameronians,—or followers of Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, two famous field-preachers and martyrs of the days of persecution that followed the restoration of the Stuarts,—styling themselves the Reformed Presbyterian Church, of whom there are still above thirty congregations in Scotland, mostly in the southern

* Fraser's Life of Erskine, p. 431.

† In Scotland, we believe, often called the Old Light Burghers and Anti-Burghers, the others being called the New Light Seceders.

counties, besides nearly as many more in the north of Ireland. These people are also sometimes called Macmillanites, from one of their preachers named Macmillan, in the early part of the last century, to whom Mr. Thomas Nairne, one of the eight original members of the Associate Presbytery, joined himself in 1743, and was in consequence excommunicated a few years after, by those he had left. At that date the Cameronians seem to have been commonly known by the designation of the Old Dissenters; and in fact they formed the only religious body in Scotland not in communion with the established church from the Revolution down to the new secession in 1733, with the exception of the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians, who, as not being Presbyterians, were hardly counted Christians at all in the popular notion.

A curious account of the religious sects in Scotland in the reign of Anne and in the early part of that of George I. is given in the Memoirs of John Ker of Kersland, the First Part of which was published by himself in 1726. Ker, who was nothing else than a government spy, and has the impudence to parade in front of his book a privy seal warrant granted to him to act in that capacity by the ministers of Queen Anne in 1707—"to keep company," are the words, "and associate himself with such as are disaffected to us and our government, in such way or manner as he shall judge most for our service"—possessed great interest among the Cameronians, as the representative of a family which they had been accustomed to regard as their head from the days of Pentland Hill and Bothwell Bridge.* He divides the people of Scotland into three parties, in reference to religion; the Presbyterians, Cameronians, and Episcopalians. By the Presbyterians he means those of the established church, whom he describes as "very numerous, but under no concert among themselves, farther than their church judicatures, to which it is impossible to communicate anything but what must become public." Our author evidently looks with a certain degree of contempt upon a state of things so unsuited for the exercise of his honourable vocation. The Presbyterians, he adds, "are of late not a little weakened by an accident in the late reign, when the episcopal party in Scotland, supported by their friends in England, obtained a toleration [by the act of 1712, mentioned above.] The presbyterian ministers, as well as they, were expressly ordered at the same time to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, under the penalty of being excluded *ab officio et beneficio*, which, notwithstanding, near the half of the Presbyterian clergy refused, not from any dissatisfaction at the Revolution settlement, or his present majesty's accession, but because the oath referred to an act of parliament in England whereby the sovereign was obliged to be of the communion of that church. This occasioned great differences and animosities betwixt the complying and non-juring Presbyterians, and very much impaired what confidence and harmony they used to have, which may, if not prevented by a spirit of meekness and charity (rare to be found among churchmen), prove of dangerous consequence in Scotland; for the laity in that country generally concern themselves in the disputes and quarrels of the clergy with more zeal than discretion." Of the Cameronians Ker gives the following account, which contains some particulars not generally known:—"The Cameronians affect that form of church government established in the year 1648, when presbytery was at the greatest height, dissenting from the indulgence granted by King Charles II., the toleration granted by King James VII., and the present Revolution establishment. They are governed by a general quarterly meeting, composed of two commissioners deputed from each county and town where they live; and whatever is concluded at this meeting is a general rule to the whole. They are closer in their deliberations than the other parties are; for, whatever comes before them is disputed and concluded without the least danger of being exposed, and whatever is so resolved is accordingly executed with the profoundest secrecy and expedition; for the Cameronians are always ready under their proper officers well appointed, and when it is found at their general meeting to be their duty, can assemble upon the least notice given them; so that, though they be the fewest in number, yet they are in effect the most considerable of the three; for the commonalty of the presbyterians, who have a wonderful opinion of their piety and virtue, always readily join with them in anything that concerns the public, which the Cameronians encourage and allow, but do not permit them to be members of their societies, or to bear any part in the conduct of their affairs. They continue to preach in the fields, as they did in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., when the persecution was hot against them, still retaining the doctrine of resistance and self-defence, which they never fail to put in practice when violence is offered, or when in the least disturbed in their worship, at their meetings or their conventicles or elsewhere, by any sort of governors or governments whatsoever. They are peaceable in this reign, because they are permitted to live quietly, and so may be said to be passive under the present administration, but at the same time decline to be any way active in supporting it—being in them a mighty point of conscience." In a subsequent part of his book the author furnishes us with a further illustration of the character of this honest and brave-hearted people, and also of his own, in a circumstantial relation which he gives of the way in which, when they were about to rise in concert with the Jacobites against the Union, then under discussion in the Scottish parliament, he wormed himself into

* Ker's name, in fact, was Crawford; but, having married a daughter of the family of Kersland, he took the name and arms of Ker on the death of his brother-in-law, the last male of that family, who was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692.

the confidence of the unsuspecting Cameronians, and managed to make their design break down. All this he tells, not indeed without many becoming expressions of contrition and self-condemnation; but it is not his dissimulation and trickery of which he is ashamed—the professed source of his regret is, that by this clever exploit he should have been "the unhappy instrument of the Union," which he would have us believe must certainly have been prevented if he had not in this way drawn off the insurgent Cameronians. Writing with this view, it is probable that he somewhat exaggerates the effective force of that "zealous remnant," as they called themselves, at the date to which his account refers. He, no doubt, also greatly overrates the numbers of the Episcopalians, when he says that they formed "near one-half of the nation"—"among whom," he adds, "are to be reckoned the most part of the Highland clans, whose numbers, notwithstanding their late misfortunes, are rather increased than diminished; for the commiseration of such, who, with their families, have suffered lately, hath brought over several converts to that side." Had the Highlanders been all Episcopalians, they probably did not amount to a fourth part of the inhabitants of Scotland; and the number of Episcopalians among the rest of the population was certainly very inconsiderable. Ker makes no mention of any Roman Catholics in Scotland, although, in the northern parts of the country especially, the ancient religion still had many adherents.

The religious movement in Scotland of which the Secession was the most noticeable outward manifestation had in reality a much deeper source than was indicated by the circumstances out of which it immediately arose, and the particular grievance, or grievances, against which it professed to be mainly directed. The law of patronage, and the various things that were objected to in the conduct of the church courts, only furnished the occasion for an outbreak and revolt against the existing systems, with the real elements of which these obtrusive but superficial subjects of complaint had little or nothing to do. They were but the drawing of the trigger—at most but the exciting spark; the explosive force that wrought the effect lay in passions and tendencies that had long been forming and gathering strength in the minds of men, and were now become, in a manner, the moving spirit of the age, in so far as religion was concerned. It is remarkable that as nearly as possible of the same date with the Secession in Scotland is the origin of Methodism in England. John Wesley, then a student of Christ Church, Oxford, had been in the habit of meeting several evenings in each week for prayer and other religious exercises with some of his fellow-students from the year 1729, and the society thus formed was joined by George Whitefield in 1734; in 1735 John Wesley and his brother Charles embarked for the new colony of Georgia to preach to the American Indians; and in the following year Whitefield, then just ordained, began to produce a great sensation in London and other parts of England, and to draw crowded audiences around him, by the fervid manner and strain of his preaching, and by a species of what would now be called Evangelicism in doctrine, which he and his Oxford associates appear to have drawn for the most part from the writings and the conversation of the celebrated mystic William Law, and which at that time, to the unaccustomed ears of the congregations of the established church, sounded almost like a new gospel. But neither Whitefield's nor Wesley's religious views were matured, or assumed their final shape and character, till some time after this: Wesley seems to have received his first impressions of what he accounted genuine Christianity from the Moravians, with some of whom he met in America, and whose principal establishment, at Hernhut, in Germany, he visited after his return to Europe in 1738; he himself relates that his conversion took place at a meeting of some religious friends in Aldersgate-street, London, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, about a quarter before nine o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, the 24th of May, in that year: Whitefield, again, who had first visited Georgia about the same time that Wesley left that colony, and who, in the course of a second transatlantic expedition, on which he set out about two years afterwards, proceeded to the older settlements of New England, was confirmed by the American puritans and the books they put into his hands in the Calvinistic creed of election and reprobation, of which he had already received a tincture from the writings of the old nonconformist divine Matthew Henry, and to which he ever afterwards adhered. Preaching extemporaneously and in the open air was first practised by Whitefield in 1739, in the interval between his two visits to America; the colliers in the neighbourhood of Bristol—to whom, drawn forth from the living entombment of their black subterranean workingplaces, well might the blue sky seem temple enough—were, appropriately, the first audiences he addressed in this fashion; soon afterwards he gathered other crowds of thousands and tens of thousands around him by the same novel exhibition, in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and on Blackheath; and in this course he was speedily followed by Wesley, who had now returned from Germany, and found himself, as well as his friend, excluded from nearly all the pulpits of the established church. "When I was told," says Wesley, "I must preach no more in this, and this, and another church, so much the more those who could not hear me there flocked together when I was at any of the societies, where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain. But, after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England which I had often done in a warmer climate,—namely, when the

house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first in Bristol, where the society rooms were exceedingly small, and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterwards in or near London." But Wesley, who never altogether got over the feelings of the churchman, is very solicitous to show that this deviation from the established forms was rather forced upon than sought by him. "Be pleased to observe," he adds,—"1. That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church (though not by any judicial sentence), for preaching such doctrine. This was the open, avowed cause: there was at that time no other, either real or pretended (except that the people crowded so). 2. That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air till after this prohibition. 3. That, when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation: there was no scheme at all previously formed which was to be supported thereby; nor had I any other end in view than this—to save as many souls as I could. 4. Field-preaching was therefore a sudden expedient, a thing submitted to rather than chosen; and therefore submitted to because I thought preaching even thus better than not preaching at all."* The great distinction of Methodism, the permission of lay preaching, soon followed; the first lay preacher whom Wesley employed being Thomas Maxfield, whom he had originally engaged merely to watch over and pray with the congregation at his meeting-house called the Foundery, which he had built in Moorfields, while he should himself be ministering elsewhere, but who, on one occasion of his master's absence, having discovered his talent, did not choose to keep it folded up in a napkin. When Wesley first heard of what was going on, he hastened home to London with full resolution to shut the mouth of the aspiring youth, and that with all dispatch. "So, Thomas Maxfield is turned preacher, I find," said he to his mother, as soon as he arrived, with dissatisfaction in his countenance, and speech abrupt enough; but the old lady withstood him to his face, warned him not to oppose the work of God, and told him that Thomas Maxfield was as surely called of God to preach as he himself was; upon which Wesley consented to hear him, and, by an examination into the effects of his administrations, was soon convinced that his mother was in the right. A year or two before this, indeed, Whitefield had, in Wales, associated himself for some time with a Mr. Howel Harris, who, although a layman, had long been in the habit of preaching to the people in Welsh; Whitefield and he used to preach at every place to which they came, the one after the other, that those who understood either language might be benefited; but it does not appear that Whitefield had employed lay preachers in any of his own chapels, or contemplated their ministrations as a regular engine of religious instruction, before the adventurous attempt of Maxfield and its success made Wesley a convert to that practice, which indeed has been carried much farther in the great Methodist community of which he was the founder than by the rival sect.

For scarce had the two regenerators well begun to act in concert, when, from friends and coadjutors, they became rivals, and, for a short time, almost enemies. Notwithstanding the love of power, and aversion to equality and brotherhood, attributed to Wesley, it must be admitted that the breach was of Whitefield's making, or at least that it was he who first came forward as the public opponent and assailant of his senior. This happened in the year 1741. "During my journey through America," says Whitefield himself, "I had written two well-meant, though injudicious, letters against England's two great favourites—the Whole Duty of Man and Archbishop Tillotson, who, I said, knew no more of religion than Mahomet. Mr. John Wesley had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of perfection and universal redemption, and very strongly against election, a doctrine which I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from. I had written an answer, which, though revised and much approved of by some judicious divines, I think had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expresses." This paper, it appears, was printed, possibly without the knowledge of the writer, and copies of it distributed among Wesley's audience at the Foundery, upon which Wesley himself, having procured one of the copies, exhibited it from the pulpit, and then tore it in pieces, an act which was instantly imitated by all those present to whom it had been given. In thus acting Wesley said that he did just what he believed Mr. Whitefield himself would have done if he had been present. But, if this was his notion at the moment, he soon began to see things in a different light. "Having heard much," he tells us in his Journal not long after this, "of Mr. Whitefield's unkind behaviour since his return from Georgia, I went to hear him speak for himself, that I might know how to judge. I much approved of his plainness of speech. He told me he and I preached two different gospels, and therefore he not only would not join with, or give me the right hand of fellowship, but was resolved publicly to preach against me and my brother whensoever he preached at all. Mr. Hall, who went with me, put him in mind of the promise he had made but a few days before,—that, whatever his private opinion was, he would never publicly preach against me. He said that promise was only an effect of human weakness, and he was now of another mind." The consequence was an almost complete separation between the two for nearly ten years: it was not till 1750 that they ever again officiated together in the same chapel. Meanwhile, each had been unceasingly employed in extending the boundaries of what was still in

* Wesley's Journal.

the main their common Methodism, notwithstanding the discordance upon some points that kept them labouring apart, and sometimes at the opposite corners of the field. The year 1743 is assigned as the epoch of the proper foundation of Wesleyanism, by the contrivance of the first form of that system of government and discipline which has ever since united the followers of Wesley into one compact and at the same time thoroughly organized body, reciprocally sentient over all its circles, societies, classes, bands, and individual members; and also under the most complete subjection to the ruling authority, which he himself wielded so long as he lived, and then left to the council of preachers called the Conference, in so far at least as legal deeds could bequeath such a legacy. No such frame of polity was erected by Whitefield for his description of Methodism; and, whether owing entirely to that, or partly to other differences, this latter has never spread among the mass of the population to anything like the same extent with Wesleyanism; but it was perhaps somewhat before the other in penetrating to the upper regions of society,—an advantage which it owed chiefly to the accident of Whitefield finding a convert to his peculiar views in the famous Lady Huntingdon. Selina, Countess-Dowager of Huntingdon, appears to have taken to the open profession of Methodism soon after the death of her husband, in 1746; it was in the summer of 1748, after his return from a third visit to America, that Whitefield was first invited to preach in her house at Chelsea. He records the reception his oratory met with from a large company of persons of rank, whom her ladyship on several occasions afterwards brought together to hear him, with considerable complacency:—"All behaved quite well, and were in some degree affected. The Earl of Chesterfield thanked me, and said, Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you,—or words to this purpose. At last Lord Bolingbroke came to hear, sate like an archbishop, and was pleased to say that I had done great justice to the divine attributes in my discourse. Soon afterwards her ladyship removed to town, where I preached generally twice a week to very brilliant audiences." But, certainly, this was not so favourable a soil in which to sow the seeds of Methodism, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, as that to which the ordinary labours both of Wesley and Whitefield were devoted—the labouring population. For what is still very much the case was so to a yet greater extent in the infancy of Methodism;—its chief acceptance was among the working classes; it did not make its way even up to the middle classes with any pervading or considerable effect. And indeed it is essentially, in all its peculiarities, the poor man's religion.

Besides its early diffusion in the congenial climate of puritanical America, where it continues to flourish in a degree unexampled even in the country where it first sprung up, Methodism was planted within the present period both in Scotland and in Ireland. Calvinistic Scotland, as might be expected, received the light in the first instance from Whitefield; he came to Edinburgh in the end of July, 1741, soon after his return from America, at the pressing request of the Erskines, who hoped to turn the great preacher to good account in building up and extending their new church. Immediately before his visit, Ebenezer wrote to him:—"It would be very unreasonable to propose or urge that you should incorporate as a member of our presbytery, and wholly embark in every branch of our reformation, unless the father of light were clearing your way thereunto: . . . . all intended by us at present is, that, when you come to Scotland, your way may be such as not to strengthen the hands of our corrupt clergy and judicatories, who are carrying on a course of defection, worming out a faithful ministry from the land, and the power of religion with it. . . . . But if, besides, you could find freedom to company with us, to preach with us and for us, and to accept of our advices in your work while in this country, it might contribute much to weaken the enemy's hand, and to strengthen ours in the work of the Lord, when the strength of the battle is against us." All this was dexterous enough; and so was the concluding paragraph of the epistle:—"I am truly sorry for the Wesleyans—to see them so far left to themselves. I have seen your letter to them, and praise the Lord on your behalf, who enables you to stand up so valiantly for the truth, and with so much light and energy."* But the result was altogether different from what was anticipated. Whitefield, before he made his appearance, frankly told his friends of the Secession that, as to their grand question of church government, he intended to be "*quite neuter;*" and that he "came simply to preach the gospel, and not to enter into any particular connexion whatever." When he arrived he had a meeting with the Associate Presbytery, which left no favourable impression on either side; and, in the end, Whitefield fell rather into the hands of some of the clergy of the establishment. This issue of the matter was precipitated by the breaking out of an extraordinary moral epidemic, famous to this day in Scotland under the name of the Outpouring at Cambuslang, a furious fever of fanaticism which took possession of the people of that place, a small village in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, soon after some of them had heard Whitefield preach in that city, and which was encouraged and hailed as a miraculous manifestation of the favour of heaven by the clergyman of the parish—by whom, however, it was attributed quite as much to his own preaching as to that of Whitefield. The "Cambuslang work" was at its height in February and March, 1742, and when Whitefield returned to Scotland in the beginning of June that year, he was immediately assailed by his late friends of the Associate Presbytery, both from the pulpit and the press, with a storm of the most

* Fraser's Life of E. Erskine, p. 427.

passionate reprobation. One zealous minister in particular, a Rev. Adam Gib, first preached against him, and then published his sermon, with a preface and an appendix, in which he attempted to prove by an elaborate demonstration that the apostle of Methodism, instead of being a minister of Christ, was, in fact, one of the false Christs of whom we are forewarned by the evangelist—in other words, that he was a mere impostor and emissary of the devil. In making out this proposition, the reverend gentleman calls all sorts of arguments to his aid. Mr. Whitefield, he contends in the first place, could be no minister of Christ, inasmuch as his assumption of that character rested upon his ordination in the English episcopal church, the most untenable form of church government ever set up or proposed; "but we must not overlook," he adds, "the strength that is added to our argument by the English church and church officers their subjection unto and acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, in all causes and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil: Mr. Whitefield will not, I suppose, deny that he has sworn the oath of supremacy, nor allege that he has not vomited that spiritual poison." But, secondly, even if Mr. Whitefield were a minister of Christ, still, says Mr. Gib, "he has no warrant to minister or preach here; . . . . it is ridiculous and unwarrantable for a minister to come from one church and preach in another church, without either a mission from the church officers whence he comes, or admission by the church officers, or a due call by the church members, whither he comes." This is amusing enough, and a high strain of churchmanship indeed, from such a quarter—the more especially, considering that Whitefield had actually been only twelve months before invited to Scotland by the heads of the writer's own party. In a subsequent passage, the Scottish dissenter argues, somewhat ingeniously, that Whitefield's weekday services were an evident violation of the Fourth Commandment—of which he contends the introductory clause, "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work," is as much a part as the remainder in which the seventh day is set apart for the worship of God. To carry public religion at least beyond the bounds thus set for it, he conceives can proceed from nothing but a temptation of Satan, aiming thereby at disgusting men with all religion. Mr. Gib's sermon was followed up by an act of the Associate Presbytery appointing a day of fasting and humiliation on account of "the present awful symptom of the Lord's anger with this church and land, in sending them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie," and leaving them "to give such an open discovery of their apostasy from him in the fond reception that Mr. George Whitefield has met with, notwithstanding it is notoriously known that he is a priest of the church of England, who hath sworn the Oath of Supremacy, and abjured the Solemn League and Covenant!" Whitefield, on the other hand, declared it as his deliberate opinion that the Associate Presbytery were building a Babel, which he believed would *soon* tumble down about their ears. Scotland was also afterwards repeatedly visited and in great part traversed by Wesley; his first journey was made in 1751, and he returned again in 1753, in 1757, and several times in subsequent years. But, although a great sensation was produced at the moment by his preaching as well as by that of Whitefield, the Methodism of neither the one nor the other ever made any considerable progress in that part of the island. In so far, in truth, as Methodism was a system of religious belief or feeling, it was either the same thing that was already preached in Scotland by the popular section of the established clergy and in all the dissenting churches; or it was so directly opposed to the old presbyterian spirit and doctrines, that it never could take any extensive possession of the popular mind. As a system of what is called Evangelism, it was not needed; as a system of Latitudinarianism in regard to church government and various other matters, it was abhorrent to the most deep-rooted of the national prejudices and habits. In Ireland, at least in the more Protestant parts of the country, Methodism has been much more prosperous. It was first carried thither in 1747, by a Wesleyan preacher of the name of Williams, and the new field thus opened was soon after visited both by John Wesley himself and by his brother Charles. For a time, indeed, while the missionaries confined their operations, as they did at first, to the three southern counties, considerable opposition was encountered, not only from the Roman Catholic priests, and the mobs whom they were believed to instigate, but also from the high-church feeling of Protestants of the upper classes: in August, 1749, the grand jury of the county of Cork actually presented Charles Wesley and nine of his fellow preachers as persons of ill fame, vagabonds, and common disturbers of his majesty's peace, and prayed that they might be transported; nor, on the whole, was any great inroad made by the new sect upon the domains either of the Roman Catholic or of the Established Church. But when they at last found their way to Ulster, where the common puritanical spirit of Protestant dissent had long been extensively prevalent, they received a very cordial reception; and there were soon many congregations of both kinds of Methodists formed in that part of Ireland.

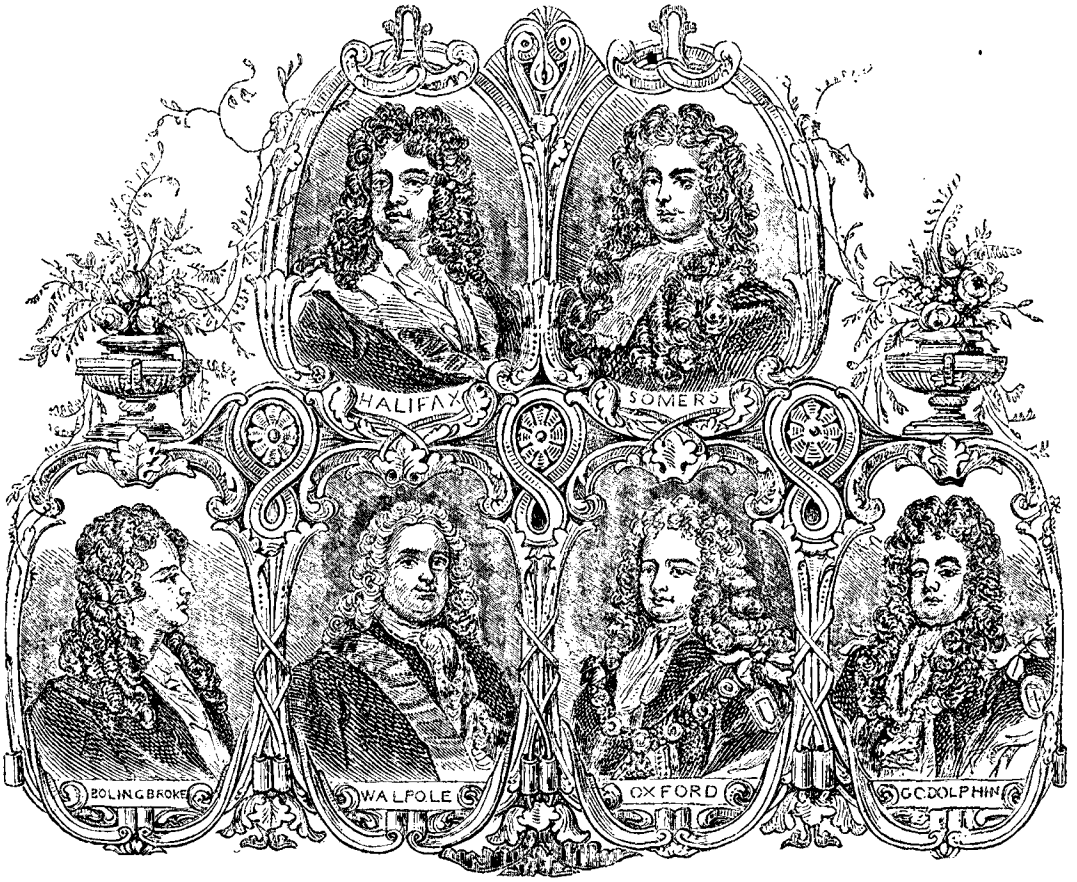
We have spoken of the Methodists as a sect; but, at least during the present period, they can scarcely be properly said to have assumed that character. Both Wesley and Whitefield continued to regard themselves as ministers of the Church of England, in which they had been ordained, to the end of their days; and Wesley, at least, seems to the last to have held to the principle that all the people ought to be in communion with the establishment, whether they saw good to limit their attendance to the ministrations of the established clergy or no. He recommended that the mem-

bers of all his congregations should receive the sacrament thrice a-year, as the law required, from their parish clergymen—nay, he seems almost to have thought that it was their duty to hear service once every Sunday at their parish churches, as well as at their meeting-houses at another hour and on weekdays. At first, indeed, he would not allow his own preachers either to administer the sacrament or to perform the office of baptism, though after a time he deemed it expedient to give way in that matter to the general feeling of his followers. Whitefield perhaps did not carry his notion of the rights of the establishment quite so high, nor does he appear to have thought it of any great importance how those to whom he preached might be circumstanced in regard to the mere outward framework of a church; but this very indifference withheld him from sympathizing with dissent as such. Methodism, therefore, so long as its founders lived, was, or at any rate professed to be, rather an extension of the established church than a hostile or rival institution—a cultivation of the waste lands and commons lying scattered and hitherto neglected within her territory, rather than an abstraction of any part of her ancient and rightful possessions. No doubt all this while there were many elements in the new power thus called into action as essentially adverse to the interests of the establishment as any system of open dissent that was ever preached. On the whole, the position of Methodism in this respect was exceedingly anomalous. The whole phenomenon bore a considerable resemblance to the appearance in the early part of the thirteenth century of the Mendicant Friars;* who both in the field and manner of their ministrations, and in the peculiar character of the relation in which they stood to the church and to the rest of the clergy, may be styled the Methodists of that time.

* See vol. i. p. 803.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.



Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, from a Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
Lord Chancellor Somers, from a Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, from an anonymous Etching.
Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, from a Painting by Pond.
Robert Haley, Earl of Oxford, from an anonymous Print.
Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, from a Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

WITH the period at which we are now arrived commences a totally new era in our constitutional history. Henceforth we shall meet with no more attempts on the part of the English monarchs to render themselves absolute. Attempts of such a nature, if such there shall be, are to be looked for henceforth from other quarters than the throne. We have seen the power of the king, with some fluctuations, on the whole upon the decline down to the wars of the Roses. We have seen it revive on the termination of these wars in the person of Henry VII., while that of the nobility was almost crushed. We have seen this monarchical power, on the whole, upon the increase through the reign of Henry VIII., and, perhaps we may add, of Elizabeth, though the Reformation had given it a blow which was acting with silent but vast effect in undermining it. We have seen the attempts of Charles I. to render this power well defined and fixed terminate in his defeat, dethronement, and violent death;—we have seen a bold and sagacious man, born in no higher station than that of a private gentleman,

fill the seat and wield the sceptre of a long line of kings;—we have seen the representatives of that line restored to their ancestral throne;—and, finally, we have seen them driven from it for ever by, to use the words of Mr. Hallam, "the triumph of those principles which, in the language of the present day, are denominated liberal or constitutional, over those of absolute monarchy, or of monarchy not effectually controlled by stated boundaries."* Henceforth it is strictly correct to call our monarchy a monarchy strictly and definitely limited by law. It had, indeed, theoretically been limited by law long before; but it was found to be one thing to place a law on the statute-roll, and another to put it in force. But now, besides the change of circumstances in the relative power of the king and the middle classes of society, the line of succession was broken; and, although a descendant of the old family was placed on the throne, it was not the descendant next in succession. Consequently any claim to title on the score of hereditary right was rendered about as invalid as if a total stranger had been placed on the throne. This completely swept away the whole of that large mass of mischiefs having their source in

"The right divine of kings to govern wrong."

So that, without very much if at all altering the form of the government, its spirit was essentially changed.

The terms in which the English and Scottish conventions respectively had declared the *vacancy* of the throne have already been detailed.† As has also been observed, the Scotch term "forfaulted" was in some sense more correct than the "abdication" or "desertion" put forward by the English convention; and yet, as Mr. Hallam has remarked, even forfeiture would not bear out, by strict analogy of law, the exclusion of an heir, whose right was not liable to be set aside at the ancestor's pleasure. Upon the whole, perhaps, to declare abdication and vacancy of the throne was the best course, as best agreeing with the resort by the convention to the leading idea for which, in the view of reason, all governments are constituted—the good, namely, of the governed, and not of the governing, and to the casting away everything like an acknowledgment of a system of law which they had seen converted into instruments of oppression in the hands of a tyrant. Whatever, too, may be the opinion respecting the philosophical accuracy of an "original contract between the king and people,"‡ embodied in the resolution of the Lords, there is no doubt that it aided the other idea (which, whatever name it might get, whether *abdication* or *desertion*, was undoubtedly well understood to mean *forfeiture* in a large sense) in breaking that mighty spell which had enthralled for so many centuries the minds not only of the English nation, but of nearly all mankind. This breaking then of the line of succession in this solemn manner,—accompanied, that is to say, by these solemn and deliberate declarations of the grounds on which it was broken,—did what no positive statutes or improvements, no concessions, however large and sweeping, made by the legitimate prince—what, in short, nothing else could do—"it cut up by the roots," to borrow the appropriate language of Mr. Hallam, "all that theory of indefeasible right, of paramount prerogative, which had put the crown in continual opposition to the people. A contention had now subsisted for five hundred years, but particularly during the four last reigns, against the aggressions of arbitrary power. The sovereigns of this country had never patiently endured the control of parliament; nor was it natural for them to do so, while the two houses of parliament appeared historically, and in legal language, to derive their existence as well as privileges from the crown itself. They had at their side the pliant lawyers, who held the prerogative to be uncontrollable by statutes—a doctrine of itself destructive to any scheme of reconciliation and compromise between a king and his subjects: they had the churchmen, whose casuistry denied that the most intolerable tyranny could excuse resistance to a lawful government. These two propositions could not obtain general acceptation without rendering all national liberty precarious. It has been always reckoned among the most difficult problems in the practical science of government, to combine an hereditary monarchy with security of freedom, so that neither the ambition of kings shall undermine the people's rights, nor the jealousy of the people overturn the throne. England had already experience of both these mischiefs. And there seemed no prospect before her, but either their alternate recurrence, or a final submission to absolute power, unless by one great effort she could put the monarchy for ever beneath the law, and reduce it to an integrant portion instead of the primary source and principle of the constitution. She must reverse the favoured maxim—A Deo rex, a rege lex—and make the crown itself appear the creature of the law. But our ancient monarchy, strong in a possession of seven centuries, and in those high and paramount prerogatives which the consenting testimony of lawyers and the submission of parliaments had recognised, a monarchy from which the House of Commons and every existing peer, though not perhaps the aristocratic order itself, derived its participation in the legislature, could not be bent to the republican theories which have been not very successfully attempted in some modern codes of constitution. It could not be held, without breaking up all the foundations of our polity, that the monarchy emanated from the parliament or even from the people. But by the Revolution and by the act of settlement the rights of the actual monarch, of the reigning family, were made to emanate from the parliament and the people. In

* Const. Hist. vol. iii. p. 139.

† See ante, pp. 3, 8.

‡ The assertion of an "original contract," though in fact a mere legal fiction, after all but amounts to this, that, in the eye of reason, government must exist under an *implied* obligation to act for the good of the governed.

technical language, in the grave and respectful theory of our constitution, the crown is still the fountain from which law and justice spring forth. Its prerogatives are in the main the same as under the Tudors and the Stuarts; but the right of the House of Brunswick to exercise them can only be deduced from the convention of 1688."*

The great advantage, therefore, of the Revolution, Mr. Hallam conceives to consist "in that which was reckoned its reproach by many and its misfortune by more; that it broke the line of succession."

We now proceed to examine somewhat in detail some of the leading legal enactments, which were the produce of this new state of things.

The Declaration of Rights was presented to the Prince of Orange by the Marquess of Halifax, as speaker of the Lords, in the presence of both Houses, on the 13th of February, 1689. This declaration was some months afterwards confirmed by a regular act of the legislature, the statute 1 W. & M. sess. 2, c. 2, entitled "An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the succession of the Crown," commonly called "The Bill of Rights;" which, as it forms the basis of the present fabric of our constitution, it will be necessary to explain somewhat minutely.

It begins by reciting in full the Declaration of Rights, which, after an enumeration of the illegal and arbitrary acts committed by the late king, proceeds to state that, upon his abdication of the government, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled pursuant to letters written by the Prince of Orange, did, "as their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare—"1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without the consent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. 3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner, than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law. 8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empanneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void. 13. And that for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

The Declaration adds—"And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties;" and then proceeds to state the resolution of the said assembled Lords and Commons, "That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange."

Then come the new Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, in the following words:—

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God."

"I, A. B., do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

The act then goes on to recite, that thereupon their said majesties did accept the said crown and royal dignity, according to the resolution and order of the said Lords and Commons, contained in the said declaration. These recitals being concluded, the bill thus proceeds:—

"Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said Declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things

* Const. Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 125. (8vo. edit.)

therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said Declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said Declaration; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come. And the said Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge, and declare, that, King James II. having abdicated the government, and their majesties having accepted the crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united, and annexed."

The next clause, or section, of the act confirms the limitation of the crown as declared in the recital given above. By what is usually numbered section 9th, every person who shall hold communion with the church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm; and in all such cases, the people of these realms shall be absolved from their allegiance, and the crown shall descend to the next heir. By section 10th, all kings and queens of this realm are required to take the declaration in the statute 30 Car. II. stat. 2. c. 1. Section 11 is the enacting clause, and, as the form is a somewhat unusual one, resembling rather more the ancient form of parliamentary bill by way of petition and answer, we shall give it in full:—"All which their majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, and established accordingly."

By section 12th it is enacted "that from and after this present session of parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of parliament."

Section 13th and last contains an exception in respect of charters, grants, or pardons, granted before the 23rd of October, 1689.

Very soon after an act was passed "For recognising King William and Queen Mary, and for avoiding all questions touching the act made in the parliament assembled at Westminster, the 13th day of February, 1688." This act is stat. 2 W. and M. c. 1., and as, though an important document, it is short, we shall give it in full:—

"We your majesties' most humble and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, do beseech your most excellent majesties that it may be published and declared in this high court of parliament, and enacted by authority of the same, that we do recognise and acknowledge your majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, stiles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed. And, for the avoiding of all disputes and questions concerning the being and authority of the late parliament assembled at Westminster, the thirteenth day of February, one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, we do most humbly beseech your majesties that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's and queen's most excellent majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular the acts made and enacted in the said parliament were and are laws and statutes of this kingdom, and as such ought to be reputed, taken, and obeyed by all the people of this kingdom."

One of the most important matters to be dealt with under the new state of things was the settlement of the revenue. The first parliament of Charles II. had allotted 1,200,000*l.* as the ordinary revenue of the crown, to arise from various sources —the hereditary excise in liquors granted in lieu of the king's feudal rights, other excise and custom duties granted for his life, the post-office, the crown lands, the tax called the hearth-money (2*s.* on every house), and some other small taxes.

These taxes in the beginning of Charles's reign fell short of the sum estimated. But the revenue of James from these sources, by the improvement of trade, amounted, on an average of the four years of his reign, to 1,500,564*l.* To this is to be added the produce of duties imposed for eight years by his parliament of 1685, amounting to more than 400,000*l.* When the question of William's revenue came on, the accounts which the Commons called for exhibited both such an increase of the receipts and such a disposal of the expenditure as determined them more effectually to curtail the former and control the latter.

They voted 1,200,000*l.* for the annual revenue of the crown in time of peace; one half to be appropriated to the maintenance of the king's government and royal family, or what used to be called the civil list, the other to the public defence and contingent expenditure. The war which broke out rendered a new arrangement necessary. Estimates of the probable expenditure in the army, navy, and ordnance, were regularly laid before them, and the supply granted was strictly *appropriated* to each particular service. This principle of appropriation, as we have already mentioned, was introduced in the reign of Charles II., but, though generally, not invariably adopted. From the Revolution it has been the invariable usage. A clause is inserted in the Appropriation Act of every session forbidding the supplies to be applied to any other purposes than those specified. "This," says Mr. Hallam, "has given the House of Commons so effectual a control over the executive power, or, more truly speaking, has rendered it so much a participator in that power, that no administration can possibly subsist without its concurrence; nor can the session of parliament be intermitted for an entire year, without leaving both the naval and military force of the kingdom unprovided for. In time of war, or in circumstances that may induce war, it has not been very uncommon to deviate a little from the rule of appropriation, by a grant of considerable sums on a vote of credit, which the crown is thus enabled to apply at its discretion during the recess of parliament; and we have had also too frequent experience, that the charges of public service have not been brought within the limits of the last year's appropriation. But the general principle has not perhaps been often transgressed without sufficient reason; and a House of Commons would be deeply responsible to the country, if through supine confidence it should abandon that high privilege which has made it the arbiter of court factions and the regulator of foreign connexions. It is to this transference of the executive government (for the phrase is hardly too strong) from the crown to the two Houses of parliament, and especially the Commons, that we owe the proud attitude which England has maintained since the Revolution, so extraordinarily dissimilar, in the eyes of Europe, to her condition under the Stuarts. The supplies meted out with niggardly caution by former parliaments to sovereigns whom they could not trust, have flowed with redundant profuseness, when they could judge of their necessity and direct their application. Doubtless the demand has always been fixed by the ministers of the crown, and its influence has retrieved in some degree the loss of authority; but it is still true that no small portion of the executive power, according to the established laws and customs of our government, has passed into the hands of that body, which prescribes the application of the revenue as well as investigates at its pleasure every act of the administration."*

There is another annual enactment, which, from the very important effect produced by it—in combination with the provision last mentioned—upon our government and constitution, this seems the proper place for noticing:—this is the Mutiny Bill, under which the army is held together, and subjected to military discipline, and which, at least in its modern form, regulates the manner in which the troops are to be dispersed among the several innkeepers and victuallers throughout the kingdom, and establishes a martial-law for their government. These two enactments, the Appropriation of Supply Act, and the Mutiny Act, form together the grand security for the *annual* meeting of parliament, and may therefore be considered as the instruments by which the popular element exercises its main control over the machine of government, both as regards the power of impelling it to do good and checking it from doing mischief; but especially of preventing it from turning the large amount of money which parliament intrusts it with the distribution of, and the standing army, of which it has the command, to the subversion of the liberties of the subject and the establishment of arbitrary power.

The Mutiny Bill naturally leads us to say something on the subject of standing armies, the introduction of which forms one of the leading features of the commencement of this period of our history. It has been seen that no army existed before the civil wars, that the Guards in the reign of Charles II. amounted to about 5000 men, that in the interval between the peace of Ryswick and the war of the Spanish succession the Commons would not consent to keep up more than 7000 troops. "The number of troops for whom a vote was annually demanded, after some variation, in the first year of George I., was during the whole administration of Sir Robert Walpole, except when the state of Europe excited some apprehension of disturbance, rather more than 17,000 men, independent of those on the Irish establishment, but including the garrisons of Minorca and Gibraltar. And this continued with little alteration to be our standing army in time of peace during the eighteenth century.†

This question of keeping up troops was always a bone of contention between William and

* Const. History, vol. iii. p. 159.
† Hallam, Const. Hist. iii. 346.

his parliament. The keeping up a permanent body of men devoted to war as a profession, has, we think, generally been admitted by all parties to have been a somewhat perilous innovation. Something indeed may and has been said in its favour, independently of the question of its political necessity. Adam Smith remarks somewhere in his Wealth of Nations, that the effect of not making war a distinct profession, but making all men soldiers for a time, but none permanently, is to have six bad or indifferent soldiers and six good ploughmen spoiled; while the effect of the contrary course is that you have five good ploughmen and one good soldier. On the other hand it is held by Blackstone,* on the principles of Montesquieu, that "nothing ought to be more guarded against in a free state than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people." "It should," he adds, wholly be composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses should be allowed. And perhaps it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and soldier be more intimately connected together."

There is certainly some force in these arguments —perhaps more than in the argument of Adam Smith mentioned above, though that is not by any means without weight either. But there is more force in circumstances than in all their arguments —and the march of events and the condition of Europe have determined the question of the existence of a standing army.

Much the same objections against a standing army as those quoted above from Blackstone were urged by Mr. Pulteney in 1732, in parliament. He said, "They are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws; blind obedience and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer is their only principle. The nations around us are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by these very means; by means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties; it is indeed impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up." † Mr. Pulteney overlooked the fact of the important difference between the case of England and those countries which, as he asserts, (for it is not the case—they lost their liberties long before the introduction of standing armies), have lost their liberties by their standing armies, comprised in the circumstance that England had a representative government, and not one of those countries to which he alludes had anything of the kind. A standing army is undoubtedly a most cogent piece of logic on whatever side it may chance to be arrayed. But its effect as an instrument for good or evil will, we think, be found to depend much upon the hands in which it is placed. It is true that a revolutionary army, flushed with a long unbroken series of victories, such as that of Cromwell and Napoleon, may "*settle*" the nation in which way it will. But we do not think there will be found an instance of a standing army, maintained in ordinary times for ordinary purposes, making use of its power for other ends than those which are desired and commanded by the person or persons raising and keeping up such army. A Louis XIV. would of course keep up a standing army for ends different from those for which an English parliament would keep up one. *Generally* a standing army will obey the sovereign —whether the sovereign be one—a few—or the nation at large. Though, after all, this is somewhat a begging of the question or a sort of reasoning in a circle. For it is the fact of who—namely, the one, the few, or the many—has the strongest argument, the *ultima-ratio*—in other words, the greatest physical force—which determines who shall be sovereign; and if the standing army obeys, as we have said, the sovereign—and the sovereign is sovereign either from having the command of the standing army or of a physical force greater than the standing army—this merely amounts to saying, that the standing army obeys the standing army or a force greater than the standing army. The conditions on which—the objects for which—a standing army has always been professed to be kept up in this country are thus expressed in the preamble to the Annual Mutiny Act:—"Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law: and whereas it is adjudged necessary by his majesty and this present parliament, that a body of forces should be continued, for the safety of the united kingdom, the defence of the possessions of his majesty's crown, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe."

In early times every freeman had the education of a soldier; now that education is confined to a class—none but those who make it a profession know anything of the military art. This and the general neglect of manly and athletic exercises (a neglect which has likewise a most pernicious effect upon the bodily strength and health of the community), have undoubtedly a tendency to place any nation, whatever be its form of government—however popular, however democratical it may be, very much at the mercy of that class of its citizens who devote themselves to the cultivation of military science, and the athletic and manly exercises which such a profession requires. This is an interesting and most important topic, but a full discussion of it would be unsuited to this work. We shall, therefore, conclude what we have to say on it here with some judicious remarks from Mr. Hallam. After

* 1 Com. 415. † Parl. Hist., viii. 904.

noticing the establishment of the militia in 1757, and its comparative failure as regarded some of the main ends contemplated in the plan of it, he thus proceeds:—"Yet the success of that magnificent organisation which, in our own time, has been established in France is sufficient to evince the possibility of a national militia; and we know with what spirit such a force was kept up for some years in this country, under the name of volunteers and yeomanry, on its only real basis, that of property, and in such local distribution as convenience pointed out. Nothing could be more idle, at any time since the Revolution, than to suppose that the regular army would pull the Speaker out of his chair, or in any manner be employed to confirm a despotic power in the crown. Such power, I think, could never have been the waking dream of either king or minister. But, as the slightest inroads upon private rights and liberties are to be guarded against in any nation that deserves to be called free, we should always keep in mind not only that the military power is subordinate to the civil, but, as this subordination must cease where the former is frequently employed, that it should never be called upon in aid of the peace without sufficient cause. Nothing would more break down this notion of the law's supremacy than the perpetual interference of those who are really governed by another law; for the doctrine of some judges, that the soldier, being still a citizen, acts only in preservation of the public peace, as another citizen is bound to do, must be felt as a sophism even by those who cannot find an answer to it. And, even in slight circumstances, it is not conformable to the principles of our government to make that vain display of military authority which disgusts us so much in some continental kingdoms. But, not to dwell on this, it is more to our immediate purpose that the executive power has acquired such a coadjutor in the regular army that it can, in no probable emergency, have much to apprehend from popular sedition. The increased facilities of transport, and several improvements in military art and science, which will occur to the reader, have in later times greatly enhanced this advantage."*

In 1693 a bill for triennial parliaments passed both Houses. The king, however, refused his assent. But a similar bill passed both Houses and received the royal assent in November, 1694. By this act, which is the stat. 6 and 7 W. and M. c. 2, it is provided; 1. "That a parliament shall be holden once in three years at the least." 2. "That within three years at the farthest from and after the dissolution of the then present parliament, and so from time to time for ever thereafter within three years at the farthest from and after the determination of every other parliament, legal writs under the great seal shall be issued by direction of their majesties, their heirs and successors, for calling, assembling, and holding another new parliament." 3. "That from henceforth no parliament whatsoever that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, shall have any continuation longer than for three years only at the farthest, to be accounted from the day on which, by the writs of summons, the said parliament shall be appointed to meet." The clause against the intermission of parliaments is practically rendered unnecessary by the Appropriation and Mutiny acts described above; these rendering even annual sessions indispensable to the machine of government.

This triennial act did not last much above twenty years. In 1715 was passed the statute 1 G. I. st. 2, c. 38, intituled "An Act for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments appointed by an act made in the sixth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled *an act for the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.*" This act, after reciting the clause of the above act (6 and 7 W. and M. c. 2), which limits the duration of parliament to three years, thus proceeds:—"And whereas it has been found by experience that the said clause hath proved very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm than were ever known before the said clause was enacted; and the said provision, if it should continue, may probably at this juncture, when a restless and popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that this present parliament, and all parliaments that shall at any time hereafter be called, assembled, or held, shall and may respectively have continuance for seven years, and no longer, to be accounted from the day on which by the writ or summons this present parliament hath been, or any future parliament shall be, appointed to meet, unless this present, or any such parliament hereafter to be summoned, shall be sooner dissolved by his majesty, his heirs or successors."

It is not to be denied that there is much weight in many of the reasons assigned in the above recited preamble for extending the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. Whether they are as valid at the present day as they were in the year 1715 may well be a question; and it may also be observed that it is not easy to conceive a greater stretch of power than for a House of Commons elected, as was the House which passed this act, for only three years, to extend its own existence to seven. But, although many attempts have been made to return to triennial parliaments, and a few to bring about annual parliaments, it is unnecessary to add that neither have yet succeeded.

This seems not an unfit occasion to devote some attention to the very important subject of *privilege*

* Const. Hist. iii. 349.

of parliament. Although we do *not* attach the importance to the etymology and primary signification of words or names as a means of arriving at the knowledge of all which they both denote and connote, that antiquarians and grammarians are apt to do, we think, nevertheless, that these may often be used advantageously as an aid in the prosecution of such an inquiry. We have, in a former Book* explained the primary meaning, or at least the derivation, of the word *privilege*. According to this view *privilege* may be considered as being that, as regards two branches of the legislature, the Lords and Commons, which *prerogative* once was, as regards the third—the King. Now, according to Blackstone, "by the word *prerogative* we usually understand that special pre-eminence which the king hath over and above all other persons, and *out of the ordinary course of the common law*, in right of his royal dignity."† And, again, "Finch lays it down as a maxim, that the prerogative is that law in case of the king which is law in no case of the subject."‡

Both prerogative and privilege are incidents of sovereignty; consequently, as the monarchical limb of the sovereignty in our constitution has declined in magnitude and power, the prerogatives incidental to it have declined in importance, have become more definite, and more subjected to the laws and the jurisdiction of the courts which are the interpreters and administrators of the laws. While on the other hand, as the democratical limb of the sovereignty has increased in magnitude and power, the privileges incidental to it have had a tendency to increase in importance, to become less definite, and less subjected to the common laws and the jurisdiction of the courts. At the present day the courts of common law may judge of prerogative, while privilege is beyond their jurisdiction. §

We shall now proceed shortly to give the result of some of the leading cases that have occurred on the subject of parliamentary privilege. It will be convenient to consider this subject under the following heads:—

I. Individual or personal privilege.

II. Collective privilege. 1. As against strangers. 2. As against members of the House

I. The first in order of time of the immunities acquired by the House of Commons was the exemption of the members and their servants from arrest on civil process during their session.‖ But in all the instances of the exercise of this privilege that occur under the Plantagenet dynasty, and up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the House of Commons had never proceeded to deliver such person out of custody by virtue of their own authority; but if the party had been taken in execution, they applied for an act of parliament to enable the chancellor to issue his writ for his release; or if he was confined only on mesne process, he was delivered by his writ of privilege, which he was entitled to at common law.* The first case in which the Commons took upon themselves to proceed by their own authority was that of George Ferrers, which occurred in the 34th of Henry VIII. (1543.) The history of the transaction is related by Holinshed, and Mr. Hallam attaches considerable importance to it:† but Mr. Hatsell expresses a supposition that the measures which were adopted, and the doctrine which was then first laid down with respect to the extent of the privileges of the House of Commons, were more owing to Ferrers being a servant of the king than to his being a member of the House of Commons.‡ And Mr. Hatsell's view is certainly rather supported by the report of the committee in Edward Smalley's case, "that they could find no precedent for setting at large by the mace any person in arrest, but only by writ;" which shows that, if they were aware of Ferrers's case, they did not view it merely in the light of an arrest for debt, but as an insult on the king and the House.§ However, their rescinding‖ the above-mentioned resolution before proceeding to act in Smalley's case would seem to leave the matter pretty much as it would be if no such resolution had been made.

Ferrers's case was *this*: — Ferrers, a burgess, and "servant to the king," having been arrested on his way to the House, the Commons sent their serjeant with his mace to the Compter, in Bread-street, to demand his release. Of what then ensued Holingshed gives the following graphic narration: —"Thereupon the serjeant, as he had in charge, went to the Compter, and declared to the clerks there what he had in commandment; but they, and other officers of the city, were so far from obeying the said commandment, as, after many stout words, they forcibly resisted the said serjeant; whereof ensued a fray within the Compter gates between the said Ferrers and the said officers, not without hurt of either part, so that the said serjeant was driven to defend himself with his mace of arms, and had the crown thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his man stroken down. During this brawl the sheriffs of London, called Rowland Hill and H. Suckley, came thither, to whom the serjeant complained of this injury, and required of them the delivery of the said burgess, as afore; but they, bearing with their officers, made little account either of his complaint or of his message, rejecting the same contemptuously, with much proud language, so as the serjeant was forced to return without the prisoner; and, finding the Speaker and all the knights and burgesses set in their places, declared unto them the whole cause as it fell out; who took the same in so ill

* See Vol. ii. p. 162. † 1 Com. 239. ‡ Ibid.

§ In the case of the Queen v. Paty, reported in Lord Raymond and other reporters (2 Lord Raymond, 1105), Powys, Justice, says, "the meaning of privilege is, that it is a privilege against the courts of law."

‖ One or two of the earlier cases cited by Hatsell seem to imply that the goods of a member should not be taken in execution. These cases are—the case of the Master of the Temple, the case of the Prior of Malton, and Atwyll's case.—*Hatsell's Precedents*, vol. i. chap. 1.

* Hatsell's Precedents, vol. i. chap. 1.

† Const. Hist. i. 364.

‡ Hatsell's Precedents, i. 58.

§ Hatsell, i. 90. Ferrers's case is cited by Mr. Justice Coleridge in his judgment in the case of Stockdale v. Hansard, 9 Adolphus and Ellis, 234.

‖ Journals, Feb. 22 and 27 (1575).

part, that they all together (of whom there were not a few as well of the king's privy council as also of his privy chamber) would sit no longer without their burgess, but rose up wholly, and retired to the Upper House, where the whole case was declared, by the mouth of the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley, knight, then lord chancellor of England, and all the lords and judges there assembled; who, judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the Commons' House. They, returning to their places again, upon new debate of the case, took order, that their serjeant should eftsoon repair to the sheriffs of London, and require delivery of the said burgess, without any writ or warrant had for the same, but only as afore: albeit the lord chancellor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the Commons' House refused, being of a clear opinion that all commandments and other acts proceeding from the nether House were to be done and executed by their serjeant without writ, only by show of his mace, which was his warrant."

Upon this the Commons compelled the two sheriffs and one of the clerks of the Compter, together with the plaintiff who had sued out the writ against Ferrers, to appear at the bar of their House, and committed them, and the officers also "which did the arrest," to prison; and the king, in the presence of the judges, confirmed this assertion of privilege by the Commons. His majesty's observations on the occasion, as recorded by Holingshed, are curious and to the following effect:— "First commending their wisdom in maintaining the privileges of the House (which he would not have to be infringed in any point), alleged that he, being head of the parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason to have privilege for him, and all his servants attending there upon him. So that if the said Ferrers had been no burgess, but only his servant, that in respect thereof he was to have the privilege as well as any other. For I understand, quoth he, that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your cooks and housekeepers, enjoy the said privilege, insomuch as my lord chancellor here present hath informed us, that he being Speaker of the parliament, the cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a statute of the staple; and forasmuch as the said cook, during the parliament, served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by the privilege of the parliament. And, further, we be informed by our judges, that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of parliament; wherein we as head, and you as members, are conjoined and knit together into one body politic, so as whatsoever offence or injury (during that time) is offered to the meanest member of the House is to be judged as done against our person and the whole court of parliament; which prerogative of the court is so great (as our learned counsel informeth us) as all acts and processes coming out of any other inferior courts must for the time cease and give place to the highest. And, touching the party, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our servant to be one of this House, and being warned thereof before, would nevertheless prosecute this matter out of time, and therefore well worthy to have lost his debt, which I would not wish, and therefore do commend your equity, that, having lost the same by law, have restored him to the same against him who was the debtor; and this may be a good example to other, not to attempt anything against the privilege of this court, but to take the time better."—"Whereupon," adds the chronicler, "Sir Edward Montague, then lord chief justice, very gravely declared his opinion, confirming, by divers reasons, all that the king had said, which was assented unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary."

In 1575 the Commons repeated the proceeding in Ferrers's case, in the case of Smalley, a member's servant, whom, "after sundry reasons, arguments, and disputations, and after, as we observed above, rescinding* a previous resolution that they could find no precedents for setting at liberty any one in arrest except by writ of privilege, they sent their serjeant to release. The House afterwards finding that Smalley had fraudulently procured this arrest, in order to be discharged of the debt and execution, committed him to the Tower for a month, and until he should pay to William Hewet (his creditor) the sum of 100*l.*"†

In 1584 one Mr. Anthony Kirle, "for that he had served Mr. Stepneth, a member, with a subpœna out of the Star Chamber in parliament time, and within the palace of Westminster," was "committed prisoner to the serjeant's ward and custody," and ordered to pay all Mr. Stepneth's expenses in or about the arrest. After which the said Kirle was brought again to the bar, and, there kneeling upon his knees, Mr. Speaker pronounced unto him the judgment of the House, in the name of the whole House. And on the 16th of February a motion having been made for his release, he was brought to the House, "and, kneeling upon his knees, making very humble submission to the House, and acknowledging his faults, alleging it also to have proceeded of ignorance, and not of wilfulness; and likewise having paid to the serjeant, to Mr. Stepneth's use, the money set down by Mr. Morrice and Mr. Sands (the persons for that purpose appointed by the House) according to the former order of the House," he was discharged, paying his fees, after he had first taken the oath of supremacy.‡

Towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth the House had laid it down as the established law of privilege, "That no subpœna or summons, for the attendance of a member in any other court, ought to be served without leave obtained, or information given to the House; and

* Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 366. This circumstance would seem to have escaped Hatsell.

† Hatsell, i. 90.

‡ Hatsell, i. 97—99.

that the persons who procured and served such process were guilty of a breach of privilege, and were punishable by commitment or otherwise by the order of the House."* But the Commons did not stop here. They afterwards made it a breach of privilege to put them under the necessity of seeking redress at law for any civil injury. Persons were committed to prison for entering on the estates of members, carrying away timber, lopping trees, digging coal, fishing in their waters. Their servants, and even their tenants, claimed the same privilege. "In fact, hardly anything could be done disagreeable to a member, of which he might not inform the House, and cause it to be punished."† Then the act 12 Will. III. c. 3, was passed, whereby the members of both Houses were rendered liable to civil actions during the prorogation or adjournment of parliament for above the space of fourteen days. But they still continued to insist upon the extraordinary immunities which we above alluded to; until the statute 10 Geo. III. c. 50, altogether took away their exemption from legal process, except as regards personal arrest.

We conclude our remarks on this branch of privilege with the following passage from a speech delivered by John Pym, on the 7th of November, 1640, which contains a just as well as eloquent exposition of the end and object for which alone this privilege of parliament exists. "The privileges of parliament were not given for the ornament or advantage of those who are the members of parliament; they have a real use and efficacy, towards that which is the end of parliaments: we are free from suits, that we may the more entirely addict ourselves to the public services; we have therefore liberty of speech that our counsels may not be corrupted with fear, or our judgments prevented with false respects. Those three great faculties and functions of parliament, the legislative, judiciary, and consiliary power cannot be well exercised without such privileges as these. The wisdom of our laws, the faithfulness of our counsels, the righteousness of our judgments, can hardly be kept pure and untainted, if they proceed from distracted and restrained minds." Most true. And yet it will of course sometimes happen, that, by a shameful abuse of this privilege, profligate and needy men shall seek the walls of parliament as a place of sanctuary in which they may entirely evade the liquidation of their just debts, and from which they may insult with impunity their unfortunate creditors. The elevation of the electoral body, however, by the spread of intelligence, and the removal, as far as possible, of all corrupting influences, furnishes the proper corrective of this evil.

II. 1. Under the second class of privileges, those claimed by either House of Parliament collectively, two of the most remarkable cases, viz., the case of *the Kentish Petition* and that of *Ashby* v. *White*, have already been noticed at some length in a preceding chapter.* Under this head comes the power, at one time claimed and acted upon, of animadverting upon and punishing political offences. One of the flagrant cases of this sort was that of Floyd, whom, for some slighting words about the elector palatine and his wife, daughter of James I., the Lords, having withdrawn the case from the jurisdiction of the Commons to their own, punished in the most outrageous and revolting manner.† In the reign of George I. the Commons committed Mist, the printer of a newspaper called "Mist's Journal," to Newgate, for a political libel, in no way concerning them or their privileges, and addressed the king that the authors and publishers of the libel might be prosecuted.

To this head of collective privilege is to be referred their power to try all cases of elections of their own members. In the reign of Elizabeth the Commons asserted, "perhaps," observes Mr. Hallam,‡ "for the first time," the right of determining all matters relative to their own elections. Such questions had in former times been decided in chancery, from which the writ issued, and into which the return was made. Mr. Hallam notices a remarkable entry in the Journals in the first year of the reign of Mary. A committee is appointed "to inquire if Alexander Nowell, prebendary of Westminster, may be of the House;" and it is declared next day by them, that "Alexander Nowell, being prebendary in Westminster, and thereby having voice in the convocation house, cannot be a member of this House; and so agreed by the House, and the queen's writ to be directed for another burgess in his place." Again, in 1586, the House appointed a committee to examine the state and circumstances of the returns for the county of Norfolk. The chancellor had issued a second writ for this county, on the ground of some informality in the first return, and a different person had been elected. The Commons having taken notice of this, and in consequence her majesty's displeasure having been signified to them that "the House had been troubled with a thing impertinent for them to deal with, and only belonging to the charge and office of the lord chancellor," the House, notwithstanding, proceeded to nominate a committee to examine into and report the circumstances of these returns. They reported that those elected on the first writ should take their seats, and, further, that they understood the chancellor and some of the judges to be of the same opinion; but that "they had not thought it proper to inquire of the chancellor what he had done, because they thought it prejudicial to the privilege of the House to have the same determined by others than such as were members thereof. And though they thought very reverently of the said lord chancellor and judges, and knew them to be competent judges in their

* Hatsell, i. 120.
† Hallam, Const. Hist. iii. 360, *note*.

* See ante, pp. 122, 158, 177. † See Vol. iii. p. 84.
‡ Const. Hist. i. 373.

places, yet in this case they took them not for judges in parliament in this House; and, therefore, required that the members, if it were so thought good, might take their oaths and be allowed of by force of the first writ, as allowed by the custom of this House, and not as allowed of by the said lord chancellor and judges. Which was agreed unto by the whole House." "This judicial control over their elections," observes Mr. Hallam, "was not lost. A committee was appointed in the session of 1589, to examine into sundry abuses of returns, among which is enumerated that some are returned for new places. And several instances of the House's deciding on elections occur in subsequent parliaments."*

The House's sensitive concern about the assertion of their dignity in small matters is indicative too of that state of mind which is observable both in individuals and in bodies of individuals, or nations, when they have attained that stage in their progress when they are emerging from a comparatively dependent and powerless into a more independent and powerful position, but before they feel themselves quite secure and at ease in that position. Of this nature were their complaint to the Lords in 1597, that they had received a message from the Commons at their bar without uncovering, or rising from their places; their remonstrance against having amendments to bills sent down to them on paper instead of parchment; and their indignation when Sir Robert Cecil, in 1601, proposed that the speaker should *attend* the lord-keeper about some matter.†

2. In regard to the power of punishing offences committed by any of the members themselves, Arthur Hall's case is usually regarded as the earliest precedent; but Mr. Hallam mentions two cases before that, viz., the case of Stone in the reign of Edward VI., and that of Copley in the reign of Mary. Arthur Hall's‡ case is thus given in Hatsell:—"On the 4th of February, 1580, Mr. Norton complains of a book 'not only as reproaching some particular good members of the House, but also very much slanderous and derogatory to the general authority, power, and state of this House, and prejudicial to the validity of its proceedings in making and establishing of laws.' And, it appearing to the House that Mr. Hall, a member, was the procurer that the said book was printed and published, he is ordered immediately to be apprehended by the serjeant-at-arms, assisted by Sir Thomas Scott and Sir Thomas Browne: and a committee is appointed to send for the printer and examine him. On the 6th of February this committee made a report, and, Mr. Hall and the printer being brought to the bar, and further examination had, Mr. Hall is committed to the custody of the serjeant, and other committees are added to the former committee to inquire further into this matter. On the 14th of February Mr. Vice-Chamberlain reports what had appeared to the committee; when Mr. Hall being again brought to the bar, he submitted himself to the House, and asked pardon: and, being withdrawn, 'sundry motions and arguments were had, touching the quality and nature of his faults, and of some proportionable forms of punishment for the same, as, imprisonment, fine, banishment from the fellowship of this House, and an utter condemnation and retractation of the book.' But at last it was resolved, without one negative voice, 'that he should be committed to prison;' and, upon another question, 'that he should be committed to the prison of the Tower, as the prison proper to the House.' And it was further resolved, 'that he should remain in the said prison for six months, and until he should make retractation of the book, to the satisfaction of the House; that he should pay a fine to the queen of five hundred marks; and that he should be presently severed and cut off from being a member of this House any more during the continuance of this present parliament:' and a new writ is ordered in the room of Mr. Hall, 'so as before disabled to be any longer a member of this House.' And, Mr. Hall being brought to the bar, Mr. Speaker pronounces this judgment against him. After which, the course and form of these proceedings and judgment of the House are ordered to be digested and set down in due form, and entered by the clerk, as other orders and proceedings are; which was done accordingly. The offences which drew upon Mr. Hall this very extraordinary punishment are recited at large in the journal, and were certainly a very high and dangerous contempt of the authority of the House: he had been before charged before the privy council for the same crime; and it appears from the names of the committees, that the most considerable members of the House, lawyers and others, were appointed to examine into and conduct this matter; and yet, I should suspect, from the number of punishments which were heaped upon him, 'expulsion, fine, and imprisonment,' that there was some private history in this affair—some particular offence against the queen, with which we are not acquainted; for neither Prynn nor the compilers of the Parliamentary History do, as I can find, mention a single syllable of this very new and extraordinary proceeding. On the 18th of March, being the last day of the session, Mr. Hall having not then made any revocation or retractation of the errors, slanders, and untruths contained in his book, the House appoint several members of the House, the most considerable in rank, to receive such revocation, when he shall please to make it, to be by them reported to the House in the next session; but the House does not shorten the time of his commitment, or remit any part of the judgment pronounced against him. This parliament being afterwards dissolved, we find nothing more of this matter in the Journal. But some years after, on the 21st of November, 1586, Mr. Markham, member for Grantham, acquaints the House, on the part of the inhabitants of

* Const. Hist. i. 375.
† D'Ewes,
‡ Hall was the master of Smalley mentioned above.

that borough, 'that Mr. Arthur Hall, having been in some former parliaments returned a burgess for the said borough, and in some of those parliaments disabled for ever afterwards to be any member of the House at all, hath of late brought a writ for his wages (amongst other times) for his attendance at the late session of parliament, holden at Westminster, in the twenty-seventh year of the queen, during which time he did not serve in the House, but was, for some causes, disabled to be a member. This matter was referred to a committee, who, on the 21st of March, report at large a state of the facts; 'that Mr. Hall had commenced suits for his wages, as one of the burgesses of the parliament in the thirteenth, fourteenth, eighteenth, and twenty-third years of the Queen (not in the twenty-seventh), but that the committee having desired him to remit the said wages which he had demanded of the said borough, Mr. Hall had very freely and frankly remitted the same.' "*

We have given this case at the greater length, as it may be and is considered the leading case as regards the power of the House of Commons over its own members. In this case of Arthur Hall, the House inflicted the threefold penalty of imprisonment, fine, and expulsion. The right of imprisoning any of their members for misconduct in the House or relating to it was thenceforth understood to belong to them. The right of imposing a fine they asserted rarely, that of expulsion frequently. This privilege was stretched beyond its legitimate bounds against Sir Richard Steele, who was expelled the House for writing the "Crisis," a pamphlet reflecting on the ministry.† Upon this proceeding Walpole make the following just remark:—"The liberty of the press is unrestrained; how, then, shall a part of the legislature dare to punish that as a crime, which is not declared to be so by any law framed by the whole?" Some attempts have even been made to carry this farther, by declaring the party incapable of sitting in parliament.

In the preceding Book we have given an account of the important privilege claimed and established by the Commons of their exclusive right respecting money bills.‡ The principles deduced by Hatsell, as the result of the precedents he has collected are—1. That, in bills of supply, the Lords can make no alteration but to correct verbal mistakes. 2. That in bills, not strictly of supply, yet imposing burdens, as turnpike acts, &c., the Lords cannot alter the amount of the toll, the persons to manage it, &c.; but in other clauses they may make amendments. 3. That, where a charge may indirectly be thrown on the people by a bill, the Commons object to the Lords making amendments. 4. That the Lords cannot insert pecuniary penalties in a bill, or alter those inserted by the Commons.§

There are several technical niceties to be observed as to the form of bringing forward a motion having for its object a vote of money, which, as a departure from them, is at once fatal to such motion, it may be convenient to notice briefly in this place. On the 11th of December, 1706, it was resolved, "That this House will receive no petition for any sum of money, relating to public service, but what is recommended from the crown." On the 11th of June, 1713, this was declared to be a standing order.* "From this time whenever any petition which desires relief by public money is offered, or any motion is made to this purpose, before the speaker puts the question for bringing up the petition, it has been the practice, in conformity to this order, that the recommendation of the crown should be signified by some member authorised so to do: and if the chancellor of the exchequer, or person usually authorised by the crown, declines to signify this recommendation, the House cannot properly receive the petition."†

But in cases in which the House has addressed the king to give directions that an account may be taken of damages sustained by any parties, for compensating which they assure his majesty that they will make provision, the report having been made, the account having been taken, in conformity with the said directions of his majesty, the laying of the said report on the table of the House amounts to an authorised message from the crown, that the crown recommends the same to their consideration. All that then remains is, for it to be referred to the committee of supply to vote the amount specified in the report.‡

In 1695 the law of treason was placed on a new footing by the statute 7 Will. III. c. 3, entitled "An Act for Regulating of Trials in cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason." The 1st section of the statute provides that all persons indicted for high treason shall have a copy of the indictment five days before trial, on paying for the same [this period was extended to ten days by 7 Anne, c. 21, § 11, see below], and shall be admitted to make their defence by counsel, and to produce witnesses on oath; the court being authorised to assign counsel. By section 2, no person is to be tried for high treason but on the oath of two lawful witnesses, "either both of them to the same overt act, or one of them to one, and the other of them to another overt act of the same treason; unless the party indicted, and arraigned, or tried, shall willingly, without violence, in open court, confess the same, or shall stand mute, or refuse to plead, or in cases of high treason shall peremptorily challenge above the number of thirty-five of the jury." And by section 4, one witness to one treason, and another to another, were not to be deemed two witnesses. By section 5, no person was to be indicted for treason

† Hatsell, i. 93, 94, 95.
‡ See Vol. iii. p. 841.
† See ante, p. 283.
§ Hatsell's Precedents, iii. 138.

* Hatsell's Precedents, vol. iii. p. 149. "The uniform practice of the House has applied this order, not only to petitions for public money, or money relating to public service, but to all motions whatever for grants of money, whether the grounds of such applications have been public or private."—*Hatsell*, iii. 173.
† Hatsell, iii. 214.
‡ Hatsell, iii. 174.

unless within three years after the offence. By section 7, all persons tried are to have copies of the panel of the jurors who are to try them, two days at the least before the trial; and to have "the like process of the court where they shall be tried, to compel their witnesses to appear for them at any such trial or trials, as is usually granted to compel witnesses to appear against them." By section 8, "No evidence shall be admitted or given of any overt act that is not expressly laid in the indictment."

By the 14th section of statute 7 Anne, c. 21, "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms," it is enacted that after the decease of the Pretender, and at the end of three years after the immediate succession to the crown, upon the demise of her majesty, shall take effect, as the same is limited by the act 1 Will. and Mary, sess. 2, c. 2, and by the act 12 Will. III. c. 2, when any person is indicted for high treason, or misprision of treason, a list of the witnesses that shall be produced on the trial for proving the said indictment, and of the jury, mentioning the names, profession, and place of abode of the said witnesses and jurors, shall be also given at the same time that the copy of the indictment is delivered to the party indicted; and that copies of all indictments for the offences aforesaid, with such lists, shall be delivered to the party indicted ten days before the trial, and in presence of two or more credible witnesses; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding."

"The subtlety of crown lawyers," says Mr. Hallam, "in drawing indictments for treason, and the willingness of judges to favour such prosecutions, have considerably eluded the chief difficulties which the several statutes appear to throw in their way. The government has at least had no reason to complain that the construction of those enactments has been too rigid. The *overt acts* laid in the indictment are expressed so generally that they give sometimes little insight into the particular circumstances to be adduced in evidence; and, though the act of William is positive that no evidence shall be given of any overt act not laid in the indictment, it has been held allowable, and is become the constant practice, to bring forward such evidence, not as substantive charges, but on the pretence of its tending to prove certain other acts specially alleged. The disposition to extend a constructive interpretation to the statute of Edward III. has continued to increase, and was carried, especially by Chief Justice Eyre, in the trials of 1794, to a length at which we lose sight altogether of the plain meaning of words, and apparently much beyond what Pemberton or even Jefferies had reached. In the vast mass of circumstantial testimony which our modern trials for high treason display, it is sometimes difficult to discern whether the great principle of our law, requiring two witnesses to overt acts, has been adhered to; for certainly it is not adhered to, unless such witnesses depose to acts of the prisoner from which an inference of his guilt is immediately deducible."*

We have already shown that, by the Bill of Rights, the crown was settled upon, or, in the language of lawyers, limited to William and Mary for their joint lives; after their decease, to the heirs of the body of Mary; and, for default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and, for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of William. In the year 1700 a second act of settlement was passed, by which a further limitation of the crown was made to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. This act is the stat. 12 and 13 Will. III. c. 2, and is intituled "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." As it is that under which the present royal family hold the crown of these realms, we shall give its provisions in some detail. The act, after reciting as much of the 1 Will. and Mary, sess. 2, c. 2 (the Bill of Rights), as relates to the settlement of the crown, and lamenting the disappointment of the hopes of his majesty's "good people" by the deaths of Queen Mary and Duke of Gloucester, proceeds to enact "That the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, daughter of the most excellent Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, daughter of our late sovereign lord King James the First, of happy memory, be and is hereby declared to be the next in succession, in the Protestant line, to the imperial crown and dignity of the said realms of England, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, after his majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and for default of issue of the said Princess Anne, and of his majesty respectively; and that from and after the deceases of his said majesty, our now sovereign lord, and of her royal highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and for default of issue of the said Princess Anne, and of his majesty respectively, the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, with the royal state and dignity of the said realms, and all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities, to the same belonging and appertaining, shall be, remain, and continue to the said most excellent Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants."

By the 2nd section it is provided "That all and every person and persons who shall or may take or inherit the said crown, by virtue of the limitation of this present act, and is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with the see or church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be subject to such incapacities, as in such case or cases are by the said recited act provided, enacted, and established; and that every king and queen of this

* Const. Hist., iii. 224.

realm, who shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom by virtue of this act, shall have the coronation oath administered to him, her, or them, at their respective coronations, according to the act of parliament made in the first year of the reign of his majesty and the said late Queen Mary, entitled "An act for establishing the coronation oath," and shall make, subscribe, and repeat the declaration in the act first above recited, mentioned, or referred to in the manner and form thereby prescribed."

By section 3rd, with a view to the further securing "our religion, laws, and liberties, from and after the death of his majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and in default of issue of the body of the said princess and of his majesty respectively," it is enacted,

1. "That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established;

2. "That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament;

3. "That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament;*

4. "That, from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the privy council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same;†

5. "That after the said limitation shall take effect‡ as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalised or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown, to himself or to any other or others in trust for him;

6. "That no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons;§

7. "That after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both houses of parliament it may be lawful to remove them;

8. "That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in parliament."

The fourth of the above recited articles, being occasioned by the alteration wrought in the working of the machinery of the executive government by the *practical* substitution of the cabinet council for the privy council, leads us to give some account of the changes which had taken place in the king's council since we last treated of it. We have already described the original composition of the king's council, or *curia regis*.* We have traced the changes gradually undergone by this body through successive ages; showing that first a large portion of its judicial functions was separated from it, and constituted the several courts of judicature; that then its legislative functions were withdrawn, and formed the parliament; while what remained, namely, the administrative functions, were exercised by it, under the name of the king's ordinary or privy council. "The number of privy councillors," says Sir Edward Coke, "is at the king's will; but of ancient time there were twelve or thereabouts."† However this might be, it is certain that, in process of time, the privy council increased to so large a number that it was found inconvenient for secrecy and dispatch. Hence it naturally happened that some members of the body, more in the confidence of the king than the rest, should form a sort of *concilium in concilio*,—a sort of smaller, inner, *more privy* council. Mr. Hallam says, "The name of a cabinet council, as distinguished from the larger body, may be found as far back as the reign of Charles I."‡ In the reign of Charles II. it became usual for the ministry to obtain the king's final approbation of their measures before they were laid, for form's sake, before the council. This distinction between the cabinet and the privy council, having become more fully established during the reign of William, produced a difficulty as to the responsibility of the advisers of the crown; the cabinet having no legal existence, its members, in fact, being only responsible as privy councillors, a responsibility which they share with their adversaries, and which therefore amounts to nothing. Thus, in the case of a treaty which the House of Commons should deem mischievous and dishonourable, the chancellor, setting the great seal to it, might be the only minister who could be fixed with responsibility. To obviate this difficulty the above clause was inserted in the act of settlement. But, for what reasons does not appear, it was repealed only four years after.§ Mr. Hallam says, "Whether it were that real objections were found to stand in the way of this article, or that ministers shrunk

* Repealed by 1 Geo. I. stat. 2, c. 51.
† Repealed by 4 Anne, c. 8, § 24.
‡ This clause extends not to persons naturalised at or before the accession of Geo. I. to the crown.
§ Repealed by 4 Anne, c. 8, § 25.

* See particularly vol. i. p. 567, et seq.
† Inst. 43.
‡ Const. Hist. iii. 249.
§ 4 Anne, c. 8, § 24.

back from so definite a responsibility, they procured its repeal a very few years afterwards."*

"In a note, at page 227 of the first volume of his Constitutional Code, Mr. Bentham states, on good authority, that about the time of the Earl of Shelburne's administration (1782) there were in the cabinet three grades of power, distinguished by appropriate denominations: the cabinet simply, the cabinet with the circulation, and the cabinet with the circulation and the post-office. By the circulation was meant the privilege of a key to the box in which the foreign dispatches, with or without other documents of the day, went their round: by the post-office, the power of ordering the letters of individuals to be opened at the post-office. Such was the information given by a minister to Mr. Bentham. 'How the matter stands at present, he adds, he cannot say."†

The plans of government are discussed and determined in the cabinet council; but orders and proclamations still issue, at least nominally, from the privy council, though it is generally understood that no councillor is to attend unless summoned. And in fact the office of privy councillor, as distinct from cabinet minister, is now little if anything more than a titular distinction, conferring the title of right honourable upon the bearer of it. Although the council, whether privy or cabinet, has no longer any legislative power, some of the more important of its functions partake more of the legislative than the administrative character. Thus, when a legislative measure of importance is about to be brought before parliament by the government, it is discussed beforehand most minutely in the cabinet. In regard to legislative measures grounded on the report of commissions of inquiry, the following course has sometimes been pursued. The report of the commissioners has been sent in parts, as it was written, to the cabinet, where the measure was then discussed, and a bill prepared in order that it might be submitted to the House soon after the laying of the commissioners' report upon the table.

We may here mention, as connected with this subject, another innovation of modern times,—the name, and in some measure the office, of prime minister. We make an extract on this subject from the work already quoted:—

"The term *premier*, prime minister, or first minister, appears to have been borrowed from the French late in the seventeenth century. Lord Clarendon has the following remark on the term:—'First minister,—a title so newly translated out of French into English, that it is was not enough understood to be liked, and every man would detest it for the burden it was attended with.'‡

"After the abolition of the office of chief justiciary, although probably there was never a time when some one of the great officers about the king did not hold and exercise more power than the others, yet the functions of chief minister belonged to no one in particular by virtue of his office. Sometimes the officer who exercised the chief authority might be the lord chancellor, sometimes the lord steward, sometimes the lord treasurer. As the judicial duties of the chancellor became more complicated, weighty, and important, and the others began to be confined to occasions of state ceremony, the importance of the lord treasurer as an administrative functionary increased, particularly after the time of lord treasurer Burleigh, who might be considered as long filling the place of Elizabeth's chief minister. However, for some time after, it by no means followed that the office of lord treasurer necessarily implied that of prime minister, as in these days that of first lord of the treasury, though, as it were, only a portion or limb of the lord high treasurer, is understood to do; for example, Charles the First's principal ministers were Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, lord deputy, and afterwards lord-lieutenant of Ireland."*

The minutes of a speech of Lord Somers on the bill for abolishing the privy council of Scotland† convey an idea of the privy council as it now exists, or at least existed before it was quite superseded by the cabinet council, which, as emanating from so eminent an authority, deserves attention. According to Lord Somers, "The privy council is not a constitution of state and policy, but, in effect, a sovereign court of justice to see the laws effectually executed, and for preservation of the public peace." What his lordship meant by these words, even when taken with what follows them in the same place, is not very easy to see. But the commentary we should be inclined to put upon them is this—that the privy council being identical with that branch of the English constitution which is represented by the crown, when the crown is absolute or almost so, as in the time of the Tudors, the privy council would be a very arbitrary, tyrannical power, partaking of, or rather wielding at once, all the three functions of sovereignty, the judicial, legislative, and administrative. But when the power of the monarchy is limited, the privy council will be, what it became after Charles I.'s time, limited in its authority also, and exercising only certain judicial and administrative functions, and those strictly guarded and limited by law, or by a power greater than itself, or, in other words, greater than that of the branch of the sovereignty which it represents, the monarchical—namely, by the actual sovereign; that is, the three branches conjoined. Yet that the modern representative of the privy council, namely, the cabinet, exercises some *quasi* legislative functions, appears, as we before remarked, from the mode pursued in bringing forward certain important legislative measures which the government approve of and introduce.

The sixth article of the act for the farther limi-

* Const. Hist. iii. 253.
† British and Foreign Review, vol. vi. p. 240.
‡ Life, ii. 89.

* British and Foreign Review, vol. vi. p. 241.
†, See ante, p. 211, note.

tation of the crown, by which persons holding offices of profit under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, are declared incapable of serving as members of the House of Commons, deserves some notice. The formation of a new board, in 1694, for managing the stamp duties, the members of which were incapacitated from sitting in parliament, is believed by Mr. Hallam* to be the first instance of exclusion on account of employment.† There is not to be found anything to that effect in the act in question. But the exclusion is effected by the operation of a clause of a previous act.‡

In 1699 a clause was passed incapacitating the commissioners, comptrollers, auditors, and other officers of excise from sitting in parliament.§ But the above recited clause in the act of settlement excludes all *paid* servants of the crown, without exception, from the highest minister of state to the lowest doorkeeper or messenger. If the clause had been strictly enforced there would have been a complete separation between the legislative and executive departments of our government. According to Mr. Hallam one or other of the following results must have been the consequence: "Such a separation and want of intelligence between the crown and parliament must either have destroyed the one or degraded the other. The House of Commons would either, in jealousy and passion, have armed the strength of the people to subvert the monarchy, or, losing that effective control over the appointment of ministers, which has sometimes gone near to their nomination, would have fallen almost into the condition of those states-general of ancient kingdoms which have met only to be cajoled into subsidies, and give a passive consent to the propositions of the court."‖

But this sweepingly exclusive clause was repealed by the act 4 Anne, c. 8, § 25. And by the act 6 Anne, c. 7, § 25, it was enacted "That no person, who should have in his own name, or in the name of any person or persons in trust for him or for his benefit, any new office or place of profit whatsoever under the crown, which at any time since the five and twentieth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and five, have been created or erected, or hereafter shall be created or erected, nor any person who shall be a commissioner or sub-commissioner of prizes, secretary or receiver of the prizes, nor any comptroller of the accounts of the army, nor any commissioner of transports, nor any commissioner of the sick and wounded, nor any agent for any regiment, nor any commissioner for any wine licenses, nor any governor or deputy governor of any of the plantations, nor any commissioner of the navy employed in any of the outports, nor any person having any pension from the crown during pleasure, shall be capable of being elected, or of sitting or voting, as a member of the House of Commons in any parliament which shall be hereafter summoned and holden."—And by the 26th section of the same statute it was provided "That if any person, being chosen a member of the House of Commons, shall accept of any office of profit from the crown during such time as he shall continue a member, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be void, and a new writ shall issue for a new election, as if such person so accepting was naturally dead. Provided nevertheless that such person shall be capable of being again elected, as if his place had not become void as aforesaid."—And by the 27th section it was provided, "That in order to prevent, for the future, too great a number of commissioners to be appointed or constituted for the executing of an office, no greater number of commissioners shall be made or constituted for the execution of any office than have been employed in the execution of such respective office at some time before the first day of this present parliament."

The seventh clause in the Act of Settlement effected a most important and beneficial alteration in the commissions of the judges, which is sometimes ignorantly attributed to George III. The judges' commissions having formerly been made *durante placito*, it had been the practice, especially in the latter years of the Stuart dynasty, to dismiss those judges who showed any independent will of their own in political prosecutions, and this system had of course a strong tendency to destroy all independence and integrity of character in the judges and thus to defeat the very end for which judges existed, the pure administration of justice. That institution, to which from the time of Henry II. "we have owed," to borrow the apt and elegant language of Mr. Hallam, "the uniformity of our common law, which would otherwise have been split, like that of France, into a multitude of local customs; and to which we still owe the assurance, which is felt by the poorest and most remote inhabitant of England, that his right is weighed by the same incorrupt and acute understanding, upon which the decision of the highest questions is reposed,"* would have remained lamentably imperfect without the reform introduced by this clause, which made the judges' places be held during life or good behaviour, and not at the discretion of the crown.† So that now a judge cannot be removed from his office, but upon the address of both Houses of parliament. The commission of William's judges ran *quam diu se bene gesserint*. "But the king," observes Mr. Hallam, "gave an unfortunate instance of his very injudicious tenacity of bad prerogatives, in refusing his assent, in 1692, to a bill that had passed

* Const Hist., iii. 260.
† 5 & 6 Will. & Mary, c. 21. Mr. Hallam cites it erroneously as the 4 & 5 Will. & Mary, c. 21.
‡ 5 Will. & Mary, c. 7, § 59.
§ 11 Will. III. c. 2, § 149.
‖ Const. Hist. iii. 257.

* Middle Ages, ii. 463.
† By the 1 Geo. III. c. 23, the judges are continued in their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the crown, which was formerly held immediately to vacate their seats. This probably gave rise to the notion alluded to above, that we owe this provision of the Act of Settlement to George III.

both Houses, for establishing this independence of the judges by law and confirming their salaries."* This and one or two other proceedings of an analogous description form the spots upon William's character, one nevertheless of the brightest and greatest in the long list of England's kings. And this is not so small a praise as might be supposed from the vulgar notions which are apt to be taken up respecting kings in general. If we examine the roll of English kings from William the Conqueror downward, we shall find them considerably above the herd of mankind, not only in high position but in the qualities which enable men to retain that position. Indeed all of them (of the earlier ones at least) who had not those qualities were thrown from their seat, and the reins of government were seized by stronger and more dexterous hands. This is apparent in the earlier times and in the later. The sceptre which a Richard Plantagenet and a Charles Stuart could not wield was wrenched from their feeble grasp, and wielded by the iron hand of a Bolingbroke and a Cromwell. But the case was altered by the Revolution. The path of the English king was thenceforth marked out by the bounds and landmarks of the English law, which seemed to say to him, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." As there were no longer the same dangers to beset a feeble or vicious prince, so there was no longer the same scope for the exercise of the talents and virtues of one of an opposite character. Any one who has read with ordinary attention the narrative of the civil and military transactions of William's reign contained in a preceding chapter will, we think, unless in a more than ordinary degree warped by party or religious prejudice, readily admit to the full the truth of the observation of Mr. Hallam, that "it must ever be an honour to the English crown that it has been worn by so great a man."† There is a quiet, simple, thoroughly unostentatious greatness about him, attended with a spirit of toleration and justice, in which we know no one that ever occupied the English throne that can be compared to him, save Cromwell. We say this upon the whole view of his character. Some of the earlier Normans may have excelled him in talents for war, and in some of the talents for administration others (for instance Elizabeth) may have excelled him. But if we take the whole together—the character at once firm, just, humane, and tolerant—the laborious, simple habits—the sound understanding, the calm temper, the combination of virtues and of talents, the capacity at once for the "arts of war and peace," we think we may safely say that we shall not easily "look upon his like again." Mr. Hallam has happily hit off, as it appears to us, the whole *rationale* of his position in the following few words:—"He was, in truth, too great, not for the times wherein he was called to action, but for the peculiar condition of a king of England after the Revolution." ‡

In 1705 was passed an act (4 Ann. c. 8, intituled "An act for the better security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England in the Protestant line:" this was re-enacted, with such alterations as were rendered necessary in consequence of the union with Scotland), by 6 Anne, c. 7, intituled "An act for the security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line;" and, by that act, all persons maliciously, by writing or printing, maintaining the queen not to be lawful queen, or that the pretended Prince of Wales or any other person had any right to the crown, were declared guilty of high treason. Preachers and others maintaining this were to incur the penalty of *præmunire*. Parliament was not to be dissolved by the queen's death, but to continue for six months, unless sooner prorogued or dissolved by the person to whom the crown should come. And parliament, if in being at the time, was to meet immediately after the queen's death: and in case there should be no parliament in being, then the last preceding was to meet. The privy council was not to be dissolved by the queen's death; nor were the places of the great officers, nor any offices civil or military to become void, but their holders to continue for six months, unless sooner removed by the successor to the crown. On the queen's death the privy council were to cause the next protestant successor to be proclaimed, on pain of high treason. In case the successor should be out of the realm at the time of the queen's death, seven officers therein named, that is to say, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor or lord keeper, the lord high treasurer, the lord president of the council, the lord privy seal, the lord high admiral, and the lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench, at that time being, were appointed to be lords justices of Great Britain. The successor was empowered, at any time during her majesty's life, by three instruments under her or his hand and seal, to nominate and appoint such and so many persons, being natural born subjects of the realm of Great Britain, as she or he should think fit, to be added to the seven officers before named, to be lords justices as aforesaid. The lords justices were not to dissolve the parliament without express direction from the successor, nor repeal or alter 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4, nor an act made in Scotland, intituled "An act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church government." The lords justices were to take the oaths mentioned in the act 1 Will. and Mary, sess. 1. c. 8, and also the oath therein after enacted to be taken after the demise of her majesty without issue. If after the death of her majesty without issue, and before the arrival of any succeeding queen or king in Great Britain, any parliament should be called by the lords justices, by writs tested in their names, such parliament should not be dissolved by the arrival of such successor, but should proceed after such arrival without any new summons.

* Const. Hist. iii. 262. † Id. 200. ‡ Id. 200.

The substance of the chief provisions of the Act of Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland (5 Anne, c. 8.) has been so fully stated in a preceding chapter,* that it does not seem necessary here to say any more on the subject.

During this period the benefit of clergy underwent considerable alteration, to understand which, it will be necessary to refer backwards. When we last mentioned benefit of clergy† we stated that by statute 4 Hen. VII. c. 13, laymen were allowed their clergy only once; and in order to distinguish their persons, all laymen who never allowed this privilege were to be burnt with a red-hot iron in the brawn of the left thumb; and by stat. 12 Hen. VII. c. 7, benefit of clergy was taken away from any lay person prepensedly murdering his lord, master, or sovereign immediate. The distinction between learned laymen and real clerks in orders was abolished for a time by the statutes 28 Hen. VIII. c. 1. and 32 Hen. VIII. c. 3, but is held to have been virtually restored by statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, which also enacts that lords of parliament and peers of the realm may have the benefit of their peerage, equivalent to that of clergy, for the first offence (although they cannot read, and without being burnt in the hand), for all offences then clergyable to commoners, and also for the crimes of housebreaking, highway robbery, horse-stealing, and robbing of churches. The operation of the abuses of benefit of clergy is well described in the following passage by Sir William Blackstone:—

"After this burning the laity, and before it the real clergy, were discharged from the sentence of the law in the king's courts, and delivered over to the ordinary to be dealt with according to the ecclesiastical canons. Whereupon the ordinary, not satisfied with the proofs adduced in the profane secular court, set himself formally to work to make a purgation of the offender by a new canonical trial; although he had been previously convicted by his country, or perhaps by his own confession. This trial was held before the bishop in person or his deputy, and by a jury of twelve clerks: and there, first, the party himself was required to make oath of his own innocence; next, there was to be the oath of twelve compurgators, who swore they believed he spoke the truth; then witnesses were to be examined upon oath, but on behalf of the prisoner only; and, lastly, the jury were to bring in their verdict upon oath, which usually acquitted the prisoner; otherwise, if a clerk, he was degraded, or put to penance. A learned judge, in the beginning of the last century,‡ remarks with much indignation the vast complication of perjury and subornation of perjury, in this solemn farce of a mock trial; the witnesses, the compurgators, and the jury, being all of them partakers in the guilt: the delinquent party, also, though convicted before on the clearest evidence, and conscious of his own offence, yet was permitted and almost compelled to swear himself not guilty; nor was the good bishop himself, under whose countenance this scene of wickedness was daily transacted, by any means exempt from a share of it. And yet by this purgation the party was restored to his credit, his liberty, his lands, and his capacity of purchasing afresh, and was entirely made a new and an innocent man."*

To remedy these abuses, it was enacted by the statute 18 Eliz. c. 7, that, after the offender had been allowed his clergy, he should not be delivered to the ordinary as formerly, but, upon such allowance and burning in the hand, he should forthwith be let out of prison, with proviso that the judge might, if he thought fit, continue the offender in gaol for any time not exceeding a year. "And thus," says Blackstone, "the law continued, for above a century, unaltered; except only that the statute 21 Jac. I. c. 6, allowed that women convicted of simple larcenies, under the value of ten shillings, should (not properly have the benefit of clergy, for they were not called upon to read, but) be burned in the hand, and whipped, stocked, or imprisoned, for any time not exceeding a year. And a similar indulgence, by the statutes 3 and 4 Will. and Mary c. 9. and 4 and 5 Will. and Mary c. 24, was extended to women, guilty of any clergyable felony whatsoever; who were allowed once to claim the benefit of the statute, in like manner as men might claim the benefit of clergy, and to be discharged upon being burned in the hand, and imprisoned for any time not exceeding a year. All women, all peers, and all male commoners who could read were therefore discharged in such felonies; absolutely, if clerks in orders; and for the first offence, upon burning in the hand, if lay; yet all liable (excepting peers) if the judge saw occasion, to imprisonment not exceeding a year; and those men, who could not read, if under the degree of peerage, were hanged." †

By the statute 5 Ann. c. 6. § 4, it was enacted that benefit of clergy should be granted to all those convicted of any felony for which they were entitled to ask it, without requiring them to read by way of condition. And by the 2nd and 3rd sections of the same statute it was enacted that, when any person was convicted of any theft or larceny, and burnt in the hand for the same, he should also, at the discretion of the judge, be committed to the house of correction or public workhouse, to be there kept to hard labour for any time not less than six months, and not exceeding two years; and that if the offenders escaped and were retaken, they should be committed for any time not less than twelve months, and not exceeding four years. It was also enacted by the statutes 4 Geo. I. c. 11, and 6 Geo. I. c. 23, that when any persons should be convicted of any larceny, either grand or petit, or any felonious stealing or taking of money, or goods and chattels, either from the person or the house of any other, or in any other manner, and who by the law should be entitled to the benefit of clergy, and liable only to the penalties of burning in the hand or

* See ante, p. 196. † Vol. ii. p. 755. ‡ Hob. 291.

* 4 Com. 368. † 4 Com. 369.

whipping, the court in their discretion, instead of such burning in the hand or whipping, might direct such offenders to be transported to America* for seven years; and that if they returned, or were seen at large in this kingdom within that time, it should be felony without benefit of clergy. These various successive changes in our penal statutes indicate so many steps in the progress from a rude and barbarous to a comparatively humanised state of society. Perhaps hardly any truer index could be used to measure either the advance made, or the various gradations of the scale passed over to attain that point.

In the year 1710 was passed an act, by the courtesy of those who made it, intituled "An act for securing the freedom of parliament, by the farther qualifying the members to sit in the House of Commons,"† by the 1st section of which it is enacted "that, from and after the determination of the then parliament, no person shall be capable to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons, for any county, city, borough, or cinque port, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, who shall not have an estate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or for some greater estate, either in law or equity, to and for his own use and benefit, of or in lands, tenements or hereditaments, over and above what will satisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the same, lying or being within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, of the respective annual value hereafter limited, videlicet, the annual value of six hundred pounds, above reprises, for every knight of a shire; and the annual value of three] hundred pounds, above reprises, for every citizen, burgess, or baron of the cinque ports." By section 2nd it was provided that the act should not extend to the eldest son of a peer, or of a person qualified to serve as knight of a shire. And by section 3rd it was provided that the universities might elect and return members as formerly. By section 4th a mortgagee cannot derive from the mortgaged estate a qualification to sit in parliament, unless he has been in possession seven years.

The celebration of clandestine marriages in the Fleet‡ and other places having given rise to "great mischief and inconveniences" (as the preamble of the act says), an act was passed (26 Geo. II. c. 33) "for the better preventing of clandestine marriages." It was ordered by this act that all banns of matrimony should be published in manner therein particularly mentioned, and that the marriage should be solemnised in one of the churches where such banns had been published. Notice of the names, places of abode, and times of residence was to be given to the minister seven days at the least before the publication of the banns. The minister was declared not punishable for solemnising marriages after banns published between persons, both or one of whom should be under the age of twenty-one years, where the parents or guardians give no notice of dissent; but, where such dissent should be publicly declared, publication of banns was to be void. Licences were to be granted to solemnise marriages, in the church or chapel of such parish only where one of the parties should have resided for four weeks immediately before. There was a reservation of the Archbishop of Canterbury's right to grant special licences. Marriages solemnised by licence without consent of the parents or guardians, where either of the parties (not being a widower or widow) should be under age, were declared void. The churchwardens were to provide books, in which were to be registered all marriages and banns; the said registers were to be signed by the minister, and the books were to belong to the parish, and to be kept for public use. Marriages were to be solemnised in the presence of two or more creditable witnesses besides the minister, and were to be registered and signed by the minister, parties, and witnesses.*

The statute 7 Ann. c. 12. (passed in consequence of the arrest of an ambassador of Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, for a debt of fifty pounds), after reciting that "several turbulent and disorderly persons had in a most outrageous manner insulted the person of his excellency *Andrew Artemonowitz Matueof*, ambassador extraordinary of his Czarish majesty, Emperor of Great Russia, her majesty's good friend and ally, by arresting him and taking him by violence out of his coach in the public street, and detaining him in custody for several hours in contempt of the protection granted by her majesty, contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice of the rights and privileges which ambassadors and other public ministers, authorised and received as such, have at all times been thereby possessed of, and ought to be kept sacred and inviolable;" enacts that for the future all process whereby the person of any ambassador or other public ministers of any foreign prince or state, authorised and received as such by her majesty, her heirs or successors, or of his domestic or domestic servant, may be arrested, or his goods distrained or seized, shall be utterly null and void; and all persons prosecuting such process, and all attornies and solicitors prosecuting and soliciting in such case, and all officers executing such process, shall be deemed violators of the law of nations and disturbers of the public repose, and shall suffer such penalties and corporal punish-

* By 19 Geo. iii. c. 24. power was given to the court to transport to any part beyond the seas.

† St. 9 Ann. c. 5.

‡ Books were preserved respecting such marriage; but, from the many fabricated entries which they were found to contain, various judges have refused to receive them in evidence. Mr. Justice Le Blanc refused to receive such an entry in evidence, as being no more than a private memorandum made by somebody who had no authority to make it, and who might put down anything he pleased, whether true or false.

* The above statute is repealed by the 3 Geo. IV. c. 75; from which the 4 Geo. IV. c. 76, differed chiefly in this, that it did not make void clandestine marriages, but inflicted penalties on the parties. The last marriage act is the 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 85, which came into operation in March, 1837.

ment as the lord chancellor or lord keeper, and the two chief justices, or any two of them, shall think fit. But it is provided that no trader within the description of the Bankrupt Laws, who shall be in the service of any ambassador, shall have any manner of benefit by this act; and that no person shall be proceeded against as having arrested the servant of an ambassador or public minister by virtue of this act, unless the name of such servant be first registered in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, and by such secretary transmitted to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who shall hang up the same in some public place in their offices.*

By statute 1 Anne, st. 1, c. 7. § 5, the crown lands and hereditaments (except advowsons) in England and Wales are made inalienable, except that they may be leased for thirty years, or three lives, under the following restrictions: — That the tenant be liable to punishment for waste; and there be reserved upon every such grant, lease or assurance, respectively, the ancient or most usual rent, or more, or such rent as hath been reserved, yielded, and paid for such of the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, or other hereditaments as shall be therein contained, for the greater part of twenty years before the making thereof; and where no such rent shall have been reserved or payable, that then upon every such grant, lease, or assurance, there be reserved a reasonable rent, not being under the third part of the clear yearly value of such of the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, tithes, or other hereditaments as shall be contained in such lease or grant; and that such respective rents be made payable to her majesty, her heirs or successors, who shall make such lease or grant, and to her or their heirs or successors, during the whole term or time of the continuance thereof respectively.

By the act 15 Geo. II. c. 22, a great number of inferior officers of government were excluded from the House of Commons. It is thereby enacted "that no person who shall be commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, or commissioner of the navy or victualling offices, nor any deputies or clerks in any of the said offices, or in any of the several offices following; that is to say, the office of lord high treasurer, or the commissioners of the treasury, or of the auditor of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, or of the tellers of the exchequer, or of the chancellor of the exchequer, or of the lord high admiral, or the commissioners of the admiralty, or of the paymasters of the army, or of the navy, or of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, or of the commissioners of the salt, or of the commissioners of the stamps, or of the commissioners of appeals, or of the commissioners of wine licences, or of the commissioners of hackney coaches, or of the commissioners of hawkers and pedlars, nor any persons having any office, civil or military, within the island of Minorca, or in Gibraltar, other than officers having commissions in any regiment there only, shall be capable of being elected, or of sitting or voting as a member of the House of Commons, in any parliament which shall be hereafter summoned and holden."

During the period of which we are now treating, bribery at elections, particularly that species of it which is technically termed "treating,"—that is, bribing the poorer electors with drink and food,—begins to make a prominent figure in our political annals. Among the earlier occasions on which this appeared, one signal instance was the general election that took place immediately after Dr. Sacheverell's trial.* This practice is usually cited as an instance of gross corruption and breach of the principles of our constitution. There is more in it, however, than this. Like all similar phenomena, when of frequent and extensive recurrence, it indicates something beyond the mere breach of the letter of a theory or formula. Viewed with reference to the future,—to coming events as well as past,—it indicates a notion of some form and degree of power lodged in those who are thus bribed either with money or strong drink. Men do not give either money or money's worth for nothing. And where people are worth bribing or treating, they are of some consideration. At the time we speak of the poorer classes of France, Spain, or Italy were not bribed or treated—no more were those of England in the time of the Tudors. And why? Simply because they were not worth it. Men who had money to spend in exchange for power *then*, spent it in feeing, in securing the favour and interest of some court minion or favourite. The bribery and treating at elections, then, are to be viewed as a sign of the times,—as a sure sign that political power has changed hands,—and that some portion of it at least has been lodged in the hands of those who are thus paid in money or drink for it. The morality of thus purchasing or thus selling such power is a totally different question. But the fact is thereby established that there was a strong conviction in the minds of the purchasers that the vendors had some of the commodity in question to sell.

During the present period a good many acts were passed relative to the selection of juries, the mode of conducting trials, &c., some of which will require to be briefly noticed.

By the stat. 4 and 5 Will. and Mary, c. 24, § 15, all jurors were to have 10*l.* a year in England and 6*l.* in Wales, of freehold or copyhold lands or tenements within the county. This is the first time that copyholders (as such) were admitted to serve upon juries in any of the king's courts, though they had before been admitted to serve in some of the sheriffs' courts, by statutes 1 Ric. III. c. 4, and 19 Hen. VII. c. 13. By stat. 6 and 7 Will. III. c. 4, § 3 and 4 (continued 1 Anne, c. 11, and made perpetual 9 Geo. I. c. 8), apothe-

* In the case of Viveash *v.* Becher, 3 M. & S. 284, it was determined by the court of King's Bench that a consul was not a public minister within the meaning of this statute, and therefore not within its protection.

* See ante, p. 244.

caries within London and seven miles thereof, and country apothecaries who had served seven years, were exempted from serving the offices of constable, scavenger, and other parish and ward offices, and from serving upon juries. By the 7 and 8 Will. III. c. 32, § 10, so much of the stat. 4 and 5 Will. and Mary, c. 24, as related to the returning of jurors, was continued for seven years, and again by 1 Anne, stat. 2, c. 13, for seven years more, and made perpetual by 6 Geo. II. c. 37. By stat. 3 Geo. II. c. 25, § 18, any leaseholder for the term of five hundred years absolute, or for any term determinable on one or more life or lives, of the yearly value of 20*l.* or upwards over and above the reserved rent payable thereout, is qualified to serve upon juries.

The stat. 24 Geo. II. c. 18, § 2, contains the following clause regulating the fees allowed to jurymen :—"And whereas complaints are frequently made of the great and extravagant fees paid to jurymen returned under the authority of the said recited acts, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person who shall, after the said first day of Easter Term, serve upon any jury appointed or returned by authority of any of the said acts, shall be allowed or take for serving on any such jury more than the sum of money which the judge who tries the issue or issues shall think just and reasonable, not exceeding the sum of one pound one shilling, except in causes wherein a view hath been or shall be directed."

By the 4th section of the same statute it is enacted that no challenge shall be taken to any panel of jurors for want of a knight's being returned in such panel.

By the statute 3 Geo. II. c. 25, it is ordered that the sheriff or officer shall not return a separate panel for every separate cause, as formerly; but the same panel for every cause to be tried at the same assizes, containing not less than forty-eight nor more than seventy-two jurors; and that their names, being written on tickets, shall be put into a box or glass, and, when each cause is called, twelve of those persons whose names shall be first drawn out of the box shall be sworn upon the jury, unless absent, challenged, or excused, or unless a previous view of the messuages, lands, or place in question shall have been thought necessary by the court: in which case six or more of the jurors returned, to be agreed on by the parties, or named by a judge or other proper officer of the court, shall be appointed by special writ of *habeas corpora* or *distringas*, to have the matters in question shown to them by two persons named in the writ, and then such of the jury as have had the view, or so many of them as appear, shall be the first sworn on the inquest.

By the 15th section of the same statute, either party is entitled, upon motion, to have a special jury struck upon the trial of any issue, as well at the assizes as at bar, such party paying the extraordinary expense, unless [24 Geo. II. c. 18, § 1] the judge before whom the cause is tried shall, immediately after the trial, certify in open court, under his hand, upon the back of the record, that the same was a cause proper to be tried by a special jury.

By the stat. 14 Geo. II. c. 17, it is enacted that if, after issue joined, the plaintiff neglect to bring on such issue to be tried according to the course and practice of the court, the court may give judgment as in case of nonsuit. And judgment given by this act was to have the like force as judgment on nonsuit; and the defendant on such judgment was to have costs.

By stat. 12 Geo. I. c. 31, intituled "An Act for the better regulating trials by *Nisi Prius* in the county of Middlesex," it is recited that, by an act of parliament made in the eighteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled 'An Act for the trial of *Nisi Prius* in the county of Middlesex,' power was respectively given to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer for the time being, and in the absence or default of any of them, to two other judges or barons of the same several courts where it shall happen either of the same chief justices, or chief baron for the time being, to be absent, to try issues as justices of *Nisi Prius* for the said county of Middlesex within the term time, or within four days next after the end of any term; and that the restraining the time for such trials, after the term, to four days, had frequently occasioned delay of justice, and the requiring the presence of two judges or barons, in the absence of any of them the said chief justices or chief baron, was found by experience to be very inconvenient: and then it is enacted that it may be lawful for the two chief justices and the chief baron, and in their absence for any other judge or baron, as justices of *Nisi Prius* for the said county of Middlesex, in term or within eight days after, to try issues at *Nisi Prius*.

We mentioned, in a former Chapter,* that by stat. 36 Edw. III. stat. 1, c. 15, it was enacted that from henceforth all pleas should be pleaded, shown, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, but entered and enrolled in Latin. This Latin, which succeeded the French for the entry and enrolment of pleas, continued in use till the time of Cromwell, when, among "other innovations in the law," as Blackstone terms them, or law reforms, as others might term them, the language of our records was altered and turned into English. "But," says Blackstone, "at the restoration of King Charles, this novelty was no longer countenanced; the practisers finding it very difficult to express themselves so concisely or significantly in any other language but the Latin." "And thus it continued," adds Blackstone, "without any sensible inconvenience till about the year 1730."† But, whether the inconvenience was felt or not before the year 1730, it began to be felt then or very soon after, if we may trust the pre-

* See vol. i. p. 820. † Com. iii. 322.

amble of the statute 4 Geo. II. c. 26, passed in 1731, which asserts that "many and great mischiefs do frequently happen to the subjects of this kingdom from the proceedings in courts of justice being in an unknown language, those who are summoned and impleaded having no knowledge or understanding of what is alleged for or against them in the pleadings of their lawyers and attornies, who use a character not legible to any but persons practising the law." "To remedy these great mischiefs, and to protect the lives and fortunes of the subjects of that part of Great Britain called England, more effectually than heretofore, from the peril of being ensnared or brought in danger by forms and proceedings in courts of justice, in an unknown language, this statute enacted that all proceedings in courts of justice in England, and in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, should be in the English language only, and should be written in such a common legible hand and character, as the acts of parliament are usually ingrossed in, and the lines and words of the same to be written at least as close as the said acts usually are, and not in any hand commonly called *court hand*, and in words at length, and not abbreviated. Blackstone ascribes the following enconveniences to this alteration: that now many clerks and attorneys are hardly able to read, much less to understand, a record even of so modern a date as the reign of George I.: and that it has much enhanced the expense of all legal proceedings; for, since the practisers are confined (for the sake of the stamp duties, which are thereby considerably increased) to write only a stated number of words in a sheet, and as the English language, through the multitude of its particles, is much more verbose than the Latin, it follows, that the number of the sheets must be very much augmented by the charge.* Two years after another act, 6 Geo. II. c. 14, was passed, which allows all technical words to continue in the usual language.

By the statute 9 and 10 Will. III. c. 17, inland bills of exchange of 5*l.* or upwards, payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months after date thereof, and after acceptance, and three days after they are due, may be protested; the protest, or notice of such protest, to be sent within fourteen days after it is made to the party from whom the said bills were received. And by stat. 3 and 4 Anne, c. 9, a like remedy is given upon promissory notes; and in the case of a party refusing to underwrite a bill of exchange, it is enacted that such bill may be protested for non-acceptance.

"The Act of Settlement," says Mr. Hallam, "was the seal of our constitutional laws, the complement of the Revolution itself and the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the crown, and manifests, in any conspicuous degree, a jealousy of parliament in behalf of its own and the subjects' privileges."* At this point of our progress it will be convenient to take a view (which will necessarily be a cursory one) of the two great parties of Whig and Tory, which, since the Revolution, have figured so much in our political annals. It is evident that, before the Revolution, while there was a continual struggle going on between the king and the parliament, the two great parties would be the king on the one hand, the parliament on the other. To be sure, a few members of the parliamentary body would take part with the king, partly perhaps from an independent love of monarchical superiority, partly from interest and immediate connexion with the monarchy; but these would be too inconsiderable to deserve to be regarded as a party in themselves, or even as a limb of the party represented by the king. This is the subject presented under one aspect. Under another, as we have already seen,† we may consider the parliament as made up of two or three parties. But these are only to be considered as expressing different shades of political opinion, which, though they might be, and, indeed, were, the precursors of great events, yet exercised no immediate practical influence on the government of the country, not as the representatives of opinions which by turns swayed the councils of the state. Even when the king and parliament came to an open rupture, and a considerable number of the latter joined the king, we do not think that there can, then, be considered as existing any parties but the king on the one hand, and the parliament on the other; or that those who sided with the king can, with any accuracy, be called Tories (as, for instance, Mr. Hallam has said Lord Clarendon was a Tory), any more than that those who opposed the king can be called Whigs.

The terms *Whig* and *Tory* took their rise about the year 1679, though, according to Roger North,‡ Tory had the start of Whig about a year. It (Tory) seems to have been applied first to the Duke of York's friends and supporters, who were originally called *Yorkists*. "That," says Roger North, "served for mere distinction, but did not scandalise or reflect enough. Then they came to *Tantivy*, which implied *riding post* to Rome. . . . Then, observing that the duke favoured Irishmen, all his friends, or those accounted such, by appearing against the exclusion (of the Duke of York), were straight become *Irish*, and so *wild Irish*, thence *Bogtrotters*, and, in the *copia* of the factious language, the word *Tory* was entertained, which signified the most despicable savages among the wild Irish, and, being a vocal clever-sounding word, readily pronounced, it kept hold, and took possession of the foul mouths of the faction; and everywhere, as those men passed, we could observe them breathe little else but *Tory*, together with oaths and damnation."§ On the other hand, the party thus named, "according," continues Roger,

* In a note, he gives as an instance, that the three words "*secundum formam statuti*" are now converted into seven, "according to the form of the statute."

* Const. Hist. iii. 268.
† Book vii. ch. 3.
‡ Examen, p. 320.
§ Ibid.

"to the common laws of scolding, considered which way to make payment for so much of *Tory* as they had been treated with, and to clear scores." After beating about for some time, and trying various words, such as *True Blues*, *Birmingham Protestants* (by the latter alluding to false groats counterfeited at that place), they hit upon *Whig*, which, says Roger North, "was very significative, as well as ready, being vernacular in Scotland (from whence it was borrowed) for corrupt and sour whey. Immediately the train took, and, upon the first trial of the experiment, it ran like wildfire, and became general. And so the account of *Tory* was balanced, and soon began to run up a sharp score on the other side."* In his life of his brother, the lord keeper, Roger, with characteristic *naïveté*, compares the Tories to the primitive Christians, inasmuch as they accounted for their glory what was intended for their reproach.† In its origin, then, the word *Tory* was used to signify those who favoured James Duke of York, afterwards James II., and in the earlier stage of its existence it might be considered as nearly synonymous with Jacobite. *Whig*, on the contrary, signified those who especially favoured and promoted the Revolution of 1688; and, as might be expected, the party called Whig held the ascendancy in the administration for a considerable time after the Revolution. Even King William, however, adopted to a considerable extent the policy of balancing one party by the other; nor can there be said to have been a pure Whig administration in any part of the reign of Anne; for even Godolphin and Marlborough, who for some time figured as Whigs, came into power as Tories. In the latter part of Anne's reign, again, Harley and Bolingbroke were at the head of a pure Tory cabinet. But on the accession of George I. the Whigs regained power, which they kept during the whole of that and the succeeding reign.

In regard to the distinctive principles of Whigs and Tories, it may be convenient to refer for illustration to the respective parties of the king and parliament which had preceded them. Neither did the Tories go so far as the Royalists on the one hand, nor the Whigs so far as the parliament men on the other. The Tories were not for an absolute monarchy, nor the Whigs for a republic. They both agreed in being in favour of a hereditary monarchy, and of two Houses of Parliament, and also, to a certain extent, of the church as by law established. They differed in this, that, while the Whigs were in favour of progressive reform of institutions so as to adapt them to the new forms and wants of society as it advanced, the Tories were for leaving things as they were, either denying the existence of anything bad in the system, or saying that it was impossible to remove or destroy the bad parts without destroying the good at the same time. One strong feature of contrast between them, too, was, that the Tory was less in favour of toleration, and much more in favour of the power, splendour, and dignity of the church than the Whig.

The incorporation of the ancient kingdom of Scotland with that of England during the period now under review, renders it desirable that we should make a few remarks respecting the constitution and government of the former country.

The form of government in Scotland, at the time when we begin first to meet with any authentic records of it was, as we have seen, a monarchy with feudal institutions, assimilated to the Anglo-Norman, which the Scottish kings appeared studious to imitate. Wherein the Scottish parliament resembled and wherein it differed from the English has already appeared. The leading distinction, at least in the practical working of the constitutions of the two countries, was the power of the aristocracy in Scotland—we say practical, for theoretically the king might appear to possess as much power in Scotland as he did in England. The characteristic feature of the Scottish constitution in theory was the power given to the "Lords of the Articles." "We do not read," observes Mr. Hallam, "of any opposition in parliament to what the lords of the articles thought fit to propound. Those who disliked the Government stood aloof from such meetings, where the sovereign was in his vigour, and had sometimes crushed a leader of faction by a sudden stroke of power; confident that they could better frustrate the execution of laws than their enactment, and that questions of right and privilege could never be tried so advantageously as in the field. Hence it is, as I have already observed, that we must not look to the statute-book of Scotland for many limitations of monarchy."*

The kings of Scotland had their *aula* or *curia regis*. The jurisdiction of this court came in time to be transferred to a tribunal composed of regular lawyers, called the Court of Session, as the jurisdiction of the corresponding court in England was transferred to the present courts of Westminster Hall, though the change took place much later in Scotland than in England. But the Court of Session possessed no criminal jurisdiction: "the hereditary jurisdictions remained unaffected for some ages, though the king's two justiciaries, replaced afterwards by a court of six judges, went their circuit even through those counties wherein charters of royalty had been granted. Two remarkable innovations seem to have accompanied, or to have been not far removed in time from, the first formation of the Court of Session; the discontinuance of juries in civil causes, and the adoption of so many principles from the Roman law as have given the jurisprudence of Scotland a very different character from our own."†

The sufferings which Scotland endured under the Stuarts during the latter years of their accursed yoke are painted by Mr. Hallam with a few power-

* Examen, p. 320.
† Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, vol. ii. p. 61, edit. 1819.

* Const. Hist. iii. 411. † Hallam, ibid.

ful strokes in some passages of the chapter which he has devoted to the Constitutional History of Scotland. "There was in fact," he says,* "a very striking difference in the circumstances of the two kingdoms. In the one, there had been illegal acts and unjustifiable severities; but it was, at first sight, no very strong case for national resistance, which stood rather on a calculation of expediency than an instinct of self-preservation or an impulse of indignant revenge. But in the other, it had been a tyranny, dark as that of the most barbarous ages; despotism, which in England, was scarcely in blossom, had born its bitter and poisonous fruits: no word of slighter import than forfeiture could be chosen to denote the national rejection of the Stuart line."

After considering briefly the arguments for and against the Union, and characterising the measure as "an experiment of such hazard that every lover of his country must have consented in trembling, or revolted from it with disgust," Mr. Hallam arrives at the following, we think, just conclusion:†—"But it is always to be kept in mind, as the best justification of those who came into so great a sacrifice of natural patriotism, that they gave up no excellent form of polity; that the Scots constitution had never produced the people's happiness; that their parliament was bad in its composition, and in practice little else than a factious and venal aristocracy; that they had before them the alternatives of their present condition, with the prospect of unceasing discontent, half suppressed by unceasing corruption, or of a more honourable, but very precarious, separation of the two kingdoms, the renewal of national wars and border-feuds, at a cost the power of the two could never endure, and at a hazard of ultimate conquest, which, with all her pride and bravery, the experience of the last generation had shown to be no impossible term of the contest."

This is in fact most true. The Scottish parliament—the Scottish constitution was "in practice little else than a factious and venal aristocracy." A few remarks illustrative of it, as compared with other aristocracies that have made a figure in the world's annals, will throw further light on the subject.

There are some points of resemblance, though more of difference, between the Scottish aristocracy and the ancient Roman. Among the points of resemblance were the non-existence in both cases of a middle class, and the custom of the Scottish noble's placing his strength in the strength or number of his "following," or vassals, and the Roman noble's placing his in the number of his "clients." And as the nominal sovereign in Scotland, the king, attempted in vain, by legislative enactment, to diminish the magnitude of those feudal retinues, so also did the nominal sovereign of Rome, as appears from the attempt to pass such laws as the *Lex Fabia de ambitu, vel numero sectatorum.*‡

The leading points of difference were the careful and systematic education of the Roman in the arts both of peace and war, his consequent knowledge of the laws of his country and aptitude for the business of government, as well as the leading of armies. Hence another grand distinction. The Roman perpetrated his injustice and oppression under the colour of law; the Scottish noble in defiance of law. The Venetian oligarchy resembled more the Roman than the Scottish in their deeper policy and better union among themselves. The French nobility, before they finally fell before the power of the monarch, wielded by the iron hand of Richelieu, rather resembled the Scottish. The Scottish aristocracy, being mostly of the Anglo Norman race, possessed originally, along with the courage and energy, some portion of the policy and astutenesss of that remarkable people. The greatest champions of Scottish independence against the encroaching ambition of the Anglo-Norman kings, Robert Bruce and William Wallace, (for he too is said to have been of Anglo-Norman descent), were of the same race with those kings and their chivalry. But the tendency of the Anglo-Normans in Scotland (as in Ireland, though in a less degree than in Scotland), was to degenerate, to fall back to the level of the inferior civilisation of the people among whom they had settled. So that we see in the government of Scotland, throughout the greater portion of its history, only a wild and rude, a sanguinary and ferocious, and in its later stages, until its absorption in the milder influences and more advanced civilisation of England, a selfish, a factious, and venal oligarchy, redeemed by few even of the savage virtues; and latterly by almost none of the heroic deeds which, like stars seen here and there amidst dark clouds, had shone through the barbaric darkness of its earlier history.

The Roman law *ingrafted* into that of Scotland, as into that of the other nations of modern Europe, appears to have exercised little or no influence upon the character of the aristocracy. In none of them did the nobility adopt the profound policy of the Roman aristocracy of monopolising the legal knowledge as well as the military rank of the state. Gibbon indeed mentions an instance of a patrician lawyer,* whose shrewd and haughty reply, when he was asked to commit his knowledge to writing, seems to indicate that he was to a certain extent aware of this policy. While on the other hand Blackstone's remark that "the concealment (of the laws from the people by the lawyers of ancient Rome) was *ridiculous*,"† evinces as complete an ignorance of it. It was not merely the power that was the necessary concomitant of the technical legal knowledge; there was the acquisition of the habits of business and thought, particularly of business, or of practical as distinguished from speculative employment of the in-

* Const. Hist. iii. 441.
† Const. Hist. iii. 452.
‡ Heineccii Hist. Jur. Rom. s. xcix.

* Raoul de Tabarie, who, in answer to the prayer of King Amauri that he would commit his knowledge to writing, declared "que de ce qu' il savoit, ne ferait il ja nul borgois son parcil, ne nul sage homme lettré."—*Gibbon, Decline and Fall*, chap. lviii.
† 3 Com. 116.

tellect, which fitted the Roman patricians at once for political and military leaders, and rendered them as a *body* the most consummate *practical* statesmen that the world has yet beheld.

In the course of the space of more than seventy years, over which the period we are now engaged extends, the public revenue,—in other words, the portion of the annual produce of the national industry abstracted for the expenses of the government—continued progressively to increase; and many innovations were also introduced from time to time both in the apportionment of the burden of taxation and in the expenditure of its produce. A slight notice of the most remarkable particulars presented by a subject, a full account of which would fill volumes, is all that can be here attempted.

At the end of the reign of James II. the public income, or, as it was called, the revenue of the crown, amounted to about two millions sterling.* In 1701, the last year of William's reign, it is stated at 3,895,205*l.*; of which the customs yielded 1,539,100*l.*; the excise 986,004*l.*; the land-tax 989,965*l.*; the post-office 130,399*l.*; and various small taxes 249,737*l.* Even by this account, then, taxation had been nearly doubled in the course of the twelve years that succeeded the Revolution. But the income of this year was considerably below the average of the whole reign, in the thirteen years of which it appears that the total receipts of the exchequer amounted to not less than seventy-two millions sterling, giving an average annual income of nearly five millions and a half.

Of the seventy-two millions the land-tax produced about nineteen, the customs above thirteen, the excise above thirteen and a half, various polls or capitation taxes about two and a half, the post-office, along with some arrears of hearth-money, about two; about eight millions were derived from stamp duties, duties on glass and earthenware, lotteries, and a variety of other taxes, and in part also from certain financial operations, such as the sale of annuities, which would be more properly described as the borrowing of money than the raising of it by taxation; finally, above thirteen millions were directly raised by loan.

From the beginning to the end of the reign there were expended, upon the navy nearly twenty millions, upon the army about twenty-two millions, upon the ordnance about three millions, and upon what was then called the civil list (which, however, included various charges besides the expenses of the household) nearly nine millions, or about 650,000*l.* per annum. The rest went for the payment of interest on money borrowed (an item which absorbed above five millions in the course of the reign), for the payment of annuities, lottery prizes, and interest due to the Bank (making about three millions more), for the expense of a re-coinage of the silver money in 1696 (above two millions and a half), and to meet a great variety of small charges. Above three millions of the money directly raised by loan was also repaid.*

Of the old sources of revenue the hearth-money was the principal, if not the only, tax that was relinquished in the course of this reign: it was abolished by parliament, as "grievous to the people," immediately after the Revolution. A tax imposed on the stock of the India and other public companies in 1692 was also repealed in the following year; and certain duties on glass and earthenware, imposed in 1695, were taken off in 1698 and 1699.

At the close of William's reign the public revenue consisted of the following branches:—

I. The Customs; comprehending—1. *The Tonnage and Poundage Duties*, called the *Old Subsidy*, or *Subsidy Inwards*;† 2. *The Petty Customs*, or *Aliens' Duty*, being the higher poundage paid by foreign merchants; 3. *The Additional Duty*, a further tonnage and poundage; 4. *The One Per Cent. Inwards*, another tonnage and poundage, payable upon certain imposts from the Mediterrancan; 5. *Compositions* on petty seizures of smuggled goods; 6. *The One Per Cent. Outwards*, a tonnage and poundage on exports; 7. *The New Subsidy*, another tonnage and poundage, first granted in 1697; 8. *The Impost on Wines and Vinegar*, first granted for eight years by James II.'s parliament in 1685; 9. *The Impost on Tobacco*, also first granted in 1685, for the same term; 10. *The Impost of* 1690, upon East India goods, wrought silk, and other foreign commodities, in all, fifty-five in number; 11. *The Impost of* 1692-3, upon seventy-two several sorts of goods; 12. *The Coinage*, an impost upon foreign wines, vinegar, cider, and beer, first granted in 1666, to enable the crown to bear the expense of coining money for the public; 13. *The Excise on Salt*, so called because managed by the Commissioners of Excise, but properly a branch of the Customs, being levied upon foreign salt imported, first imposed in 1693; 14. *The New Duty on Spice and Pictures*, first granted in 1695; 15. *The Second Twenty-five per Cent. on French Goods*, first granted in 1695; 16. *The New Duty on Whalefins*, first granted in 1697; 17. *The New Duty on Coals, Culm, and Cinders*, first granted in 1698; 18. *The Fifteen per Cent. on Muslins*, a duty on East India goods, laid on in 1700; 19. *The Excise on Liquors Imported*, which was also, like the salt duty, under the management of the Commissioners of Excise, and, having been first granted in 1660, to Charles II. for life, was afterwards continued for the life of each successive sovereign, to George III., inclusive; and 20. *The Duties of Prisage and*

* See Vol. iii. p. 851.

* See Account of the Receipts and Expenditure for the whole of this Reign, in Sinclair's History of the Public Revenue, vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 152—159; and in the Parliamentary History, vol. v., Appendix 19.

† See Vol. iii. p. 849.

Butlerage, exigible on foreign wines by an ancient prerogative of the crown.

II. THE EXCISE; comprehending — 1. *The Temporary Excise*, in like manner granted in 1660, for the life of Charles II., and renewed at the beginning of every subsequent reign; 2. *The Hereditary Excise*, granted to the crown for ever, in 1660, on the abolition of the profits of the Court of Wards, &c.;* 3. *The Excise of* 1692, upon beer, ale, and other liquors; 4. *The Excise of* 1693, an addition to the preceding; 5. *The Second Excise of* 1693, a further duty on the same liquors; 6. *The Excise upon Home-made Salt*, first granted in 1697; 7. *The Second Excise upon Home-made Salt*, first granted in 1698; 8. *The Malt Tax*, first granted in 1697; 9. *The Excise on Sweets*, a duty imposed in 1699, upon sweets, defined to mean "all liquors made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from foreign fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with other materials, and commonly made use of for recovering, increasing, or making of any kinds of wine or cider;" and 10. *The Excise on Low Wines or Spirits*, first granted in 1700.

III. THE INLAND DUTIES; comprehending— 1. *The Post Office Revenue*, granted in perpetuity to Charles II., his heirs and successors, at the Restoration; 2. *The Casual Profits* of wine licenses, seizures, &c.; 3. *The First Stamp Duty*, granted in 1694; 4. *The Hackney Coach Duty*, imposed in 1693; 5. *The Duty on Bachelors and Widows, and on Marriages, Births, and Burials*, imposed in 1695; 6. *The Duty on Houses and Windows*, imposed in 1696; 7. *The Duty on Hawkers and Pedlars*, first imposed in 1697; and 8. *The Second Stamp Duty*, granted in 1698.†

To these is to be added the Land-tax, which was always granted only for a year at a time, and which in this reign was at first 1*s.* in the pound, but was raised to 4*s.* in 1693, and was not reduced below 3*s.* in any subsequent year. And, finally, there were, forming part of the royal income, the rents of the Crown Lands, the revenues of the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and the First Fruits and Tenths payable by the holders of church benefices.

No civil list was settled upon King William at his accession; but several of the above-mentioned duties granted in the course of his reign were secured to his majesty for life, and to others he was considered to have a title in right of his possession of the crown. At the accession of Queen Anne it was arranged that the tonnage and poundage duties called the New Subsidy, imposed in 1697, the temporary excise, the revenue of the Post-Office, the First Fruits and Tenths, the casual profits of wine licenses, seizures, &c., with the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall and other rents of crown lands, should be formed into a fund for furnishing during the life-time of her majesty a yearly income of 700,000*l.*, for the support of her majesty's household and of the honour and dignity of the crown. And ever since it has been the practice at the commencement of every new reign to settle a certain civil list revenue upon the sovereign for life, although the sources of the said revenue, as well as its amount and its appropriation, have been variously regulated. Anne devoted 100,000*l.* a-year from the amount allotted for her civil list to the public service, and she also resigned that part of it derived from the first fruits of church benefices (amounting to about 100,000*l.* a-year) for the augmentation of the poorer livings. The actual civil list during this reign, therefore, scarcely amounted to 600,000*l.* a-year.

The receipts of the exchequer in the reign of Anne are calculated to have amounted to about a hundred and twenty-two millions in all; of which about fifteen millions was derived from the customs, about twenty-one millions from the excise, about the same from the land-tax, above five millions from the remaining taxes, from lotteries, grants of annuities, &c., and about sixty millions from loans. Of the last-mentioned sum about thirty-two millions appears to have been repaid; about twenty-two and a half went for the payment of annuities and interest upon the debt; nearly thirty-three millions was expended upon the navy; twenty-three and a half on the army; two on the ordnance; above seven and a half on the civil list; and about two more on other charges. It appears, therefore, that the average annual revenue during this reign was about seven millions and a half; but of that nearly two millions went to pay the claims of the creditors of the state.

The most important changes that took place in the taxation of the country during this reign were the following. The tax on marriages, &c., imposed in 1695, was allowed to expire in 1706. In 1708 an additional tax of 2*s.* per ton was laid on coals brought coastwise into the port of London: this, like the previous duty of 1*s.* 6*d.*, was appropriated to the building of the cathedral of St. Paul's. An additional tax on foreign wines and some other merchandises, called the One-third Subsidy, was imposed in 1702; an additional duty on spice and pictures in 1703; a further duty on wines, called the Two-thirds Subsidy, in 1704; a new duty on pepper and raisins in 1709; new duties on foreign candles in 1709 and 1710; duties on the exportation of coals in 1710 and 1714; and various new duties on foreign hides, skins, parchment, vellum, cards, dice, hops, soap, paper, linen, sail-cloth, &c., in the latter years of the reign. In 1711 a duty of 9*s.* per ton was imposed upon rock-salt exported to Ireland. A fourth excise upon home-made liquors was granted in 1709; an excise upon candles the same year, and another in 1710; and in subsequent years excises upon tanned hides, home-made vellum, parchment, paper, pasteboard, soap, printed silks, calicoes, starch, gilt and silver wire, and various

* See Vol. iii. p. 850.

† The History of our Customs, Aids, &c., by T. Cunningham, Esq., 2nd Edit. pp. 86—94.

other commodities. The post-office rates were considerably increased in 1710; an additional duty on houses, according to the number of windows, was granted in 1709; the same year a duty of 6*d*. in the pound was imposed on all sums paid with clerks or apprentices; a third stamp duty, comprehending debentures, almanacs, &c., was laid on in 1711; a fourth, on pamphlets and advertisements, in 1712; a fifth, on policies of insurance the same year; and a sixth, on various descriptions of deeds and other legal writings, in 1714. In 1713 a tax of 35,000*l*. per annum was imposed on the civil list revenue, for the payment of arrears of salaries and other debts. Finally, the land-tax was kept up at the rate of 4*s*. till the last year of this reign, when it was reduced to 2*s*. "Thus," exclaims a painstaking historian of our taxation, after having enumerated thirty-seven heads of Customs, twenty-seven of Excise, and sixteen of Inland Duties, "thus we have at last made an end of our long list of taxes which were subsisting at the end of Queen Anne's reign; but there were several others, that, like noisome meteors, made their appearance for a year or more, and then vanished. These we have forborne to mention, because, we believe, the reader will be by this time as heartily tired of reading as we are of collecting and writing such a disagreeable scroll as that we have now given." "Let him consider, then," our author pathetically adds, "what the people must be who are to pay these taxes."* And, indeed, it must be admitted that the financiers of the age of Anne had made a respectable progress in the art of getting at the superfluous contents of the peoples' pockets—though their science and skill have been far outshone by the discoveries of more recent times.

The same civil list which had been enjoyed by Queen Anne, with some slight alterations as to the taxes from which it was to be drawn, was settled at his accession upon George I. In the beginning of this reign all the taxes then subsisting, except the land-tax, the malt-tax, and a very few others, were made perpetual, and consolidated into what was termed the Aggregate Fund. Afterwards, a thirty-eighth branch was added to the Customs in 1721, by a duty of 2*s*. per bushel on foreign apples; a twenty-eighth branch to the Excise in 1719, by a duty of 6*s*. per ounce on wrought silver-plate; and a seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth to the Inland Duties by a tax of 6*l*. per annum imposed in 1725 on every retailer of beer or ale in the cities of London and Westminster, by certain new stamp duties on law proceedings imposed the same year, and by a tax of 5 per cent. laid in 1720 on all pensions and salaries derived from the crown. Thus at the end of this reign, "we had subsisting," observes Cunningham, "thirty-eight branches of Customs, twenty-eight branches of Excise, and nineteen branches of Inland Duties, in all, eighty-five different kinds of taxes; many of which branches affect a great variety of sorts of goods; and the laws relating to them make by far the greatest part of the many large folio volumes of statutes that have been enacted since the Revolution; whereas all the statutes from the beginning of our monarchy to that famous era are (including the original French and Latin, and the English translation) contained in two folio volumes, of which those that relate to taxes make but a very inconsiderable part."*

* Cunningham, History of Customs, &c., p. 184.

In the thirteen years of the reign of George I. the customs are stated to have produced in all above twenty-one millions and a half, the excise nearly thirty millions and a half, the land-tax about eighteen millions and a half, the stamp duties above a million and a half, and other sources of revenue something under five millions; making the total amount of the receipts of the exchequer above seventy-seven millions, giving an average of very nearly six millions per annum. The average revenue of the four last years of the reign was 6,762,643*l*.; of which sum the land-tax (at 4*s*.) produced 2,000,000*l*., the customs 1,530,361*l*., the excise 1,927,354*l*., the malt-tax 750,000*l*., the salt duty 185,505*l*., the stamp duties 132,665*l*., the house and window duty 131,011*l*., the post-office 75,545*l*., the taxes forming the Aggregate Fund 58,755*l*.: the remainder was derived from the hackney coach-tax, hawkers' and pedlars' licenses, the tax on pensions, and various small branches belonging to the civil list.

Of the seventy-seven millions received by the exchequer in the course of the reign, the civil list is calculated to have absorbed above ten millions and a half (or about 850,000*l*. per annum), the navy nearly thirteen millions, the army nearly fourteen millions, the ordnance above a million, and the interest on, and repayment of, a small part, of the public debts, with a few miscellaneous charges, the remainder. The military operations of this reign are calculated not to have cost more than about six millions.

On the accession of George II. the same revenues which had been payable for the support of the civil list in the time of his father were in like manner settled for life upon the new king, with the provision that if they should in any year fail to produce the sum of 800,000*l*., the deficiency should be made good by parliament. If, however, they should produce more than that sum, the surplus was to belong to his majesty; and he was also to have, in addition the crown revenues of Scotland. Many of the old taxes were augmented or modified in the course of this reign; but of most of these changes it is unnecessary to give any account. The land-tax was reduced to 2*s*. in the pound in 1730, and to 1*s*. in 1731; but in 1734 it was raised again to 2*s*., and in 1740 to 4*s*.: at which rate it continued till 1750, when it fell to 3*s*.; in 1753 it was reduced to 2*s*.; but in 1756 it was again raised to 4*s*., and was kept up at that rate to the end of the reign. The duty upon home-made salt was taken off, and that upon foreign salt reduced,

* History of our Customs, &c., p. 248.

in 1730; but both imposts were restored to their former state the following year. In 1735 a duty of 20*s.* per gallon over and above all existing duties was laid upon distilled spirituous liquors, besides an annual tax of 50*l.* upon every retailer of them; but this violent attempt absolutely to put down the drinking of spirits was found worse than ineffectual; and in 1742 the prohibitory duties were exchanged for others of moderate amount. In 1744 the duties upon the sale of tea were abolished, and it was subjected, before being taken out of the warehouse, to a duty of 1*s.* per pound, together with a fourth of the gross price which it should bring at the Company's sales: the Tea duty was thus transferred from the Excise to the Customs. In 1745 new duties were laid both upon foreign and home-made glass, and the manufacture of that article was at the same time subjected to the superintendence of the Excise. And in 1746 a tax was for the first time laid upon private coaches and other carriages. "Thus," observes Cunningham, "our rich people, at last, who can keep coaches of their own submitted themselves to a tax which had been long paid by those who could not, and were therefore obliged to make use of hackney-coaches; but still they took special care of themselves; for a gentleman who hires a hackney-coach must pay at the rate of 13*l.* a-year, but those who are rich enough to keep coaches of their own are to pay but 4*l.* per annum. The levying of this duty was committed to the Commissioners of Excise, and all the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by the act made determinable and recoverable as our other Excise penalties are;* so that even our quality may now be said to be subjected to the laws of Excise."†

The entire amount of the receipts of the exchequer during the thirty-three years of the reign of George II. is calculated to have been about 276 millions of pounds; of which the Customs yielded nearly 50 millions, the Excise and the Malt-tax nearly 94 millions, the Land-tax about 49½ millions, the Stamp Duties above 4 millions, and the remaining taxes nearly 20 millions; the rest was obtained by borrowing. The average yearly receipts, therefore, would be above eight millions; and the revenue, excluding borrowed money, nearly six millions and a half. In 1759 the actual revenue was 8,523,540*l.*; of which 1,985,376*l.* was obtained from the Customs, 3,887,349*l.* from the Excise and Malt-tax, 1,737,608*l.* from the Land-tax, 263,207*l.* from the Stamp Duties, and 650,000*l.* from other sources.

Of the 276 millions forming the entire receipts of the exchequer, about 93 millions went for the interest of the public debts and the repayment of money borrowed; of the remaining 183 millions there was expended for the Civil List nearly 27½ millions, for the Navy about 71½ millions, for the Army about 74 millions, for the Ordnance above 6½ millions: the rest was distributed among a multitude of small charges, of which the most considerable was the outlay upon the American colonies, amounting to nearly 1,700,000*l.* Sir John Sinclair calculates that the war of 1739-48 cost this country in all about 46,500,000*l.*; and the Seven Years' War, from its commencement in 1756 to the close of the reign of George II., above 111,000,000*l.* This latter war, therefore, in four years cost the country more money than would have maintained the whole peace establishment of the government, at the then rate of expenditure, for a hundred and thirty years.

With the present period begins the history of the National Debt. At the Revolution, with the exception of about 580,000*l.* of arrears due to the army, and 60,000*l.* to the late king's servants, to meet both of which charges there was money sufficient in the exchequer and in the hands of the receivers of taxes, the only debt due by the State was the sum of 1,328,526*l.* which had been seized by Charles II. on shutting up the exchequer in 1672. Interest had been originally paid upon this sum at the rate of six per cent., but had been discontinued in the last year of Charles's reign; from which date, to the discredit of the government of William as well as of that of James II., no provision was made for the just claims of the persons from whom this money had been taken till the year 1701 (the last of William's reign), when the hereditary excise was charged with interest upon the whole from the year 1705 at the rate of three per cent., and the principal was made redeemable on the payment of half its amount, or 664,263*l.* The unfortunate bankers and merchants, therefore, to whom this money properly belonged, after it had been borrowed from them in the first instance without their consent, and then detained from them without any interest being paid upon it for above twenty years, during which space it would, at the then customary rate of interest, have accumulated to three times its original amount, were now further mulcted or robbed of one-half of the sum which had hitherto been admitted to be legally due to them! In fact, the entire amount to which they were plundered by this arrangement considerably exceeded three millions sterling. King Charles's shutting of the exchequer has been deservedly reprobated; but the injustice and hardship of that measure, which consisted simply in forcing a loan from the subject, for which, however, the ordinary rate of interest was paid, were not to be compared to this winding-up and conclusion of the affair by the government of King William. The 664,263*l.* thus ultimately awarded in satisfaction of equitable claims to six times the amount was called the Bankers' Debt, and still remains undischarged, although long ago incorporated with other public debts in that vast pile of which it may be in a manner regarded as the foundation-stone.

Many other sums of money, however, had been

* That is, by summary proceeding before the commissioners or a justice of the peace.

† History of our Customs, &c., p. 294.

borrowed by the government, and inscribed on the public account-books, before this first incurred portion of the national debt was recognised; but, owing to the manner in which many of these early loans were effected, it is extremely difficult to estimate the exact amount of the money obligation which they entailed upon the state. Much of the money borrowed in the reign of William was raised upon annuities for lives or terms of years; and some of these annuities again were, by subsequent financial operations, converted or made convertible into annuities for other terms, or into perpetual annuities, the usual arrangement in modern times with the public creditor. Other loans were charged on particular taxes, which were expected to pay them off in a certain number of years, but which for the most part failed in doing so. It was found at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, that the obligations thus contracted and remaining undischarged amounted to 5,160,495*l.*; which sum was then constituted into one debt or fund, and certain taxes set apart for its liquidation, which were expected to accomplish that object by the year 1706, and in the mean time to afford interest upon the whole at the rate of eight per cent., the rate at which the greater part of it had been borrowed. This was called the First General Mortgage. Other loans, however, secured upon duties for short terms of years were made after this to the amount of 3,020,000*l.* The amount that had been borrowed upon annuities subsisting at the end of this reign was 3,884,518*l.*, the sum annually payable upon which was 310,166*l.*; but some of these annuities did not expire till 1792, others expired in 1710, others were upon two lives, others upon three, others, finally, were tontine annuities granted upon a certain number of lives with the benefit of the whole to the longest survivor. On the whole, including two sums of 1,200,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* advanced by the Bank of England in 1694 and the East India Company in 1699, both on an interest of eight per cent., and 2,669,392*l.* of unfunded debt, bearing interest at six per cent., it is calculated that the entire amount of the National Debt at the death of King William was 16,394,702*l.*, occasioning an annual burden of 1,310,942*l.* It was in this reign that the practice of creating an unfunded, or floating, debt, by the issue of Exchequer Bills, or drafts upon the exchequer bearing a certain daily interest, was begun. This species of paper money—for such it is—was first issued, on the suggestion of Charles Montagu, then chancellor of the exchequer, in 1696, during the progress of the great recoinage of the silver money. Exchequer bills are now never issued for a less sum than 100*l.*; but at first some of them were for sums so low as 5*l.* and 10*l.*

In the reign of Anne there was raised by loans charged on certain funds mortgaged for short terms, and almost all bearing an interest of six per cent., the sum of 4,713,405*l.*; on annuities for 99 years, 8,191,942*l.*; and on annuities for 32 years, 2,400,000*l.* In 1708, 1,200,000*l.* was advanced by the East India Company without interest, and, in 1709, 4000,000*l.* by the Bank without interest after the first two years, on the renewal of their charters. And towards the end of the reign 9,000,000*l.* was raised by six successive lotteries, which the bonus allowed to the holders of prizes raised to a stock of 11,723,910*l.*, bearing an interest of six per cent. Finally, in 1711 the arrears due in the navy, victualling, transport, and ordnance departments, and other branches of the war expenditure, a loan of 1,296,552*l.* effected in the preceding year, and a new advance of 500,000*l.*, were all incorporated into one fund, amounting, with the interest then due upon the loans and arrears, to 9,177,967*l.*, upon which it was provided that interest should be paid at the rate of six per cent., and the holders of which were formed into a company called the South Sea Company, which, besides receiving 8000*l.* a-year for the management of this stock, was invested with the exclusive privilege of trading to the south and west coasts of America. This was the origin of the association afterwards so famous. At the death of Anne the National Debt, including 5,034,250*l.* of unfunded debt, amounted to 52,145,363*l.*, bearing an interest of 3,351,338*l.* Of this amount, however, above twelve millions and a half consisted of sums borrowed on annuities for terms of years or lives, and which, therefore, the mere operation of time would extinguish.

Some important operations took place in regard to the debt in the next reign. The whole of the debts were distributed into three great funds;—the South Sea Fund, established, as just stated, in 1711; the Aggregate Fund, established in 1714; and the General Fund, established in 1716. Among these were distributed all the existing taxes with the exception of those forming the Civil List and the Land and Malt Taxes, which were only annual grants; and each fund was charged with the payment of the interest due upon a certain portion of the debt. For this purpose the taxes composing the three funds were all made perpetual. This arrangement got rid of the confusion and inconvenience resulting from the old method, which was, to have each loan charged separately upon particular taxes, and consequently as many accounts kept as there were loans, while the produce of the assigned taxes in some cases fell short of, in others exceeded, the amount they had been expected to yield, and the various accounts, therefore, had to be adjusted by a constant process of cross-reference, or taking from one to give to another. Upon this scheme was engrafted, in 1716, the first Sinking Fund, commonly called by the name of Sir Robert Walpole, who was minister at the time, although Lord Stanhope was in fact the author of the plan, which consisted in forming the surpluses of the three funds into a fourth fund, to be appropriated to the gradual discharge of the debt, and expressly ordained to be applicable to no other purpose whatever. In 1717, the legal rate of interest having

been reduced to five per cent. three years before, government was enabled to effect a reduction of the interest on the whole of the public debt to the same extent; and in 1727 the interest on the portion of the debt due to the Bank and the South Sea Company was further reduced to four per cent. In 1715 the capital of the South Sea Company had been increased to 10,000,000*l.*, chiefly by adding arrears of interest unpaid to their former capital; and in 1719, by the conversion of certain unexpired annuities, it was farther raised to 11,746,844*l.* The next year, 1720, is memorable for the fatal project of uniting all the public debts into one fund, of which this Company undertook the execution. Here, however, we have only to do with the consequences that followed in regard to the public debt. Being enabled by act of parliament to purchase all the redeemable debts and annuities due by government (except those due to the East India Company and the Bank), the South Sea Company came into possession of as much additional stock as raised their capital to 37,802,483*l.* Of this sum, in the settlement of the affairs of the Company in 1722, four millions were purchased by the Bank, and the remainder was divided into two equal parts of 16,901,241*l.* each, one of which was considered as the trading capital of the Company, and the other was designated the Joint Stock of South Sea Annuities. The Company, it may be observed, continued to trade on the Assiento contract for the supply of negroes to Spanish America till 1748; but in 1733 their trading capital had been farther reduced to 3,662,775*l.*, the remaining three-fourths of its former amount being now formed into a new fund called the New South Sea Annuities. Meanwhile, it is calculated that the effect of one part of the arrangement made by the government with the Company in 1720, by which the Company, on purchasing an annuity for which 1600*l.* had been originally paid, became entitled to stock to the amount of 2000*l.*, had been to increase the amount of the public debt by 3,034,769*l.* And this was, besides, a permanent burden, only to be removed by the money being paid; whereas the annuities were always diminishing, and the stock upon which they were due would in course of time have been extinguished without any repayment. On the other hand, however, the debt was now rendered redeemable; and the government was thus enabled to reduce the interest upon it, first, in 1727, as already noticed, to four per cent., and afterwards to three per cent.

Besides the great relief afforded by the two reductions of the interest on the National Debt in the reign of George I., some progress was also made in paying off the principal, but as, even while the Sinking Fund was kept in operation on the one hand, the process of borrowing was continued on the other, what was accomplished in this way was not considerable. It appears that the sums applied to the discharge of the National Debt from the establishment of the Sinking Fund to the end of the reign amounted altogether to 6,648,000*l.*; but during the same space new loans were contracted to the amount of about 8,000,000*l.* At the death of George I. the whole debt, funded and unfunded, is estimated to have been 52,092,235*l.*, bearing an interest of 2,217,551*l.*

Even during the first eleven or twelve years of the reign of George II., which was a period of peace, government continued the system of contracting new loans at the same time that it was paying off the old debt by means of the Sinking Fund; and in 1733, and several following years, that fund itself, its boasted inviolability no longer respected, was made to contribute to the current expenditure; but, on the whole, the debt was considerably diminished, its amount at the commencement of the war of 1739 being estimated at 47,954,629*l.*, with an interest of 2,012,774*l.* But at the conclusion of that war in 1748 the principal was found to have increased to 79,293,713*l.*, and the interest to 3,091,003*l.* In 1750, however, the rate of interest on the greater part of the debt was further reduced to three per cent.; the various stocks, the burden of which was thus diminished, being entered soon after into a new fund called the Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities, while those that had always borne only three per cent. interest were at the same time formed into another called the Three per Cent. Consolidated Annuities. This latter is the description of stock familiarly known under the abridged name of Consols, which now constitutes by far the largest portion of the public debt. In the interval between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the commencement of the Seven Years' War in 1755, the unfunded debt was reduced to 1,451,767*l.*; but the entire amount of the public debt was still 74,332,153*l.* The annual burden, however, was now, by the late reduction of the rate of interest, diminished to 2,910,575*l.*, or to nearly half a million less than it was a few years before. What the Seven Years' War added will be stated in the next Book: it appears that the loans effected to the year 1760 inclusive amounted to 26,730,000*l.*, carrying an interest of 913,300*l.* At the death of George II., therefore, the funded debt probably exceeded a hundred millions, and entailed upon the country an annual payment of above three millions and a half. But of course a considerable mass of unfunded debt had also been accumulated by this time.

It was during this period that the practice of what is called Stock-jobbing arose, which, however, was originally a somewhat different thing from what it is now, and conducted both in another way and upon other principles. "King William's ministry," says Anderson, "had flattered themselves from year to year with the hope of a speedy peace. Many of the funds, therefore, upon the credit of which money had in different years been granted by parliament had by this time (1697) been found, or suffered to be, very deficient; the Treasury gentlemen, though other-

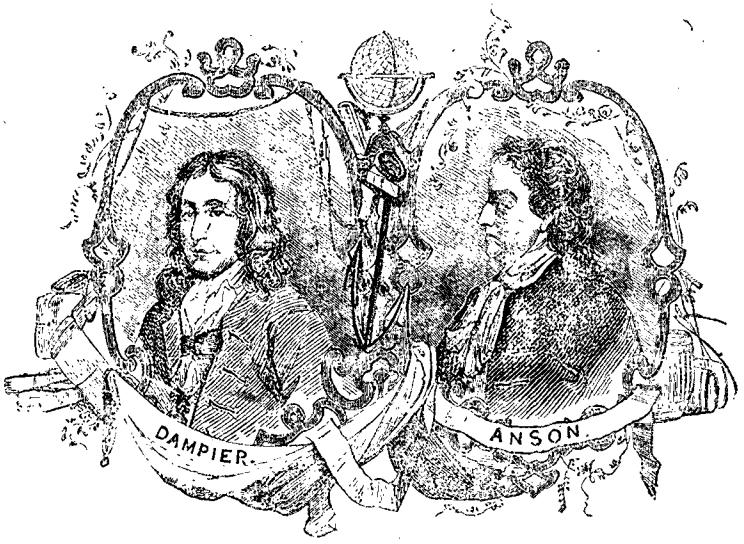
wise men of abilities, having, in various instances of appropriating the duties, judged very widely of the true amount of those duties, as particularly might be instanced with respect to glass bottles, earthenware, tobacco-pipe clay, &c. The deficiencies of which *funds* for answering the principal and interest charged thereon were soon observed by the moneyed men who were creditors of the public, and who also took advantage of the remoteness of the courses of payment of the tallies and orders charged on some other funds. This had, since the Revolution, given rise to a new trade of dealing in government or national securities, very much to the damage of the public, as well as of such proprietors of the funds as were under the necessity of parting with them at the discount of from forty to fifty per cent."* But the facts are probably most correctly as well as authentically set forth in the preamble to an act passed in 1697, "To restrain the number and ill practice of Brokers and Stock-jobbers," which recites, that for the conveniency of trade sworn brokers had been anciently admitted and allowed of within the city of London and liberties thereof, for the making and concluding of bargains and contracts between merchant and merchant, and other tradesmen, concerning their goods, wares, and merchandises, and moneys taken up by exchange, and for negociating bills of exchange between merchant and merchant; but that divers brokers and stock-jobbers, or pretended brokers, had lately set up and carried on most unjust practices and designs, in selling and discounting of tallies, bank-stock, bank-bills, shares and interests in joint-stocks and other matters and things, and had unlawfully combined and confederated themselves together to raise or fall from time to time the value of such tallies, bank-stock, and bank-bills, as might be most convenient for their own private interest and advantage; and that the numbers of such brokers and stock-brokers were very much increased within the last few years, and were daily multiplying. To remedy these evils the act directed that all brokers should be licensed by the Lord Mayor, and that their number for the future should not exceed a hundred, and placed them in other respects under nearly the same regulations to which they are still subject.*

* Chron. of Com., ii. 630.

* 8 and 9 Will. III. c. 32.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



DAMPIER, from an anonymous Print.
ANSON, from .. Medal by Pingo.

THE Revolution, by plunging us into a war with France, at once altered a condition of things under which our foreign trade was rapidly growing and strengthening, in the peace and free intercourse between the two countries which had subsisted ever since the prohibitory act of 1677 had been repealed on the accession of James II.* In the course of the eight years of war which followed the Revolution the customs fell off considerably; and in the interval between 1688 and 1696 the English shipping annually cleared outwards appears to have declined from 190,533 tons to 91,767, the foreign from 95,267 to 83,024, and the value of the merchandise exported (as officially estimated) from 4,086,087*l.* to 2,729,520*l.*, or by about a third of its whole amount.† Within the same space also the revenue of the post office is stated to have been reduced from 76,318*l.* to 58,672*l.*; which may be taken as an evidence that the pressure of the war was not confined to our foreign trade, but was felt throughout our social system.

At the same time, no doubt, several branches of domestic industry might receive an impulse from the foreign supply being cut off. But those of our manufactures that derived any advantage in this way appear to have been only a few of inferior importance. Before the war we were accustomed to import considerable quantities of men's hats from Havre-de-Grace and other places in Normandy: this article we now set about making for ourselves with such success, that after some time English hats come to be both better and cheaper than French. The finer glass used in England had hitherto been almost entirely French, "for not only," observes Anderson, "very near all the plate glass of our coaches and chairs, and of our fine looking-glasses, came from France, but likewise our finest window-glass, which was usually called Normandy glass and French crown-glass; both which we have since made entirely our own manufacture in the highest perfection." This writer conceives, also, that the improvement of the various manufactures introduced some years before by the French Protestant artisans who fled to this country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes could not have been so speedily nor so effectually

* See vol. iii. p. 859.
† Chalmers's Estimate, p. 68, from accounts in the Exchequer books, communicated by Mr. Astle.

accomplished, had it not been for the complete prevention of intercourse between the two countries by this war. To this cause he attributes the progress made by us in the manufacture of cutlery, watches, toys, ribbons, and especially of broad silk; in all of which branches we came in course of time even to outdo the French. In other cases, however, it is admitted that the failure of the usual supply from France merely occasioned the importation of the article from another quarter. Thus, before the war, we had been accustomed to consume the coarse linens of that country, called dowlases and locksams, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany, to the annual value of above 200,000*l.*; but now, "England," says Anderson, "not being well able to be without those two sorts of linen, set the Hamburghers on imitating them so well, that the very names of those French linens with us are buried in oblivion." Here, then, the only consolation was, that, if we were no gainers, our enemies at any rate were losers—that France was almost entirely deprived of a most profitable manufacture, which she was never likely to recover.

On the whole, however, the war, wasting capital on the one hand, and impeding its accumulation on the other,—augmenting the public burdens, and generally diminishing private gains,—could not fail, ere long, seriously to affect our economical prosperity; and, accordingly, when it had been brought to an end by the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, the kingdom seems to have felt like a man staggering with fatigue and weakness. One writer of the day affirms, "that so great had been the losses of a seven years' war, if a great stock be absolutely necessary to carry on a great trade, we may reasonably conclude the stock of this nation is so diminished it will fall short, and that, without prudence and industry, we shall rather consume what is left than recover what we have lost."* Dr. Davenant, in replying to this writer, although he does not take so desponding a view of the state to which the war had reduced us, yet admits not only that it put a stop to a course of constantly augmenting prosperity that had gone on without interruption from the Restoration, but that it had consumed much of the wealth accumulated in that previous long period of peace, as well as inflicted the most serious injury upon various branches of our trade. "Besides the ordinary expenses of the war," he observes, "our dead losses at sea, in nine years' time, have amounted to a greater sum than is fit here to mention."† In regard to our foreign commerce, he thinks it will be a great matter for the present if we can recover the ground we had lost during a contest which had left us, there and all over, sore with wounds. "By the unlucky conduct of our naval affairs," he proceeds, descending to particulars, "the trade to and from this kingdom was chiefly done by princes and states in neutrality, such as Denmark and Sweden to the northward, Portugal and the State of Genoa, who have hereby not only increased in their shipping but in the knowledge of our trade; and, unless care be taken to regain to England, in the very beginning of this peace, the ground we have thus lost, in all likelihood it will never be recovered." He goes on to complain of encroachments that had been made upon the Navigation Act through "the slack administration which war occasions;" and then he adds the following account of the state to which some of the most important branches of our trade had actually been reduced:—"The Norway and the Baltic trade have been lately carried on in a more disadvantageous way than ever; they always drained us of money; but this in some measure was compensated by giving employment to near a hundred sail of ships; but now they do not employ five ships, and for a great while have exported between 3000*l.* and 4000*l.* per annum. As to the Guinea trade, this war has brought it to a very low ebb, the French having disturbed our colonies, and destroyed our fortresses and places of strength upon the coast of Afric. The neglect in settling the African trade has forced the plantations [in America] for their support to deal with foreigners for negroes, and consequently to traffic with them in return for those negroes. Some of our West India plantations have been likewise very much dispeopled lately by plagues and earthquakes; and in some parts, during the late war, the natives are grown upon us; and in other places we have been harassed and ruined by the French. Our East India trade is also in a very bad condition; losses abroad and discouragements at home have very much diminished the capital stock. The late piratical attempts on the Mogul's subjects and allies in the Red Sea have brought difficulties upon the Company's affairs in India not easily to be overcome; and these piracies are partly the effect of that loose administration with which war is accompanied; for the ships which have committed these depredations have been chiefly fitted out from the West India ports: if the governors there had kept a jealous eye over these freebooters and buccaneers—if they had narrowly watched their goings out and comings in—if, instead of sharing in the spoil (which perhaps has been practised), they had compelled suspected persons to give good security for their behaviour, or laid an embargo on their ships—*and if* they had been vigorous in seizing and prosecuting these pirates at their return (the contrary of which is but too notorious), such wicked actions and breaches of the laws of God and nations could never have been committed."*

Davenant, however, argues that, notwithstanding all it had suffered, the country had the principle of life still strong within it; and that even from the manner in which it had stood the severe strain of this war, great consolation was to be derived and hope for the future. After remarking

* Polexfen, Discourse on Trade, Coin, and Paper Credit. 1697. Polexfen was at this time a member of the Board of Trade.

† Discourses on the Public Revenues and on the Trade of England, 1698; in Works, i. 371.

* Discourses on the Public Revenues, &c., in Works, i. 398.

that we had been able "to maintain a war abroad, with a fleet at the yearly charge of 2,500,000*l.*, and a land army at the yearly charge of above 2,500,000*l.*, of which a great part for some time has been spent in other countries,"—and "(the ordinary revenues of the crown not included) to give in taxes upwards of 39 millions, of which about 25 millions have been actually levied, 14 millions are in a way of payment, and the rest remains a debt to be provided for,"—he proceeds, in the following passages, to give as comprehensive and trustworthy a description as is perhaps anywhere to be found of the real state in which the war had left the kingdom:—"Our stock in stored goods, plate, jewels, money, and merchant-ships, is apparently not so great now as it was in 1688; however, we have still so good a prospect, and such a remainder of strength, as, if it be well managed, our affairs may be restored in some moderate term of time. A good symptom, for the present, of remaining health and vigour in the body politic is, that we see nothing abated in the price of our native commodities. And, besides, without doubt, we have yet felt no such poverty as has reduced us to let our buildings and farm-houses go to ruin. As yet, there has been no where a visible fall in the rents of land and houses. It is true the interest of money is risen; but that has plainly proceeded from the advantage men have found by dealing with the exchequer. It is to be feared our stock of shipping for trade is less at present than before: however, our fleet and naval strength is apparently more powerful now than ever it was; and undoubtedly this war has bred us more able seamen than formerly we had. But the truest sign of our vitals not being tainted, and that we are not wounded in any noble part, is, that our manufactures and all our home produce, generally speaking, hold up to their former rates. For this is a direct evidence that we are not at all, or very little, diminished in the numbers of our people; and it is a mark that, though we may have been interrupted in our importations, yet that we export rather more than in former times. If we decreased in people to any degree there would be less consumption, and consequently our home commodities would have become cheaper; and, if there were not a great call abroad for our product and manufactures, they must sink in value here. Not only now, but during the whole war, they have sold well at home and abroad, which is a sign that we did not quite consume and live altogether upon the capital, but that our annual produce and income did go a great way towards maintaining our foreign expenses." The war, finally, he observes, had not been unproductive of some advantages to our domestic industry, which helped to enable us to sustain the heavy pressure it had laid upon us:—"As it hindered our trade, and was expensive to us, so it interrupted the tillage, labour, and manufactures of other countries, and created there a necessity of our commodities; to which must be attributed, in some measure, the great call that has been during nine years for our corn, barreled beef and pork, tallow, leather, cheese and butter, and coarser sort of drapery. . . . . The returns of these commodities have helped us to maintain our foreign expenses, and have kept the radical moisture within the kingdom, which otherwise must have been quite exhausted by drawing out those sums that were necessary to subsist our troops in Flanders. This exportation, occasioned by the wants which war only had brought upon our neighbours, has stood in the room of money, which else must have been exported; so that, comparing the present species with what was in the kingdom in 1688, there seems to be still more money left than we could reasonably hope to find after a war so long and so expensive. By the stock that had been gathered in peace, and by the benefit of these more than ordinary, and in some sort accidental, exportations, we have maintained ourselves for nine years; and now, at the end of the business, our condition is very far from desperate."*

The fact, often exemplified, of the rapidity with which a country recovers from the obstruction and waste of war, as if the spirit of enterprise started forth on the return of peace like a spring from which a heavy pressure had been removed, and the very vacuum to be filled up occasioned a sudden rush of activity and consequent gain into the re-opened channels of industry and commerce, verified Davenant's hopes and prognostications. The total tonnage of English ships cleared outwards rose again in 1697, the very first year of the peace, to 144,264 tons, and that of foreign ships to 100,524; and the entire official value of the exports to 3,525,907*l.* On the average of the three years 1699, 1700, and 1701, the last of the peace, the value of the annual exports was 6,709,881*l.*, conveyed in 337,328 tons of shipping, of which no less a proportion than 293,703 was English, the foreign having by this time fallen to 43,625.† Comparing this state of things with the point to which our commerce had been depressed (as above recorded) in the last year of the war, we find that in five years of peace our exports had very considerably more than doubled, and our mercantile marine more than quadrupled. It appears also that, whereas the net average annual income of the Post Office during the eight years of the war was only 67,222*l.* (it had fallen, as we have seen, to something considerably under this sum in 1697), its average amount for the space from 1698 to 1701 inclusive was 82,319*l.*‡ These figures look insignificant enough at the present day, but they do not for that the less distinctly indicate the movements of what may perhaps be styled one of the best barometers we possess of the commercial activity, and even of the general economical condition, of the country.

* Discourses on the Public Revenues, &c., in Works, i. 380
† Mr. Astle's transcripts, in Chalmers, p. 72.
‡ Ibid.

Having cast this summary glance over the progress of our trade and public wealth during the reign of William, we will now proceed to notice some of the most important or most illustrative particulars by which this portion of the history of our national industry is marked.

It was in this reign that the Bank of England was founded, principally through the exertions of Mr. William Paterson, of whom we have already heard so much as the projector of the Scottish Darien Company.* Paterson, according to his own account, commenced his exertions for the establishment of an English bank, similar to those already existing at Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, and Hamburgh, in the year 1691. A principal object which he had in view from the first, in addition to the accommodation of the mercantile community, appears to have been the support of public credit and the relief of the government from the ruinous terms upon which the raising of the supplies and other financial operations were then conducted. The lowest rate, he tells us, at which advances used to be obtained from capitalists, even upon the land-tax, which seems to have been considered the surest part of the national revenue, was eight per cent., although repayment was made within the year, and premiums were generally granted to the subscribers. On anticipations of other taxes, counting premiums, discount, and interest, the public had sometimes to pay twenty, thirty, and even forty per cent. Nor was the money easily obtained when wanted even on such terms. It was no uncommon thing for ministers to be obliged to solicit the common council of the city of London for so small a sum as a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds, to be repaid from the first returns of the land-tax; and then, if the application was granted, particular common councilmen had in like manner to make humble suit to the inhabitants of their respective wards, going from house to house for contributions to the loan.† In these circumstances Paterson might have laid his account with the opposition of the monied interest, whose inordinate gains his proposed Bank was to put an end to; the disaffected, also,—that is, the enemies of the revolutionary settlement,—were all, he tells us, against it; their argument was, that the new Bank would engross to itself all the money, stock, and riches of the kingdom; but what he conceived he had less reason to anticipate was the difficulty he experienced in prevailing upon the government to go into his scheme. King William was abroad when the proposal was brought before the cabinet in 1693, where long debates took place upon it in the presence of the queen; but at last an act of parliament was passed (5 and 6 W. and M. c. 20), which, in imposing certain rates and duties on tonnage of ships, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, authorised their majesties to grant a commission to take subscriptions for 1,200,000*l.* of the whole 1,500,000*l.* which the new taxes were expected to raise, and to incorporate the subscribers into a company, under the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. Interest at eight per cent. was to be allowed upon the money advanced, and also 4000*l.* a year for management;* making the whole annual payment to the company 100,000*l.* The company were to be enabled to purchase lands, &c., and to exercise all the usual powers of bodies corporate; but were not to trade in the buying or selling of any goods or merchandise, except that they might deal in bills of exchange, and in buying and selling of bullion, gold, or silver, and in selling of any goods or merchandise which should be pledged to them for money lent thereon, and might also sell the produce of their own lands. This act received the royal assent on the 25th of April, 1694; the subscription for the 1,200,000*l.* was completed in ten days, twenty-five per cent., or a fourth of the whole sum, being paid down; and the royal charter of incorporation was executed on the 27th of July following. It gave to the establishment the same constitution which it still retains, under a governor, deputy governor, and twenty-four directors, of whom Paterson was one. The new institution, though loudly clamoured against for some time, principally by interested parties, soon proved its usefulness to the general conviction. "The advantages," says Burnet, "that the king, and all concerned in tallies, had from the Bank were soon so sensibly felt that all people saw into the secret reasons that made the enemies of the constitution set themselves with so much earnestness against it."† Paterson himself ascribes to it no less an effect than the successful termination of the war:—"The erection of this famous Bank," says he, "not only relieved the ministerial managers from their frequent processions into the city for borrowing of money on the best and nearest public securities at an interest of ten or twelve per cent. per annum, but likewise gave life and currency to double or treble the value of its capital in other branches of public credit; and so, under God, became the principal means of the success of the campaign in the following year, 1695, as particularly in reducing the important fortress of Namur, the first material step towards the peace concluded at Ryswick in the year 1697."

A great operation in which the Bank, almost as

* See ante, pp. 54, *et seq.*

† Paterson's Account of his Transactions in relation to the Bank of England, fol. 1695; and his Conferences on the Public Debts, by the Wednesday's Club in Friday-street.

* "This is the first instance," observes Anderson, "of any national fund being managed by any other than the crown officers at the Exchequer; which new method of allowing a round sum for charges of management has ever since been followed, not only with respect to the Bank, but also to the East India and South Sea Companies; which allowances for the expense of management, that is, for salaries of governors, directors, clerks, office-rent, &c., were at first usually computed from what similar funds had formerly cost the crown when managed at the Exchequer, though generally, in later times, I conceive, with some saving to the public in this new method." *Chron. Com.* ii. 604. The entire management of the public debt has since been confided to the Bank; and the annual sum now allowed to it for that service is about 130,000*l.* Previous to the last renewal of the charter (in 1833) the allowance exceeded 250,000*l.*; and before 1786 it was at the still higher rate of 562*l.* 10*s.* for every million of the debt. But even this was a great reduction upon the original rate, which was not less than 3333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per million.

† Own Time, iii. 425.

soon as it had been set up, was called upon to assist the government and the country was the entire re-coinage of the silver money, which was undertaken in 1696. The inconveniences arising from the clipping of the silver currency began to be felt about the close of the reign of Charles II., and to a greater degree in that of James II., but only very seriously after the Revolution. In 1692 we find a clause in an act of parliament reciting that "the receivers of the revenue and aids given to their majesties, and divers other persons, have in many places of this kingdom refused to receive or take in payment any sort of cracked money, which by law is and ought to pass as the current coin of this realm, by reason of which refusal many of their majesties' good subjects are under great hardships and difficulties for want of money to pay their taxes and supply their other necessary occasions, whilst the said cracked money lies dead by them, and is rendered wholly useless to their majesties and their subjects."* The clause goes on to enact that whoever should refuse to take in payment any cracked money being the current coin of the kingdom should for every such offence forfeit five pounds, to be recovered by action by any person who would sue for the same. But the evil was not to be cured in this way; no act of parliament could make a piece of silver intrinsically, for instance, worth only ninepence or tenpence pass for a shilling; if dealers could not have the price of their goods in money of sufficient weight, they raised the price; and the law which compelled them to take the clipped money did not, and could not, prevent them from allowing discount to those who brought them shillings, sixpences, or half-crowns of the full weight, or from receiving gold coin for more than its legal value in silver; so that, except that it occasioned some inconvenience, this enactment proved quite ineffectual. Then, in 1694, an act was passed expressly "to prevent counterfeiting and clipping the coin." "It is manifest," says the preamble, "that of late years the current coin of this kingdom hath been greatly diminished by rounding, clipping, filing, and melting the same, and likewise many false and counterfeit coins have been clipped for the better disguising thereof;" and then it is declared to be apparent that these practices are "very much occasioned by those who drive a trade of exchanging broad money for clipped money, and by other acts and devices." To remedy this state of things it is now enacted, that, if any person should at any one time either exchange, lend, sell, borrow, buy, receive, or pay any broad silver money, or silver money unclipped, of the coin of the kingdom, for *more* than the same was coined for, and ought by law to go for, he should forfeit ten times the amount of the money so illegally exchanged. A variety of new restrictions were at the same time imposed upon the trade in bullion; such as, that no person should cast ingots or bars of silver, under a penalty of five hundred pounds; that none should buy, sell, or have in custody any clippings or filings of coin under the like penalty; that no person should export any melted silver without having it first stamped at Goldsmiths' Hall, and taking oath that no part of it had been before it was melted current coin of the kingdom, or clippings therefrom; that none but goldsmiths and refiners should deal in the buying or selling of silver bullion, under pain of suffering six months' imprisonment, &c.* But it might as well have been attempted to stop the flowing of the tide by act of parliament. Before this measure was devised, guineas were passing for thirty shillings, and exchequer tallies were often at from thirty to forty per cent. discount. The new act did as little good as the other passed two years before; "and," says Anderson, "as the diminishing of the old hammered money daily increased, so far that it is said shillings scarcely contained more than threepence in silver, the condition of the nation became very alarming; which gave the greatest joy to the disaffected at home, who hoped thereby for a total overthrow of King William's government. The French king also had great expectations from this calamity, so far as to have been heard to say, that King William would never be able to surmount the difficulty."† The wretched state to which the coinage had actually been reduced is most clearly set forth in an "Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin," which appeared in 1695, and the author of which evidently writes from official sources of information. He computes the entire silver money coined by Queen Elizabeth to have amounted to 4,632,932*l.*; that coined by James I. to 1,700,000*l.*; and that coined by Charles I. to 8,776,544*l.*; making, in all, 15,109,476*l.* By this time all Queen Elizabeth's crowns, half-crowns, groats, quarter-shillings, half-groats, three-halfpenny pieces, three-farthing pieces, and halfpence, were wholly gone; and also great numbers of her shillings and sixpences. The crowns, groats, twopenny pieces, pence, and halfpence of James I. and Charles I., had likewise all disappeared; with many of their half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. On the whole, this author calculates that there did not remain in circulation more than a third part of this old coinage, or not much above 5,000,000*l. sterling*. This, however, constituted by far the greater part of the existing silver currency; for the unmelted coins of Charles II., James II., and King William, did not amount to more than about 563,000*l.* Thus the nominal value of the whole silver money of the kingdom, clipped and unclipped, hoarded and current, was about 5,600,000*l.* But of this about 4,000,000*l.* consisted of clipped money; while the remaining 1,600,000*l.* was either hoarded up, or current only in the remote counties. The most curious part of the statement, however, and that also which proceeds upon the surest grounds, is the calculation of the extent to which the clipping had been carried.

* 7 W. and M. c. 14, § 7.

* 6 and 7 W. and M., c. 17. † Chron. of Com., ii. 619.

There had, it seems, been brought into the Mint in the three months of May, June, and July, 1695, 572 bags, each containing 100*l.* of silver coin, promiscuously collected, which, according to the standard, ought to have weighed 18,451lbs. 6oz. 16dwt. 8gr. troy; but the actual weight of the whole turned out to be only 9480lbs. 11oz. 5dwt., or very little more than half what it ought to have been! The exact diminution amounted to about five shillings in every eleven. The whole four millions of clipped silver money, therefore, were really not worth much more than two millions sterling; and the loss consequent upon calling in the whole and re-coining it would not amount to much less than that sum. The prospect of this great outlay, however, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of some members, did not deter parliament from resolving upon the only course that could effectually remedy the evil. By a succession of acts passed in the course of the years 1696 and 1697, provision was made for gradually calling in all the old silver money, and replacing it by another currency of the full standard weight; and before the end of the latter year the entire operation was accomplished, and "our silver coins came forth from the Mint," to quote Anderson's expression, "the finest and most beautiful of any in all Europe." The new money was coined partly at the Tower, partly at the country mints of Bristol, Exeter, Chester, Norwich, and York. According to the account of the receipts and issues of the Exchequer during the reign of William, which we have had occasion to quote in a former Chapter, the entire cost amounted to something under two millions and a half—a sum sufficiently near the estimate of the author of the essay from which we have taken the above view of the actual state of the silver currency before this re-coinage, to entitle us to place considerable confidence in the general accuracy of his facts and calculations.*

To the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, is ascribed the main credit of suggesting and carrying through this great reform, which was undoubtedly the mightiest financial operation that had yet been achieved or undertaken in England. In the mean time, however, it had, before its completion, very nearly brought down the infant establishment of the Bank, whose notes, together with Montague's new exchequer bills,† had chiefly supplied, while the re-coinage was proceeding, the vacuum occasioned by the abstraction of the old clipped silver money. But these notes, being payable on demand, were presented so much faster than the new coin could be supplied from the Mint, that the Bank, in the course of the year 1697, was obliged to resort to what amounted in fact to a suspension of payments—giving coin for its notes, first by instalments of ten per cent. once a fortnight, and afterwards only at the rate of three per cent. once in the three months. The consequence was, that Bank paper fell to a discount of from fifteen to twenty per cent. In the preceding year the directors had made two successive calls of twenty per cent. each upon the proprietors; but such was the difficulty of procuring money, that we find them in the Gazette of the 6th of May, 1697, urging the defaulters upon the last of these calls, which should have been attended to on the 10th of the preceding November, "and also those indebted to the Bank upon mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other securities, to pay in the said twenty per cent., and the principal and interest of those securities, by the 1st of June next." But these difficulties were soon removed and the credit of the Bank completely restored by the effects of an act passed in the ensuing session of parliament, adding above a million sterling to the stock of the corporation, and extending the term of its exclusive privileges to the year 1711.* In 1708 its charter was farther continued to the year 1733; in 1712 to the year 1743; and in 1742 to the year 1765. Meanwhile also its capital, or the amount of the advances it had made to the public, had gone on increasing, till at the close of the present period it had risen to be nearly eleven millions. The establishment of the Bank of England was immediately followed by that of a similar institution in Scotland, also mainly through the exertions of the public-spirited and indefatigable Paterson. But, while the great corporation in Threadneedle-street remained the only privileged banking association in England, the Bank of Scotland was compelled within the present period to submit to the intrusion, first of one chartered rival, the Royal Bank, in 1727, and then of a second, the British Linen Company, in 1746.

Of the old incorporated trading associations, the only one the history of which offers much matter of interest during the present period, is the East India Company. This company underwent a complete re-organisation in consequence of measures that were taken respecting it in the reign of William. We have seen that for some time previous to the Revolution the exclusive privilege of the Company had been extensively invaded by numbers of private traders. These interlopers, as they were styled, taking advantage of the natural invidiousness of a monopoly, seem to have at length succeeded in exciting a very general feeling of hostility to the Company; to which were imputed various delinquencies and acts of mismanagement most injurious to the national interests; so that in January, 1692, the House of Commons, carried along by the prevailing clamour, sent up an address to his majesty requesting him at once to dissolve a body that had so misconducted itself, and incorporate a new company†

* It is observed, however, by Leake, that the "provision by law to receive the clipped money was the greatest encouragement to promote clipping, and gave the clippers all the advantages they could desire, making the crime more general; for now they were sure of a market for their clipped money; so that what had been hoarded, and hitherto escaped the shears, now underwent the same fate; and it is not improbable that more was clipped and reclipped upon this general license than had been before."—*Historical Account of English Money*, 2nd Edit. p. 392.

† See ante, p. 686.

* 8 and 9. Will. III. c. 20.

This was the commencement of a long series of proceedings, of which we can here notice little more than the results. On the question being submitted to the privy council, they proposed that a new company should be incorporated for twenty-one years, to consist of the members of the old company, and as many new subscribers as should make up a capital of from 1,500,000*l.* to 2,000,000*l.*, of which the existing company's capital should be considered as making 740,000*l.* But the Company maintained that, reckoning everything they possessed, and looking to the current price of their stock in the market, their capital could not be fairly estimated at a less sum than 1,500,000*l.* They also contended that their forts, towns, and territories in India were by their charters theirs for ever, whatever might become of their privilege of exclusive trading. No steps were taken to carry into effect the recommendations of the privy council; nor did the enemies of the Company succeed in getting it broken up even when the following year, by an unaccountable piece of neglect, it had legally incurred the forfeiture of its charter by the nonpayment on the appointed day of a tax upon its capital imposed by a recent act of parliament. On the contrary, on the 7th of October, 1693, it obtained from the king a renewal of its charter, with a full restoration of all its former powers and privileges. An account has already been given in our first chapter of the investigation which was afterwards (in 1695) made by parliament into this transaction, when it appeared that the Company had, in the year 1693, expended for special (but unspecified) services little less than 90,000*l.*; of which, among other persons in power, the Duke of Leeds, the president of the council, was all but proved to have been a sharer to a large amount, while his majesty himself was strongly suspected to have benefited to a still larger.* These disclosures, or exposures, did not tend to allay the public feeling against the Company; which about the same time fell into further disfavour by being obliged to suspend for some years the payment of any dividends in consequence of a train of severe losses it had incurred. Indeed, the Company now scarcely derived any advantage at all from its charter, the validity of which was denied by parliament, and which even the government openly disregarded, granting licenses to the private traders in the most unreserved manner. To this pass had matters been brought, when, in the beginning of the year 1698, the government, being in want of money, bethought itself of trying what could be made of the monopoly of the India trade, which was thus contested or in abeyance. The Company now offered to make an advance of 700,000*l.*, at four per cent., on condition of obtaining a parliamentary confirmation of their charter; but, on this, at the instigation, as it is alleged, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Montague, the private traders offered 2,000,000*l.*, at eight per cent., for an incorporation conferring upon them the exclusive privilege of the trade; and their proposal was accepted. An act was accordingly passed in July of that year, empowering the king to incorporate the new company; and on the 5th of September following his majesty signed a charter investing the subscribers of the two millions, under the name of The English Company trading to the East Indies, with the exclusive possession of the commerce with that part of the world for ever, subject only to the right of the Old Company to continue their trade for three years longer. Meanwhile, however, the Old Company had, through its treasurer, subscribed no less than 315,000*l.* of the loan of two millions, and had thus become by far the largest shareholder in the new and rival association. Hence a confusion and conflict of claims and interests such as a legislative arrangement has seldom produced. There were now trading all at the same time, first, the Old Company, expressly authorised to go on as usual for three years longer, and even after the expiration of that term left in possession of all its forts and factories in India, and of whatever privileges it had acquired there from the native authorities; secondly, the New Company, without any Indian possessions whatever, and with the rival body, which aimed at its destruction, permanently, as it were, seated upon its shoulders, and invested with almost a controlling power over its operations; thirdly, a few of the subscribers to the late loan, who had declined joining the New Company, but who in terms of the original contract with the government were nevertheless entitled, so long as the two millions remained unrepaid, to trade each for himself; and, fourthly, all such separate traders as had cleared out from England previous to the 1st of July, 1698, the right of all such to carry on the trade till they should think fit to return to England having also been provided for by a clause in the act which created the New Company. It is said that no fewer than sixty ships in all were now engaged in the trade, which seems to have been reduced to a state in which all the inconveniences of a free trade and of a monopoly were combined, without any of the advantages of either. The native manufactures were extensively injured by a glut of India goods, the prices obtained for which at the same time entirely failed to remunerate the importers. And still the bitterest hostility divided the two companies, whose quarrel, indeed, gradually became one in which the whole nation took part, the Tories siding with the Old Company, the Whigs with the New, after the manner in which the whirlpool of political faction is wont to draw all things to it. In the city of London in particular, ever since the passing of the act of 1698, which had called the New Company into existence, all the powerful interest of the other company had been strenuously and perseveringly exerted against the government; and Burnet acknowledges "that this act, together with the inclinations which those of the Whigs who were in good posts had expressed for keeping up a

* See ante, p. 52.

greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made use of over England by the Tories to disgrace both the king and them."* And the Tory majority in the new House of Commons which met in February, 1701, appears to have been the effect of the returning popular feeling in favour of the Old Company, and of the exertions of their partisans throughout the kingdom, more than of any other cause. The elections, indeed, had turned principally upon the contention between the two companies; but Burnet himself is constrained to admit that what systematic bribery of the electors took place was chiefly, if not exclusively, on the part of the New Company and his own friends and theirs, the Whigs. When the House met, he tells us, "reports were brought to them of elections that had been scandalously purchased by some who were concerned in the New East India Company. Instead of drinking and entertainments, by which elections were formerly managed, now a most scandalous practice was brought in of buying votes, with so little decency, that the electors engaged themselves by subscription to choose a blank person before they were trusted with the name of their candidate." But he adds, with considerable naïveté, "the Old East India Company had driven a course of corruption within doors with so little shame, that the New Company intended to follow their example; but with this difference, that, whereas the former had bought the persons who were elected, they resolved to buy elections."† The general interest that was taken in the dispute between the two companies did not abate till towards the very close of William's reign; but at length the parties principally concerned began themselves to perceive that the contest was only exhausting and ruining both; and shortly after the accession of Anne an arrangement that had been for some time negociating was completed under the sanction of the queen, by which their differences were composed in the mean time, and provision was made for their ultimate union into one body. The fixed property, or dead stock, as it was called, of the Old Company in India, being valued at 330,000*l.*, and that of the New Company at 70,000*l.*, a fair adjustment of their respective claims and liabilities in regard to that matter was made by the latter paying over to the former the sum of 130,000*l.*, so that each might be regarded as contributing 200,000*l.* to this part of the common stock; and then the money capital of 2,000,000*l.* was in like manner divided equally between the two, by the Old Company purchasing at par as much stock from the New Company as made up their original subscription of 315,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.*‡ These terms were embodied in a tripartite indenture, which was signed by her majesty and both Companies on the 2nd of July, 1702; and by which it was also stipulated that after the expiration of the term of seven years all separation of interests should cease, and the whole incorporated shareholders should form one body, to be called The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. This final and complete union, accordingly, took place in the year 1708. After this the Company's charter was three times renewed, and its exclusive trading privileges continued to it, within the present period; first, in 1712 till the year 1736; secondly, in 1730 till the year 1769; and lastly, in 1744 till the year 1783.

Some of the other branches of our colonial and foreign trade, during the reign of William, require only a slight notice. The plantations, as they were called, or settlements on the continent of America, went on steadily increasing in population and wealth; and by the end of the century the trade with these rising dependencies and the adjacent West India Islands is said to have given employment to no less than five hundred sail of ships. Of these doubtless a considerable number were engaged in bringing negroes from the opposite coast of Africa—a trade which had originally been in the exclusive possession of the African Company, but which now, after having been for a considerable time practically open, was in 1698 made so legally by an act of parliament, permitting all the king's subjects, whether of England or of America, to trade to Africa on payment of a certain per centage to the Company on all goods exported or imported—negroes, however, being exempted even from this tax. The change thus made was "at that time," remarks Anderson, "in every one's judgment much to the benefit of the nation, more especially with relation to the commerce to our sugar colonies; for it was confessed by all that the separate traders had considerably reduced the price of negroes to our negro colonies, and consequently had so far the better enabled them to undersell our rivals." In the Newfoundland fishery the French had for some time before the Revolution been encroaching more and more upon the exclusive rights claimed by the English; the first specific complaint in King William's declaration of war against France in 1689 was, that, whereas not long since the French had been accustomed to take licenses from the English governor of Newfoundland for fishing in the seas upon that coast, and to pay tribute for such licenses, as an acknowledgment of the sole right of the crown of England to that island, yet of late their encroachments upon his subjects' trade and fishery there had been more like the invasions of an enemy than becoming friends who enjoyed the advantages of the said trade only by permission. The capture of Nova Scotia, however, at the commencement of the war would probably make us again sole masters of the neighbouring island." An act passed in 1698 for the encouragement of the trade to Newfoundland may be taken

* Own Time, ii. 209. † Ibid. ii. 259.

‡ Strictly speaking, the amount of stock held by each company was only 288,500*l.*, the remaining 23,000*l.* being held by parties who, although they had subscribed to the 2,000,000*l.* loan to government, had preferred trading separately to joining the New Company.

as evidence that it was then of considerable value. The preamble declares it to be "a beneficial trade to this kingdom, not only in the employing great numbers of seamen and ships, and exporting and consuming great quantities of provisions and manufactures of this realm, whereby many tradesmen and poor artificers are kept at work, but also in bringing into this nation, by returns of the effects of the said fishery from other countries, great quantities of wine, oil, plate, iron, wool, and sundry other useful commodities, to the increase of his majesty's revenue, and encouragement of trade and navigation." Then follow a number of regulations for the orderly carrying on of the fishery, of which the principal is, that, "according to the ancient custom there used," the master of the vessel from England first entering any harbour or creek in the island after the 25th of March should be admiral of the said harbour or creek during that fishing season, and should see the rules and orders laid down in the act duly put in execution within the limits of the jurisdiction thus assigned to him. It is expressly ordered that no subject of any foreign power "shall at any time hereafter take any bait, or use any sort of trade or fishing whatsoever," in Newfoundland, or in any of the adjacent islands. But this complete exclusion of other countries from the fishery was not long maintained. Measures were also taken a few years after the Revolution to revive the Greenland fishery. In 1692 a company was incorporated for carrying on this branch of trade, by the name of the Company of Merchants of London trading to Greenland, with a capital of 40,000*l.*, and a charter conferring upon them the usual powers of succession, &c., and the exclusive possession of the trade for fourteen years. The preamble of the act gives a sort of history of the way in which the old English trade to Greenland had come to be "quite decayed and lost." It recites that several merchants and others had been by an act passed in 1673* "encouraged to fit out and send to the said Greenland seas some ships or vessels for the catching of whales, whereby some small quantities of oil, blubber, and whale-fins were imported into this kingdom; but, they not being able to carry on the said trade upon their single or separate interests, in regard that the neighbouring nations did yearly send far greater numbers of ships into those seas, the said merchants and other persons of this kingdom were forced to desist from following the said trade, which is now wholly engrossed by foreigners; and since the expiration and revival† of the said act there hath not been any ships sent from England to the said Greenland seas, or any oil, blubber, or whale-fins imported into England but such as have been bought of foreigners, whereby great sums of money are yearly drawn out of England for those commodities, and the rates and prices which are now paid for the same are now above six times more than heretofore they were; and, the said trade having been for above these twelve years last past wholly lost to this kingdom, there are very few or no English harpinierers or English seamen skilled and exercised in the said trade of whale-catching, so that the said trade cannot now be regained to this kingdom, nor can be carried on, by or* without the assistance of foreign harpinierers, or upon the single interests or stocks of any particular persons, or by any other way than by a joint-stock."† The trade, however, throve under this new system no better than before: after a year or two the Company subscribed an additional capital of 42,000*l.*, and in 1696 they got a new act exempting them from all duties upon the oil, &c., imported by them during the currency of their charter; but some years before that term expired they had expended their second capital also, on which they resolved to abandon the speculation. In these circumstances the trade was in 1702 thrown open by parliament, the act declaring that it had been wholly neglected by the Company and lost to the nation.‡ But no further attempt appears to have been made by any English adventurer in this field of enterprise for many years. In 1699 the trade with Russia, now becoming every day of greater importance in the new position to which that country was raised by the reforms of Peter the Great, was also practically thrown open by an act entitling any person to admission into the Russian Company on payment of an entrance fee of 5*l.* The Turkey Company appears to have been at this date in the possession of an active and prosperous commerce. The French Council of Commerce, in a memorial drawn up in the year 1701, admit that the English then carried on the Levant trade (which was in the hands of this company) with much more advantage than the French, chiefly in consequence of our woollen cloths being both superior in quality and lower in price. "The English," adds the Memorial, "also carry to the Levant lead, pewter, copperas, and logwood, which are goods they are masters of; together with a great deal of pepper; and, that they may not drain their country of its gold and silver, they also take in dry fish of their own catching, sugar of their own colonies, and other goods of their own produce, which they sell on the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, for pieces of eight, which they carry to the Levant to make up a stock sufficient for purchasing their homeward cargoes."§

The French Council of Commerce was established by Louis XIV. in the year 1700. From its erection Anderson, writing about the middle of the last century, when it still subsisted, thinks there is good reason to date "the great and almost surprising increase of the commerce, woollen manufacture, mercantile shipping, and foreign colonies of France."‖ We have noticed in the

* 25 Car. II. c. 7, § 1.
† In 1690 by 2 Will. and Mary, sess. 1. c. 4.

* Qy. "by *us*?"
† 4 G. and M., c. 17.
‡ 1 Ann. c. 42.
§ Quoted by Anderson, in Chron. of Com. iii. 7.
‖ Chron. of Com. ii. 646.

last Book the English Council or Board of the same kind established by Charles II. in 1668,* which however was kept up only for about five or six years. From the time when it was allowed to drop matters relating to commerce and the colonies had been usually referred to committees of the privy council, specially appointed to consider each new subject as it arose; but in 1696 King William issued a commission appointing a permanent Board of Trade to consist (in addition to the great officers of state, whose attendance was expected to be only occasional) of a first lord and seven other commissioners, each having a salary of 1000*l.* Among the first commissioners were the celebrated John Locke, and Pollexfen, the writer on commerce. They were styled "Commissioners for promoting the Trade of this Kingdom, and for inspecting and improving the Plantations in America and elsewhere;" and their instructions more particularly directed them to examine into and take accounts of the general trade of England, and of our foreign commerce in all its departments—"to consider by what means profitable manufactures, already settled, may be further improved, and how other new and profitable manufactures may be introduced"—"to consider of proper methods for setting on work and employing the poor, and making them useful to the public"—and, in regard to the plantations, or colonies, to superintend not only their commerce but their government in all respects.† From this last class of duties the Board of Trade must have been relieved, we presume, on the institution of the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, or the American department, in 1768; but its other functions were understood to remain nearly the same as at its first establishment down to its abolition in 1782, when the business of this department of the executive government was made over to a permanent committee of the privy council, according to the arrangement that still subsists.

The Revolution was immediately followed by an innovation, which demands our special notice, in the law regulating the foreign trade in the most important of all productions, the article of corn. As far as the subject can be historically traced, the first law permitting the exportation of corn from England, without the royal license, was passed in 1394 (17 Rich. II. c. 7). By this law exportation, which appears to have been hitherto strictly prohibited, was made free in all circumstances, that is to say, whatever might be the price at home. The only check reserved was, that, as the king had formerly the power of allowing exportation in particular cases, so now he might forbid it when to do so appeared to him to be for the profit of the realm. The matter, therefore, in fact remained still, as before, under the control of the crown—with this difference, that, whereas non-exportation had been the general rule formerly, liberty of exportation was established as the general rule now. The alteration of the law may be taken as indicating the increased political power of the agricultural interest, and probably also the increased cultivation and produce of the soil. And these same two causes we find operating, with almost uninterrupted constancy, in moulding our corn laws more and more into the form most accordant with the interests of the producer down to the date at which we are now arrived. In 1436 (by 15 Hen. VI. c. 2), the right of exportation, in the case of the home price being under a certain point, was given absolutely, without any restriction or reservation whatever; the old power of prohibition was wholly taken from the king so long as prices remained below the sum specified; it was merely provided that he should have his customs and duties, as usual, upon the exported commodity. And, of course, by the unrepealed act of 1394, exportation, whatever might be the state of prices at home, was still also free, unless when expressly forbidden by royal proclamation. The limit fixed by the act of 1436, as that within which the right of exportation remained independent of the crown, was so long as the home price (of the quarter of wheat) did not exceed 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1463 (by 3 Ed. IV. c. 2) a new advantage was given to the producers, by importation being for the first time forbidden whenever prices should be under that point. In this state the law remained for seventy-one years. But then in 1534 an act was passed (the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 2) which (in so far at least as regarded the exportation of corn) swept away all the legislation of the preceding hundred and forty years, and suddenly restored for a time the old original state of the law, by which exportation was prohibited in all circumstances except under the royal license. The importation of the article, indeed, still remained fettered by the act of 1463; but probably that act was now nearly inoperative from the rise of prices that had taken place since it passed;—a change that would, to be sure, make the act of 1436 also a dead letter; so that what was really done by Henry VIII.'s act of 1534 was principally to repeal Richard II.'s act of 1394, which first made free exportation the rule and non-exportation the exception, time itself having done the rest. However, the law, as we have said, was now (except as to the partial and probably inapplicable and harmless restriction on importation) brought back in all respects to the state in which it was before the course of legislation in favour of the agricultural interest began. But this lasted for twenty years only. In 1554 (by the 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. c. 5) the law of 1463 was revived, and exportation again made free when the price was under 6*s.* 8*d.* It is expressly stated in the preamble to this new act that the general prohibition of exportation by the act of 1534 had been extensively evaded or completely disregarded: "yet notwithstanding," are the words of the preamble, "many and sundry covetous and insatiable persons, seeking their own lucres and gains, had and

* See vol. iii. p. 865.

† See abstract of the original Commission in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, ii. 680.

daily do carry and convey innumerable quantity as well of corn, cheese, butter, and other victual [the prohibition had extended to all other articles of food as well as grain], as of wood, out of this realm into the parts beyond the seas; by reason whereof the said corn, victual, and wood are grown into a wonderful dearth and extreme prices." So that we see even this short solitary suspension of the onward movement of the land-cultivating, or rather of the land-owning, interest was rather nominal than real. But at any rate the subsequent advance of the landed interest in this course of acquisition was both steady and open enough. In 1562 (by the 17th, or, in the common editions, the 26th section of the 5 Eliz. c. 5, curiously entitled "An Act touching certain politic constitutions made for the maintenance of the Navy") the limit within which there should be a free exportation of wheat was enlarged by the elevation of the terminating price to 10*s.* the quarter; a corresponding alteration being at the same time made for other descriptions of grain. In 1571 (by the 13 Eliz. c. 13) the law of 1394 was restored, and exportation was made free, whatever might be the home price, at all times when no proclamation had been issued to the contrary. Then by a succession of acts the limits within which the right of exportation was made absolute, and independent even of the control of the royal prerogative, were gradually extended, by the elevation of the terminating price in 1623 (by the 21 Jac. I. c. 28) to 32*s.*; in 1660 (by the 12 Car. II. c. 4) to 40*s.*; and in 1663 (by the 15 Car. II. c. 7) to 48*s.* Up to this point, however, although the landed interest had been successful in breaking down to a considerable extent the ancient policy of the kingdom, which was prohibitory of exportation in all circumstances, it cannot be said (if we except the law of 1463 forbidding importation while the home price was under 6*s.* 8*d.*, which had now long ceased to be operative, if it ever had been so) that any unfair advantage had been given to the growers of corn; all that had been done in their favour had only tended to make the trade in corn more and more free, by removing part of the restrictions that had been laid upon the export of the commodity. But soon after this a new system was begun. In 1670 (by the 22 Car. II. c. 13) not only was the home price up to which exportation should be free raised to 53*s.* 4*d.*, but for the first time (for we may disregard altogether the obsolete act of 1463) importation was restrained, by being loaded with a prohibitory amount of duty so long as the price in the home-market was under 53*s.* 4*d.*, and even with a very heavy duty, 8*s.* per quarter, when the home price reached that point and until it rose to 80*s.* This was the law in force at the time of the Revolution. Corn could not be brought from abroad at all till the price at home rose to 53*s.* 4*d.*, and even not then without the payment of a tax which made it necessary that the cost of purchase and charge of conveyance should not together have amounted to so much as 45*s.* 4*d.*; and at the same time its exportation was perfectly free (except that it paid a moderate custom duty, like all other commodities) until it rose at home to a price which it might be safely presumed would make the sending it abroad no longer profitable. This, we might suppose, would have been deemed protection for agriculture enough. But not so; immediately after the Revolution an act was passed (the 1 Will. and Mary, c. 12) which introduced the new principle of actually paying the landlords for sending their produce out of the country, by allowing a bounty of 5*s.* upon every quarter of wheat exported so long as the home price did not exceed 48*s.* Nor was even this all that was done to promote exportation; in 1699 (by the 11 Will. III. c. 20) "for the greater encouragement of tillage," corn sent abroad was relieved even from all custom-house duties. It was time, indeed, to cease levying duties with the one hand upon that which we were paying bounties to encourage on the other.

Under the system of bounties, which was maintained throughout the present period and long after its close (for it was not till the year 1773 that the law of 1689 was partially, and not till 1815 that it was wholly, repealed), England became a corn-exporting country to some, though never to any very considerable extent. In 1697, for instance, 14,699 quarters of wheat and flour were sent abroad; in 1699 the quantity fell to 557; but in 1700 it was 49,056; and in the ten following years, while it rose in 1706 to 188,332, it never was under 74,000, till 1710, when it fell to 13,924. In the ten years from 1711 to 1720 it ranged from 71,800 quarters to 176,227, except in 1717, when it was only 22,954. In 1722 it was 178,880; in 1723, 157,720; in 1724, 245,865; and in 1725, 204,413. But in 1727 it had fallen to 30,315; and in 1728 to 3,817; nor in 1729 was it more than 18,993. After this, with the exception of a few unproductive years (1740, 1741, 1757, and 1758), in which it was very insignificant, it was seldom less than from 200,000 to 400,000, and sometimes it was considerably more: thus, in 1733 it was 427,199: in 1734, 498,196; in 1737, 461,602; in 1738, 580,596; in 1748, 543,387; in 1749, 629,049; in 1750, 947,602 (which was the highest amount it ever reached); and in 1751, 661,416. It has often been contended, and formerly it was an opinion almost universally held that, by the extension of tillage which it occasioned, the system of bounties upon the exportation of corn in fact operated to keep down the price of the commodity in the home-market. "In other states," observes the Count de Boulainvilliers, "private persons pay the government for the exportation of grain; England acts quite otherwise, and pays them. All common means made use of to that time to increase the fruits of the earth had been insufficient, or at least of little use. Before that epoch the agriculture of England was of little account in Europe. As long as that monarchy thought only of its own subsist-

ence, it always found itself short of the necessary; it was very often obliged to have recourse to foreigners to make up the deficiency of the growth of the nation; but, when it made its agriculture an object of commerce, the cultivation of its land became one of the most abundant in Europe. Without that stroke of state, the best concerted of all those which have yet appeared in modern politics, England had never sown but for herself; for what could she have done with the surplus of her grain? It was the bounty only which could assure her of the sale in foreign markets, and, for that reason, be the only source of the augmentation of her harvests. Let us combine all the means which that monarchy hath put in use, for an age past, to establish its power, and we shall find that it is to this in particular that she is indebted for her elevation."* In later times this reasoning has generally been considered to be as mistaken as it is paradoxical, and the effects which it attributes to the bounty system have been traced to quite other causes; but it is at least certain that, howsoever caused, a reduction rather than a rise of the price of corn did follow this artificial encouragement given to its exportation. Grain was in general, according to Charles Smith, from fifteen to twenty per cent. cheaper during the seventy years that followed the enactment of the law of 1689 than it had been for forty years before that time.† For some years after the Restoration the average price of wheat exceeded 50*s.* the quarter; nor was it under 41*s.* at the date of the Revolution: for the ten years ending with 1695 it appears to have been about 39*s.* 6*d.*; for the ten ending 1705, about 43*s.*; for the ten ending 1715, about 44*s.*; for the twenty ending 1735, about 35*s.*; for the ten ending 1745, about 32*s.*; and for the ten ending 1755, about 33*s.*

According to an account given by Davenant, the official value of our entire exports for the year 1699 was 6,788,166*l.*; of which sum the woollen manufacture alone furnished not less than 2,932,292*l.*, or considerably nearer one-half than one-third.‡ Elsewhere the same writer estimates our total exports to France in that year at 103,961*l.*; in 1700 at 287,049*l.*; and in 1701 at 213,004*l.*: the values of the imports from that country being 76,272*l.* for 1699; 94,641*l.* for 1700; and 123,940*l.* for 1701.§ The only articles he particularises are, among the exports, woollen goods and lead; among the imports, linen, paper, wine, brandy, and kid-skins. On the whole it appears that the trade with France was considerably less now than it had been in the time of free intercourse which immediately succeeded the Restoration. The trade with Holland, on the other hand, had greatly increased. Up to the year 1669, according to Davenant, our exports to that country consisted of only 45 species of rated goods, whereas by the beginning of the reign of Anne we exported thither 120 or 130 different kinds. Formerly our principal exports to Holland were woollen goods, tin, lead, brass, molasses, wrought silk, butter, and morkins (hides); our principal importations thence, linens, wrought silk, thrown silk, threads, inkles, spicery, madder, battery, stock-fish, whale-fins, hemp, flax, unwrought copper, Rhenish wine, safflower, and iron ware. Of our woollens exported to Holland, the value in 1669 was 79,953*l.*; in 1703, 1,339,526*l.*: of our lead, 297*l.* in 1669; 38,283*l.* in 1703: of our tin, 1,635*l.* in 1669; 17,051*l.* in 1703. Altogether the value of our exports of the eight principal articles was 153,799*l.* in the former year, and 1,404,920*l.* in the latter. Of molasses, however, of which we exported thither to the value of 57,510*l.* in 1669, there appears to have been no exportation at all to Holland in 1703. On the other hand, many foreign, colonial, and East India goods entered into our exports in the latter year, which either formed no part of them, or a much smaller part, in the former. Of sugar and foreign fruits we re-exported to Holland in 1703 to the value of 114,416*l.*; of pepper, drugs, and dyeing substances to the value of 63,865*l.*; of tobacco to that of 143,596*l.*; of foreign wool to that of 7,800*l.*; and of cotton yarn to that of 1,783*l.* The East India goods re-exported to Holland this year amounted in value to 345,647*l.* We also now sent a considerable quantity of corn to the Dutch, a commodity of which in 1669 none was exported. Davenant says that in the year 1703 there was entered for exportation in all sorts of grain to the value of 12,202*l.* from London, and of 168,067*l.* from the outports; making altogether 180,269*l.*: but this appears to have been to all foreign parts. The imports, however, from Holland in these two years do not exhibit so great a difference: their total amount in 1669* was 501,674*l.*; and in 1703, 522,413*l.* The principal articles of which there appears to have been an increase of importation are linen (from 170,972*l.* to 213,701*l.*), thrown silk (from 2,878*l.* to 15,966*l.*), and threads (from 11,694*l.* to 51,138*l.*): on the other hand there was a falling off in wrought silk, spicery, Rhenish wine, and several other articles. In the seven years from 1699 to 1705 inclusive, the average value of our exports to Holland is stated to have been 1,937,934*l.*, and that of our imports from that country, 549,832*l.* The latter, Davenant remarks, had "continued for several years in a manner at a stand, seldom exceeding half a million per annum." If we add the outports, which the account does not include, that sum might be increased by about a fourth. Our exports to Holland, on the other hand, had been constantly augmenting, their excess over the imports having, in some of the seven years, been not less than 1,500,000*l.* But, whether or no

* Les Intérêts de la France mal entendus; 2 tom. 12mo. Amst. 1757; quoted in Mr. C. Smith's Tracts on the Corn Laws, p. 162.

† Tracts on the Corn Laws, p. 73 (second edition).

‡ Second Report to Commissioners of Public Accounts, Works, v. 460.

§ First Report, Works, v. 356.

* Davenant, First Report, p. 413, where it is printed 1699; a misprint that also occurs in other places.

this seeming overbalance in trade with the Dutch had been all to the profit of this kingdom, Davenant, with a degree of good sense and sagacity superior to his time, is inclined to doubt. "If," he continues, "according to the vulgar notion, this large overbalance had been all clear gain to England, it would have been some kind of recompense for the interruptions so long a war has brought to other branches of our foreign traffic; but nothing can be more fallacious than, because a country takes off more of our commodities than we do of theirs, to argue from thence that our dealings with that country are always beneficial to us. . . If, for the last twenty-three years, the Dutch had so far augmented their luxuries as to want for their own consumption that vast bulk of commodities they have so constantly fetched from this kingdom, and if we had been all along so reformed in our manners as to stand in little need of foreign goods, Holland must have been great losers, and we great gainers, by the dealings that have been between us. If they had not found their accounts in the prodigious quantity of effects annually exported thither from hence, and if so wise a state had perceived itself to carry on a losing trade, they would have put a stop to this mischief, either by prohibitions of, or high duties upon, our product and manufacture, for which they had a sufficient pretence from the additional impositions we have been compelled to lay upon their linens and other goods; but they have been too prudent to be frighted with the false appearance of an overbalance, well knowing, the more they brought from hence, the better opportunities they had to enlarge their general traffics." He then proceeds, by an examination of details, to show that the greater part of the commodities taken from us by the Dutch were in reality re-exported by them to other countries. In the course of this investigation he notices various facts which throw a light upon the then state both of our own commerce and of that of the world. The total value of our exports of woollen manufactures to Holland, which in 1703, as we have seen, was 1,339,526*l.*, was in 1663 only 79,953*l.* Of three articles alone, perpetuanas, serges, and stuffs, we sent the Dutch in 1703 to the value of 798,527*l.*, or ten times the amount of our whole exportation of woollens to them forty years before. That people cannot possibly, argues Davenant, have within the period in question so increased in numbers, wealth and luxury, as to want for their own consumption so great a quantity of these articles over and above what they were wont to call for. "The fact is," he continues, "that they purchase those immense cargoes to re-export to other countries, and so they are become, in a more extended degree than heretofore, the carriers of our commodities to foreign markets; that is to say, they supply those parts which we, for want of industry, have not embraced, or where our traffic has been interrupted by the war. It is easy to prove that for the last twenty years* great parcels of our fine draperies, and other woollen manufactures, went into France through Flanders, by the connivance of governors and by compositions with the French farmers,* to the value, (as I am well informed, when in Holland about six years since) of near 300,000*l.* per annum. Since the trade with the Spaniards has been interrupted, they must have carried of the same goods great quantities to Portugal; otherwise, how could they dispose of all the baize sent from hence to Holland, which article of baize, from 1699 to 1704, amounts to, at a medium of the said five years, 92,526*l.* per annum—a larger proportion than they can possibly be conceived to consume themselves; and from Portugal it must have found its way to Spain and the West Indies. The same may be said of perpetuanas, serges, says, and other stuffs; as also of stockings, woollen and worsted, for men, women, and children. During both the wars, not only the fine draperies, but manufactures from the long wool, got into France from the frontier places, which turned to the profit of Holland; and of late years, since they have so much enlarged their traffics, and accumulated such a stock of wealth to support their trade, they have carried up the rivers into Germany great parcels of fine cloths, stuffs, says, and serges, which our merchants were wont formerly to export to Hamburgh and other parts of the German empire upon their own accounts." So likewise with regard to the tin taken from us by the Dutch. Our export of tin to all foreign countries amounted in 1663 to 153 tons; in 1669 to 240; in the three years of peace, from 1698 to 1700, on an average, to 1297; and in the ten years of war, from 1700 to 1710, on an average, to 1094. In these last ten years the Dutch alone bought from us annually, on an average, 5937 cwt., or nearly 300 tons, of the estimated value of 21,374*l.* "It is not difficult," says Davenant, "to account for the reasons why our late exportations of tin so far exceed those of former times. All our neighbours, as well as ourselves, have increased in the luxurious ways of living; such who heretofore were content with pewter are now served in plate, and such as made use of trenchers, wooden platters, and earthenware will now have pewter; all which is visible within forty years, and has occasioned this great call of a commodity almost peculiar to us." The quantity of tin raised from the mines, however, was still greater than the demands of the home-market and of foreign countries together took off our hands; at the time when Davenant wrote, her majesty, for whose behoof the mines were wrought, had unsold between 4000 and 5000 tons, or as much as would supply the consumption of the next four or five years. "As the case stands at present," he adds, "Holland is the great magazine for tin; the necessities of such as have it upon their hands, either in merchandise or security, drive it thither, and the Dutch set what price they please upon this rich product of England, to the damage of the

* He is writing in 1712.

* Of customs.

public." He proposes that a thousand tons of the dead stock should be coined into tin halfpence and farthings. The annual quantity of tin that was raised in England, however, went on increasing from this time, instead of being diminished:—the quantity which had accumulated in Davenant's time is only about a year's produce of the mines at present. He next proceeds to our exports of corn. This, he observes, "is, in a manner, a new exportation, arising to us from the war, which has in other countries so employed the hands of their people that they could not till the ground, or from dearths or plagues, wherewith divers nations have been afflicted for these last twenty-three years." Formerly only a very small quantity of grain was sent from the port of London to Holland, Spain, Denmark, Africa, the Plantations, Italy, and Portugal: in 1663 the entire estimated value of the corn so exported was only 4315*l.*, and in 1699 not more than 2011*l.* "Whereas now," continues our author, "we export grain of all sorts to Africa, Canaries, Denmark and Norway, East Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Madeiras, Newfoundland, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Venice, Isles of Guernsey, &c., and English Plantations." In the eleven years from 1700 to 1710, inclusive, the average total export of grain from England was of the estimated value of 274,171*l.*; of which the value of that entered for exportation to Holland alone averaged 151,934*l.* "What part of this commodity," says Davenant, "is for their own consumption, and what part they re-export to other countries, does not appear to me; but so far is certain—when corn bears a high price in foreign markets, they send large cargoes of it to the places where it finds a good vent; *and it has been known that in years of scarcity they bring us back our own wheat, because of the premium we give upon exportation*, and which they are enabled to do by having large granaries almost in every great town, wherein they store large quantities in cheap years, to answer the demands of other countries." Of tobacco our average annual importation from Virginia, for the ten years from 1700 to 1709 inclusive, had been 28,858,666 lbs.; and we had annually re-exported to foreign countries 17,598,007 lbs., of which quantity Holland alone took from us 7,851,157lbs., or not much less than the half. "This product of our plantations," Davenant observes, "carried to Holland, brings considerable profit to that country; besides that the manufacturing of it, when there, employs a great number of their people. What proportion of it they consume themselves cannot well be stated; but so far is known, that they mix it with the tobacco of their own growth, viz., for France, one-third inland and two-thirds Virginia; making it finer or coarser, and adding to or diminishing the quantity of Virginia, and making some up only with our tobacco-stalks mixed with their own leaves, according to the use of the country whereunto they export it." According to an account which he had seen, and which he believed to be authentic, the Dutch had come by the year 1706 to grow at home, in their three provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Overyssel, and part of the duchy of Cleves, 13,000,000lbs. of tobacco, although seven years before they did not raise more than 8,000,000 lbs. It appears from this account, that in the beginning of the last century our own consumption of tobacco exceeded 11,000,000 lbs.; at present, with probably double the population, it is only about 16,000,000 lbs. Nor is our entire annual importation of tobacco much more than it was then: in 1831, for instance, it was only about 33,000,000 lbs. The last class of our exports to Holland which Davenant examines is that of our East India goods. He begins by observing that Amsterdam and Rotterdam were then in a manner the magazines for the wrought silk, Bengal stuffs mixed with silk or herba of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, and for all calicoes painted, dyed, printed, or stained in those parts, which commodities, since their use had been prohibited here,* were chiefly sent to Holland, that country taking off, on the average of the four years from 1702 to 1705 inclusive, above 94,916lbs. worth of them annually. He apprehends that the Dutch in this way drew into their pockets the greater part of the profits of our East India trade; and that such would continue to be the case so long as our own merchants were, by the law preventing the home consumption of the commodities in question, confined to that one foreign market. As for the supposed interference of these India fabrics with our woollen manufactures abroad, he does not think there is much or anything in that objection. "For these last thirty years," he observes, "in which the East India trade has been carried on to the highest pitch, we are not decreased in the manufactures from long wool, but rather the contrary, and to a large degree. . . . . Nor does it appear to me, from any observation I can make, that East India goods have hurt the general traffic of our woollen manufactures in foreign markets; these silks and stuffs seem rather a commodity calculated for the middle rank of people; they are too vulgar to be worn by the best sort, and too costly for the lowest rank; so that the use of them remains in the middle rank, who (the luxuries of the world still increasing) would wear European silks if they had not East India stuffs and painted calicoes, whereby the vent of our woollen goods abroad would certainly be lessened." On the whole, Davenant concludes, "the truth of the case appears to be, that, especially during this last war (while our trade with France and Spain has been interrupted) large quantities of the woollen manufactures, corn, tin, tobacco, with divers other commodities, have been sent to Holland, which goods in the former course of trade we exported directly

* See Vol. iii. 862.—These East India goods were prohibited in England, and only allowed to be imported for re-exportation, in 1699, by the 11 Will. III. c. 10, entitled "An Act for the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of this kingdom."

ourselves, and mostly in our own shipping, to the increase of our navigation, which the war having rendered difficult, and their ports being less exposed than ours to the danger of privateers, as well in ships outward as homeward bound, the Hollanders have in a great measure got to be the carriers of our goods; but, as our exports thither have increased all along, so our exports to other parts must, in proportion, have diminished, and what we seem to have gained in our dealings there we have lost in the general balance of our trade with other countries." Taking the year 1703, it appears that the value of our exports to all foreign parts was 6,644,103*l.*; while that of our exports to Holland alone was 2,417,890*l.*, or very nearly a third of the whole. Of the 2,417,890*l.* there was exported in English bottoms 1,502,169*l.*, and in foreign bottoms 915,720*l.* Of the imports from Holland for that year, to the value of 289,844*l.* was brought in English, and 232,568*l.* in foreign vessels. And these same proportions Davenant believes would nearly hold for other years. We may hence perceive the extent to which the carrying trade, both in goods for the English market and in English produce and manufactures, was at this time in the hands of foreigners, and principally of the Dutch.

As for the prevalent notion which Davenant takes so much pains to combat, that this trade with Holland must needs be a profitable one, simply because our exports so much exceeded our imports, it was as *irrational* as it would be to maintain that the productive labourer must always be a greater gainer upon the article he produces than the capitalist who employs him. The Dutch here stood in the position of the capitalist, and the English of the labourer. The former, in fact, employed the latter to work for them—to produce the goods which they sold at a profit to other countries. Of course, in such a connexion, while the Dutch had the goods the English had *the money*—just as while the master has his goods the workmen has his wages; and thus, and thus alone, was brought about, in the exchange between the two countries, that excess in our receipt of money or bullion constituting the so called favourable balance of the mercantile and manufacturing theories.* But that the excess of profit or real advantage should be with the labourer rather than with the capitalist may fairly be presumed to be as unusual, and as little likely in the nature of things, in the case of nations as of individuals.

Davenant incidentally mentions in the Report from which we have abstracted these notices, that, on an average of the seven years from 1699 to 1705 inclusive, our exports to Germany had amounted to the estimated value of 838,791*l.*, and our imports thence to that of 677,521*l.*† This, he observes, "is no considerable excess from so large and populous a country, especially when it is considered what quantities of German linens have been imported hither since the first war with France, which German linens must have been answered by an adequate quantity of our woollen manufactures, if the Dutch did not intercept us in the traffic by our own commodities." Such as it was, however, this excess of exports over imports made our trade with Germany be considered a profitable one, as well as that with Holland. In our dealings with the countries in the north of Europe, on the contrary, as in those with France, we were losers according to this way of calculating, if we may trust an account from which it appears that in the trade with Denmark and Norway, on the average of the four years from 1698 to 1701 inclusive, our annual imports amounted to 76,215*l.*, and our exports only to 39,543*l.*; in that with the East country our imports to 181,296*l.*, and our exports only to 149,893*l.*; in that with Russia, our imports to 112,252*l.*, and our exports only to 58,884*l.*; and in that with Sweden, our imports to 212,094*l.*, and our exports only to 57,555*l.** These figures may at any rate be taken as showing the extent of our commercial intercourse at this time with the countries in question.

Down to this, and indeed to a much later date, our chief article of produce and export continued, as of old, to be our woollens. This important manufacture was the subject of various legislative regulations in the reign of William. Immediately after the Revolution an act was passed, renewing and strengthening the former laws agains the exportation of the raw material, which, the preamble alleges, had of late years been extensively violated, "through the remissness and negligence of officers and others."† In 1698, however, we find the parliament again complaining that, nevertheless, the sending of the commodity abroad was still "notoriously continued, to the great prejudice and discouragement of the woollen trade and manufacture of England."‡ The next year the jealousy with which this great staple was watched over was strikingly evinced by the passing of an act which, after declaring that "the wool and the woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, baise, kerseys, and other stuffs made or mixed with wool, are the greatest and most profitable commodities of this kingdom, on which the value of lands and the trade of the nation do chiefly depend," proceeds to state, that "great quantities of the like manufactures have of late been made and are daily increasing in the kingdom of Ireland and in the English plantations in America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets heretofore supplied from England, which will inevitably sink the value of lands, and tend to the ruin of the trade and the woollen manufactures of this realm;" and thereupon strictly prohibits the export in future both of wool and of woollen goods to any part of

* See Vol. iii. 863.

† Second Report, p. 420.

* Quoted by Anderson, Chron. of Com., iii. 11, from the monthly periodical called the Political State of Great Britain, for November, 1721.

† 1 W. and M., c. 32.

‡ 9 Will. III. c. 40.

the world except to England, from either Ireland or the Plantations.* Finally, in the following session, by the same act which put an end to all duties on the exportation of corn, all subsisting duties upon the exportation of home woollen manufactures were also taken off, on the ground that "the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom doth in a great measure depend upon the improvement of its woollen manufactures, and the profitable trade carried on by the exportation of the same."† The system of artificial protection, however, was not in this case carried to the length of actually stimulating the exportation of either wool or woollens by bounties, as had been done with regard to corn.

In 1697 Davenant estimated the value of the wool yearly shorn in England at about 2,000,000*l.*‡ At a general medium he conceives the material to be probably improved about fourfold in the working; so that the entire annual value of our woollen manufactures at this time might be set down at about 8,000,000*l.* Of all the cloth made he allows a fourth for exportation; there would, therefore, remain for home consumption about 6,000,000*l.* worth. These inferences, however, are probably considerable exaggerations. More reliance may perhaps be placed upon an account which he says he had procured "from a very skilful hand," and from which it would appear that the quantity of fine cloth manufactured in England from Spanish wool in the year 1688 was about 19,000 pieces, of which about 9000 were exported (8420 from the port of London, 614 from the outports), and 10,000 reserved for home consumption.§ "Some people," this writer elsewhere observes, "have been apt to fear that we sink in the woollen manufacture, because the accounts of the draperies exported have been heretofore larger than of late years; but such do not contemplate that, though the old may have lessened, what are commonly called the new draperies have increased, consisting in bays, serges, and stuffs; so that, upon the whole, infinitely more of the material of wool has of late years been wrought up for foreign use than in former times; and herein our merchants have been only forced to follow the modes and humour of those people with whom they deal, and the course they have pursued has hitherto not been detrimental to the public. Nor is there any cause to apprehend but that we may increase from time to time in the general manufacture of wool, though the exportation of particular commodities may now and then vary; for, upon the whole, our material is better and fitter for all uses than that of most countries. It were better, indeed, that the call from abroad were only for the fine draperies, because then we should be in a manner without a rival; no country but England and Ireland having a sward or *turf* that will rear sheep producing the wool of which most of our draperies are made. It is true the wool of Spain is fine above all others; but it is the wear only of the richer sort, and of Spanish cloths not above 9000 pieces are sent abroad *communibus annis*; and even in the working up of this wool perhaps it may be made out that our very climate gives us an advantage over other countries."* This was written in 1699. The act allowing woollen goods to be exported duty free came into operation the following year, and apparently produced a considerable increase of exportation; the duty received in the three years before the repeal having amounted to 129,640*l.*, and that which would have been payable upon the quantities of woollen manufactures entered for exportation in the three following years to 150,829*l.*, —a difference which, as the duty was an *ad valorem* one of five per cent., implied an increase of exports upon the three years to the value of 425,040*l.*, or of about 142,000*l.* per annum. But Davenant maintains that, "to carry on some mystery of trade," the merchants, now that it cost them nothing, were accustomed to enter larger quantities than they really exported, especially of the perpetuanas, serges, and other coarser descriptions of cloth. By the books of the Custom House, he says, the exportation of woollens would appear to be growing every year larger and larger, while at the same time there was a general complaint all over England of wool being a drug.†

The amount of the trade of England, in so far as it gave employment to our own shipping, whether for intercourse with foreign parts or for coasting purposes, and also its distribution over the country, at the end of the reign of King William, may be collected from an account of the mercantile marine of the kingdom as it existed in January, 1702, which has been drawn up from returns then made to inquiries instituted by the Commissioners of the Customs. From this account it appears that there belonged to the port of London 560 vessels, of the average burden of about 151 tons, and 10,065 men; to Bristol 165 vessels, of 105 tons on an average, and 2,359 men; to Yarmouth 143 vessels, of 62 tons on an average, and 668 men; to Exeter 121 vessels, of the burden of 58 or 59 tons on an average, and 978 men; to Hull 115 vessels, of nearly 66 tons on an average, and 187 men (80 of the Hull vessels were at this time laid up); to Whitby 110 vessels, of 75 tons on an average, and 571 men; to Liverpool 102 vessels, of between 84 and 85 tons on an average, and 1101 men; and to Scarborough 100 vessels, of nearly 69 tons on an average, and 606 men. None of the other ports had so many as a hundred vessels; but Newcastle had

* 10 Will. III. c. 16 (c. 10. in common editions).

† 11 Will. III. c. 20.

‡ Discourse on the East India Trade, Works, ii. 146. His calculation is, that there were annually shorn about twelve millions of fleeces, of the average value of 3*s.* 4*d.* per fleece, somewhat above eight fleeces making a tod of wool, the average price of which was 28*s.*, or 1*s.* a pound. Gregory King, in his Political Conclusions (1696), estimates the value of the wool yearly shorn at the same sum with Davenant.

§ Works, ii. 149.

* Essay upon the Probable Methods of making a people gainers in the Balance of Trade; in Works, ii. 235.

† Second Report on Public Accounts, in Works, v. 445.

63, measuring in all 11,000 tons, or above 173 tons on an average, and Ipswich 39, measuring 11,170 tons in all, or above 286 tons on an average. The number of vessels belonging to all the ports in England was 3281, measuring 261,222 tons, or nearly 80 tons on an average; and the total number of seamen 27,196. The vessels carried among them 5660 guns.* According to the account laid before the House of Commons by the Navy Office in 1791 which we have referred to on former occasions, the royal navy at the end of William's reign was of the estimated burden of 159,017 tons. A statement given on the authority of Pepys, the author of the Diary, who had been Secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., makes the number of ships, of fifty tons and upwards, forming the royal navy in 1695, to have been above 200, weighing in all above 112,400 tons, and manned by 45,000 sailors.† The entire number of seamen, therefore, which the kingdom could furnish at this time was probably above seventy thousand. It was in 1696, we may here mention, that the noble institution of Greenwich Hospital was founded for aged and disabled sailors (though not opened till 1706) by an act of parliament, which at the same time established a registry in which mariners, seamen, watermen, fishermen, lightermen, bargemen, keelmen, and other seafaring persons, between the ages of eighteen and fifty, were invited to enrol their names and places of residence, to the number of 30,000, on which they were to receive a bounty or retaining fee of 40*s.* annually, on condition of holding themselves at all times in readiness to *man the royal navy*.‡ This registry, however, which aimed at furnishing a substitute for impressment, was discontinued in 1710, on the alleged ground that it had not produced the good effects intended for the service of the crown, or the encouragement of seamen, but, on the contrary, had occasioned much charge, vexation, and trouble.§ In this same year, 1696, the first light-house was begun to be erected on the Eddystone rock, off Plymouth, by Winstanley, at the expense of the corporation of the Trinity House. It was not, however, completed till the year 1700, and it was blown down on the 26th of November, 1703, when Winstanley himself, happening to be at the rock superintending some repairs, perished with all his workmen. A new light-house, entirely of wood (Winstanley's had been partly of stone), was some years after erected by Rudyerd, which stood till it was burned down in 1755, when it was succeeded by the present admirable stone structure, the work of the late Mr. Smeaton.

* Note in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, ii. 719. Macpherson, who does not quote his authority for this account, expresses a doubt as to the correctness of the figures in the case of the tonnage assigned to the Ipswich vessels. Chalmers, in Estimate, pp. 87, 88, refers evidently to the same account, as "A detail in the Plantation Office," although he assigns it to the year 1701, instead of 1702, and gives (apparently by a typographical error) the number of sailors as only 16,591.

† Given in Gibson's Translation of Camden's Britannia, 2nd edit. i. 234.

‡ 7 and 8 Will. III, c. 21.

§ 9 Anne, c. 15 (21 in common editions).

On the whole the reign of William, notwithstanding the pressure of the war which extended over the greater part of it, certainly did not by any means either reverse or interrupt the progress the country was previously making in economical prosperity, although it may have somewhat slackened the rate of its advance. It may be asserted, in the words of a late writer, "that manufactures flourished in the mean time; that there was a great demand for labour; that the foreign traffic and navigation of England doubled from the peace of Ryswick to the accession of Queen Anne. For the re-coinage of the silver, meantime, produced an exhilarating effect on industry, in the same proportion as the debasement of the current coin is always disadvantageous to the lower orders, and dishonourable to the state. The revival of public credit after the peace of Ryswick, and the rising of the notes of the Bank of England to par, strengthened private confidence, at the same time that these causes invigorated our manufactures and our trade. And the spirit of population was still more animated by the many acts of naturalisation which were readily passed, during every session, in the reign of William, and which clearly evince how many industrious foreigners found shelter in England from the persecution of countries less tolerant and free."* The national industry and enterprise, indeed, could not fail to receive new animation and vigour, in all their departments, from the increased security of person and property which the Revolution brought with it to every inhabitant of the kingdom, and from the very spirit of freedom that might now be said to vivify and enrich the air of England.

A still larger proportionate as well as actual part of the reign of Anne than of that of William was spent in war, and, both from the greater extent to which military operations were carried on, and from the accumulation of the debt, the public burthens were now considerably increased; but, notwithstanding the cry which was as usual kept up by faction about the continued decay of the national resources, well established facts sufficiently prove that, even during the course of this second war with France the country, as soon as it had rallied from the first effects of the shock that again broke up and threw into confusion the relations to which it had begun to accommodate itself during the short previous interval of peace, rather made way than fell off in commercial and general prosperity, and that after the war was over its unfettered energies carried it forward at a rate such as it had perhaps never before experienced. It appears that the estimated value of our exports had been reduced by the year 1705 to 5,308,966*l.*; but from this point of greatest depression our foreign trade gradually so far recovered, that in 1709 the value of our exports to all countries had risen to 5,913,357*l.*; in 1711 to 5,962,988*l.*; and in 1712, when indeed hostilities had nearly ceased except in name, to 6,868,840*l.* In 1713, 1714,

* Chalmers, Estimate, p. 81.

and 1715, the three years that immediately followed the war, their average amount was 7,696,573*l.*—which was nearly a million sterling beyond their amount during the preceding peace. In another respect our foreign trade had now become more advantageous than it then had been: the total tonnage of the ships annually cleared outwards on the average of the years 1699, 1700, and 1701 had been 337,328 tons, and in the years 1713, 1714, and 1715, its average amount was 448,004 tons; but the portion of it that was foreign at the former period was 43,625 tons, whereas now that was only 26,573 tons—so that the native shipping employed in our foreign trade had increased in this interval from 293,703 to 421,431 tons, or by considerably more than a third.* The progress of the post-office revenue does not indeed afford an equally favourable indication; but this we believe to be attributable to the great extent to which franking was now carried—an evidence of which we have in the fact that in the year 1722, when the net revenue of the post-office was only about 98,000*l.*, it was calculated that there was withdrawn from the gross revenue by franked letters no less a sum than 33,397*l.* The practice of franking is traced back to the Restoration; but it was probably not extensively practised till after the Revolution; from about which time, however, notwithstanding several attempts to regulate it and protect it from abuse, it appears to have been, in part by fraud and forgery, in part by merely the more liberal or unscrupulous use of the legal privilege, carried to a greater excess every year down to the close of the present period. In the first four years of the war, that is, from 1702 to 1705 inclusive, the nett average annual revenue of the post-office declined to 61,568*l.*—a falling off which it seems impossible to suppose could have been owing simply to the war. On the average of the four years from 1707 to 1710 inclusive it was still less, having fallen to 58,052*l.*; nor did the augmentation of the rates one-third in 1711, and the restoration of peace together, raise it on the average of the four years ending with 1714 to a higher sum than 90,223*l.*, although the Scottish post-office, contributing about 2000*l.* a-year, was now incorporated with the English. It may be taken as an evidence of the growth of capital that the legal rate of interest was in 1714 reduced from six to five per cent, at which it still nominally continues.

One of the most important events affecting our foreign trade that took place in the reign of Anne was the conclusion in December, 1703, of the famous commercial arrangement with Portugal, commonly called the Methuen Treaty, after the ambassador by whom it was negociated, by which, on condition of our admitting the wines of the growth of Portugal on payment of a duty one-third less than was paid upon French wines, his Portuguese majesty agreed to admit our woollen cloths on the same terms as before they were prohibited, which they appear to have been for about twenty years. This treaty, which continued to be observed till the year 1831, was, in great part no doubt owing to the anti-Gallic temper which prevailed in the public mind, generally regarded at the time as one of the greatest advantages ever secured for our trade and manufactures, and it long continued to be the theme of boundless laudation with all our writers on subjects of commerce and political economy who aspired to the reputation of either orthodoxy or patriotism. As a specimen of the style in which it was wont to be spoken of, and of the beneficial effects that were attributed to it, the reader may take the following passage from Mr. Charles King's Dedication to the collection of papers entitled The British Merchant to the son of Methuen:—"Your father, often ambassador extraordinary to the King of Portugal, procured for Great Britain that glorious treaty of commerce, by which she gains above a million a-year. By this treaty we paid our armies in Spain and Portugal, and drew from thence in the late war considerable sums for our troops in other parts, without remitting one farthing from England; and at the same time coined in the Tower above a million of Portugal gold in three years. By this treaty we gain a greater balance from Portugal only than from any other country whatsoever; and at this time it is the only country from whence we have any balance worth the naming. By this treaty we have increased our exports thither from about three hundred thousand pounds a-year to near a million and a half." One of the writers in the British Merchant declares that Mr. Methuen deserved to have his statue set up in every trading town in the island.* In the same spirit Anderson, the industrious and generally sensible historian of our commerce, earnestly expresses his hope that "this most just and beneficial convention," as it had remained unviolated to his day, may continue so for ever. But the Methuen Treaty is now looked back upon by most thinking persons as having been, if not at the moment when it was contracted, at least during the greater part of the time it was allowed to remain in force, an entanglement on the whole very prejudicial in its effects both commercially and politically. If it gained us the market of Portugal for our woollens, it excluded us from the vastly more wealthy and entensive market of France. In forcing upon us the wines of Portugal, it deprived us of those of France, although such used to be the preference given by our national taste to the latter, that it has been doubted if a single pipe of port was ever brought into this country previous to the Restoration. So great however was the change of sentiment and fashion gradually wrought by the wars and other events that had occurred since then, and finally fixed and made permanent by this treaty, that we soon nearly ceased to import or drink French wines altogether, and the belief in the superiority of port came to be held as much part

* Chalmers, pp. 89 and 90, apparently from Mr. Astle's transcript.

* British Merchant, iii. 51.

and parcel of the creed of every true-born and true-hearted Englishman as his belief in the eternal fitness of the corn-laws and the game-laws. An instance, as it has been remarked, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of commerce, of the course of trade and the taste and habits of a people being altered by a mere custom-house regulation! Worst of all, this treaty, by rivetting in the manner it did our connexion with Portugal, and binding us both politically and commercially to that country, undoubtedly contributed more than any other cause to keep us from ever forming any really cordial or intimate alliance with France, even when there was no war between us. Sufficient evidence of this was given in what happened at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, when the proposed commercial treaty with France, almost the only part of the arrangements then made that was creditable to the English government and their negociators, was prevented from taking effect mainly by the adverse interests and prejudices created by this previous treaty with Portugal. By the 8th and 9th articles of the Utrecht treaty it was stipulated, in substance, that the subjects of the two contracting powers should, as to all duties on merchandise, and all such things as related either to commerce or to any other right whatever, be placed in each other's dominions in the position enjoyed by the most favoured foreign nation; and that, within two months after the English parliament should have repealed all laws prohibiting the importation of any French goods which were not prohibited before the year 1664, and enacted that no higher duties should be paid upon any goods or merchandizes brought from France than were paid upon articles of the like nature imported from any other European country, the French tariff made in 1664 should again come into operation in regard to imports from England, and all prohibitions that had since been issued against English produce and manufactures should be withdrawn or annulled. These propositions obviously went to do away with the Methuen Treaty; and the clamour raised against them on that express ground was instant and general. It was upon this occasion that the paper called *The British Merchant* was established by Mr. Henry Martin (afterwards Inspector General of Exports and Imports), assisted by Sir Theodore Jannsen, Sir Charles Cooke, Mr. James Milner, Mr. Nathaniel Torriano, and other eminent London merchants, in opposition to the *Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved*, a paper published thrice a-week, in defence of the French treaty and the government, by the celebrated Daniel Defoe. "As this author," says the somewhat unceremoniously-expressed Preface to the collected lucubrations of his antagonists, "had a knack of writing very plausibly, and they who employed him and furnished him with materials had the command of all the public papers in the Custom-house, he had it in his power to do a great deal of mischief, especially against such as were unskilled in trade, and at the same time very fond of French wines, which it was then a great crime to be against. Several ingenious merchants, of long experience and well skilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impositions of this writer: they knew he had many heads, besides the advantages of public papers, to help him, and therefore thought this the most feasible way to confute him and set the state of our trade in a clear light." The paper they put out, they go on to state, was, in opposition to his title, called *The British Merchant, or Commerce Preserved*, and was published twice a-week. The discussion, it is admitted, was carried on in a somewhat loose and desultory way, and the facts bearing upon the question were stated without much method; but the reason of this was, "that *Mercator*, whenever he was close set, always quitted the point he was upon, and trumped up something new." No doubt Defoe would give his opponents enough to do in attempting to cope with his activity and dexterity at fence and thrust. Their publication, however, they tell us, and the convincing arguments Sir Charles Cooke and others concerned in the work laid before both houses of parliament, in speeches pronounced at the bar, had the good effect of throwing out the pernicious bill of commerce; and that although ministers had attempted to gain their point by a sort of stratagem, and, knowing that "French wine was a relishing liquor to English palates," had moved, in the first instance, to take off the duties from the article only for a couple of months —a motion which "was very accidentally, though very wisely, opposed as it was ready to pass, and dropt." The bill for rendering effectual the treaty of commerce was, after it had passed through the committee, lost on the motion that it should be engrossed—only 185 members in an otherwise very subservient House of Commons voting for the motion, and 194 against it. Among those, it seems, by whom the opposition to the treaty had been most zealously promoted, both within doors and without, were Charles Montague (who soon after was made Lord Halifax), and General (afterwards Lord) Stanhope, who became secretary of state in the reign of George I. "My Lord Halifax," says the preface before us, "was the support and the very spirit of the paper called *The British Merchant:* he encouraged the gentlemen concerned to meet, heard and assisted their debates, and, being zealous above all things that the trade of Great Britain should flourish, he not only continued his influence and advice to the last, but, out of his usual and unbounded liberality, contributed very largely to this work; a considerable sum being raised to carry it on." Stanhope, again, was the person who, suddenly coming into the House of Commons when the vote was about to pass for taking off the duties on French wines for two months, got up a debate on the question, and prevailed upon the House to consent that, before it was carried, the merchants should be heard. The consequences, indeed, that were represented

as certain to follow from the treaty were sufficiently alarming, and might well make the legislature pause. "I shall make it appear," says one of the writers in The British Merchant, "that, if the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce between France and us had been rendered effectual by a law, this very thing had been more ruinous to the British nation than if the city of London were to be laid in ashes. This city has been once burned to the ground, but the people were still in being. They were, notwithstanding this calamity, a constant mart for the product and manufactures of the country. But, if such a law as I have mentioned had passed, France would have gone on from that moment to exhaust the treasures of the kingdom. We should have presently lost our best markets both at home and abroad, our gentlemen must have felt a sudden and universal decay of their rents, and our common people must have either starved for want of work, come to the lands or the parish for subsistence, or have retired to foreign parts for bread." The controversy, this eloquent gentleman proceeds, was not party against party, Tory against Whig, protestant against papist, or churchman against dissenter; but nation against nation—the trade of Britain against the trade of France:—"The questions upon this bill are, whether France, after all her ill successes in the late war, be suffered during the present peace, under the colour of a commerce, to exhaust our treasure, beggar our gentlemen, and starve our common people; and whether the gentlemen of Britain, after all their glorious victories, ought at last to be contented to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the nation they have so often beaten."* In a subsequent part of the paper it is maintained, as used to be done by most reasoners on this side down to our own day, that by the treaty of commerce with Portugal we were absolutely bound to admit the wines of that country at a lower duty than those of France for ever, or at least so long as the Portuguese chose to admit our woollens at the then duty—a construction which the following express stipulation in the treaty itself sufficiently refutes:—"But if at any time this deduction or abatement of customs, which is to be made as aforesaid, shall in any manner be attempted and prejudiced, it shall be just and lawful for his sacred royal majesty of Portugal again to prohibit the woollen cloths and the rest of the British woollen manufactures."

With all its extravagance upon some points, The British Merchant contains a good deal of information on the state of our commerce at the close of the reign of Anne, and most of its facts may probably be confided in, whatever may be thought of many of its inferences and reasonings. Notwithstanding all the methodising the original papers are stated to have received on their republication in a collected form, the three volumes of which the book consists are still a confused enough miscellany; but we shall endeavour to select from the mass some of the particulars that seem most curious or otherwise worthy of notice.

In his preface the editor, enumerating the peculiar commercial advantages of Great Britain, states that in a list he had seen of the merchants in and about London, printed in the year 1677, they were 1786 in all: "I know," he adds, "above 400 of them, who are all true merchants, that is, importers and exporters of goods, for no other are such. If the whole list, then, is true, as it probably is, and we add to these the merchants in Bristol, and other trading towns of Great Britain, Ireland, and our plantations, with those who are abroad in Turkey, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany, Russia, Norway, the Baltic, Africa, and the East Indies, I am of opinion we have at least two-thirds as many as all the rest of Europe put together, if not more." The account at least shows us the foreign countries in which English merchants were at this time resident.

The following passage on the comparative prices of labour and habits of the labouring classes in France and England is very interesting:—"The French did always outdo us in price of labour: their common people live upon roots, cabbage, and other herbage; four of their large provinces subsist entirely upon chestnuts; and the best of them eat bread made of barley, millet, Turkey and black corn; so that their wages used to be small in comparison with ours. But of late years, their crown pieces being made of the same value as ours, and raised from sixty to one hundred sols, and the manufacturers, servants, soldiers, day-labourers, and other working people earning no more sols or pence by the day than they did formerly, the price of labour is thereby so much lessened, that one may affirm for truth they have generally their work done for half the price we pay for ours. For, although provisions be as dear at Paris as they are at London, it is certain that in most of their provinces they are very cheap, and that they buy beef and mutton for half the price we pay for it here. But the price of meat and wheat doth little concern the poor manufacturers, as they generally drink nothing but water, and at best a sort of liquor they call *beuverage* (which is water passed through the husks of grapes after the wine is drawn off); they save a great deal upon that account; for it is well known that our people spend half of their money in drink. The army is a notorious instance how cheap the French can live; it enables their king to maintain 300,000 men with the same money we maintain 112,500; their pay being five sols a day (which is exactly threepence English), and our soldiers' pay is eightpence. However, they subsist upon that small allowance; and, if there be the same disproportion between our manufactures and theirs as there is betwixt our soldiers and their soldiers as to pay, it is plain that the work in France is done for little more than a third part of what it is done for in England. And I am confident it is so

* British Merchant, i. 181.

in most of their manufactures, of which I could give many instances if it were needful; but let these two following at present suffice:—At Lyons, which, next to Paris, is the best city in France, they pay nine sols an ell for making of lustrings, which is little more than fivepence English money; and the price paid here for making lustrings is twelvepence an ell. In the paper manufacture abundance of people are employed for sorting of rags in the mills, who earn in France but two sols a day, which is less than five farthings of our money; and the price paid here for such work is fourpence a day."* Elsewhere it is stated that the common annual subsistence of working people in country places in England, taking old and young together, is about 4*d*. per head: "I have not known," says the writer, "anywhere in the country that a husband, his wife, and three or four children, have asked any relief from the parish, if the whole labour of such a family could procure 20*l*. per annum."†

The sum of the doctrine of the writers of the work on the subject of foreign commerce is given in the following words:—"That trade which makes money flow in most plentifully upon us, enables our people to subsist themselves better by their labour, raises the value of our lands, and occasions our rents to be better paid, must always be reckoned the best trade; for these are the only rules by which it is possible to state and determine the value of any particular trade, or of the general trade of the whole nation." Upon this principle it is affirmed that we then carried on an advantageous trade with each of the following countries: 1. Portugal, from which kingdom, although we brought home wine, oil, and some other things for our own use and consumption, yet the greatest part of our returns were gold and silver; "so much, therefore, the Portuguese pay to the employment and subsistence of our people, and for the product of our lands; so much as this balance is in gold and silver they contribute to the prosperity and happiness of this nation." 2. Spain, our imports from which used to consist of wine, oil, wood, cochineal, indigo, fruit, iron, &c. Of these things a great part were used in the manufactured goods we exported, and to that extent they contributed to the employment of our people and the improvement of our lands. "But a very great part of our returns from Spain was money, for the overbalance of our manufactures sent thither; and this *undoubtedly* was so much added to the prosperity and happiness of this nation." 3. Italy, our exportations to which were made good to us by returns in oil, wine, thrown and raw silk, wrought silk, currants, paper, drugs, &c., and the rest in money. "This last," it is again observed, "is so much added to the happiness and prosperity of the nation; and, so, indeed, are many of our other returns, since they are manufactured by our own people, and contribute so much to their maintenance." 4. Turkey, from which, indeed, it is admitted that we brought home little or no money, the full or very nearly the full value of our exports being paid in raw silk, grogram-yarn, cotton, wool, cotton-yarn, goats' hair, coffee, dyeing goods, drugs, &c. These, however, were all materials used in our manufactures, and things, therefore, which contributed to the employment and subsistence of our people. 5. Hamburg and other places in Germany, from which, although our returns were chiefly made in linen and linen-yarn, yet we also received a balance in money. 6. Holland, our exports to which "are," says the writer, "prodigious, whether we consider our woollen manufactures, the produce of our own country and our plantations, our East India, Turkey, and other goods." In return, we received from the Dutch some spices, linen, thread, paper, Rhenish wines, battery, madder, whale-fins, clapboard, wrought silks, &c.; but nearly three-fourths of the value of our exports were paid for in money, making, as has been already shown, what was called a balance in our favour of not much less than a million and a half sterling per annum. And many of the goods imported from Holland were also useful in our manufactures.*

It is afterwards admitted, however, that every trade on which we paid a balance in gold or silver was not to be set down as "guilty of exhausting our treasure;" on the principle that the goods we thus buy from a foreign country we may re-export, in whole or in part, for a greater sum of money than we paid for them. Thus, the following trades are also allowed to be profitable, or, at the least, not disadvantageous:—1. The East Country trade. "We buy," it is observed, "hemp, pitch, tar, and all sorts of naval stores from the East-Country. Unless we did this, we could not fit out a single ship to sea. The goods we send to that country are by no means sufficient to even the account between us; we are forced to pay the balance in gold and silver, and this, as I have heard, amounts to 200,000*l*. per annum. Shall we be said, then, to lose so great an annual sum by our East-Country trade? No, certainly; for, not to insist upon the numberless people that are employed and subsisted by shipping and navigation, we gain much more by our shipping than the above-mentioned sums from other countries with which we trade; and it is certain we could gain nothing this way if we had not first bought the naval stores." This may be true enough, but it is subversive of the whole doctrine of the mercantile and manufacturing theories: if we are to account the trade with a foreign country beneficial when, although there is an excess of imports over exports, and consequently a balance to be paid for in money, the imports are yet such as are necessary to enable us to carry on some other gainful branch or branches of commerce, then we might be said to trade profitably even with a country from which we imported nothing but food, to be consumed as fast as it arrived, and to which

* British Merchant, i. 7. † Id. i. 237.

* British Merchant, i. 22.

we exported nothing but the money to pay for that food; for, assuredly, without the means of keeping ourselves alive, we could carry on no gainful trade or occupation whatever. And the same thing may be said of the purchase from abroad of any other article whether of necessity or convenience: if the article is one which we can procure at less cost in that way than by producing or manufacturing it at home, we shall be gainers by so procuring it, and leaving the labour that would have gone to furnish it free to be employed on something else (*if any such thing is to be found*) for the production of which we are more favourably situated, and which we either require ourselves or can dispose of profitably to some other country. Or even if the article we import be one of mere luxury, still, if we will have it, it is manifestly more economical, for the same reason, to pay money for it to a foreign country than to produce it at home by the expenditure of an amount of labour more than equivalent in value to that money, and which we could employ profitably in some other way. Our author goes on to argue, in regard to the advantages of the East Country trade, that, taking our shipping to amount in all to 500,000 tons, and estimating the freight at 5*l.* a ton, it might be said, seeing that the freight of all exported goods falls upon the purchasers, that more than a fifth of the 2,500,000*l.*, which might thus be called the annual value of our shipping, was paid by the nations with whom we traded. "Then," he concludes, "we pay the East Country about 200,000*l.* per annum for our naval stores, which could not be had but from that country, and gain above twice as much by our shipping from other nations. Therefore, though we pay so great an annual balance upon that trade, yet our treasure cannot be said to be exhausted by it: we have such goods in exchange for it as make us very ample amends, and enable us to supply that loss by our other commerce." We may here mention that early in the reign of Anne an act was passed "For encouraging the importation of naval stores from her majesty's plantations in America," which, after reciting in the preamble that such stores were then (in 1703) "brought in mostly from foreign parts, in foreign shipping, at exorbitant and arbitrary rates," while they might be provided in a more certain and beneficial manner from the vast tracts of land lying near the sea, and upon navigable rivers, in the colonies and plantations in America, which were at first settled, and were still maintained and protected at a great expense of the treasure of this kingdom, ordered that certain bounties should be paid upon the importation from the said colonies of tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine, hemp, and masts.* The good consequence of this reasonable law, according to Anderson, was soon felt; so that at the time when he wrote both the New England provinces and also Carolina furnished us with great quantities of pitch and tar, "fit for most uses in the navy." "Of late also," he adds, "good hemp and flax are raised in the said provinces, where there are such immense quantities of proper and excellent lands for the raising of those commodities." But this result was probably not produced to any considerable extent till a date a good deal later than that to which the details in the British Merchant refer. At the time when the act was passed it was computed that the quantity of pitch and tar, chiefly from Sweden, but in part also from Norway and from Archangel, imported by England was about 1000 lasts; by Holland, for home use and also for re-exportation to Spain, Portugal, and up the Mediterranean, 4000 lasts; by France 500; and by Hamburg, Lubeck, and the German ports, to the same amount.* By a subsequent act, passed in 1712, the same bounties were granted upon the importation of naval stores from Scotland; but this, as Anderson admits, was to little or no purpose, the lands and woods which might yield such naval stores being there, as the act itself states, "mostly in parts mountainous and remote from navigable rivers."† "This," he observes, "the York Buildings Company experienced, to their cost, some years after this time: the timber they felled in some of those woods, at a great expense, being left to rot on the ground, the carriage of it to the nearest places of navigation being found impracticable; which will probably ever be the case with respect to Scotland, notwithstanding the bounties allowed by that act, or any larger bounties to be reasonably granted." 2. Another trade which the writer in the British Merchant admits might also possibly be advantageous, although it occasioned an annual export of bullion in the first instance, is that which we carried on with China and the East Indies. Besides goods and merchandises we sent yearly to those countries between four and five hundred thousand pounds in money; but then, besides that there were some of our imports thence, such as saltpetre, pepper, and a few drugs, which perhaps we could not well do without, we re-exported all the silks and stained calicoes we brought home, the use of these articles being prohibited in England; and even of the white calicoes and muslins, of the coffee, tea, pepper, saltpetre, and other goods we procured by our East India and China trade, very great quantities were also re-exported, and for much more money than all that we sent to the East. "The consequence is," concludes our author, "that our treasure is not exhausted by that trade, since we have those goods in exchange for our money as procure us much greater sums from other countries, and since our whole loss is more than repaired by exporting part only of those goods at a much higher price than we paid for the whole."‡ This reasoning, however, would not have been deemed satisfactory by many political economists of the day—by Pollexfen and others, for instance,

* Stat. 3 and 4 Anne, c. 9 (or 10 in the common editions).

* Anderson, Chron. of Com. iii. 17.
† Stat. 12 Anne, c. 9.
‡ British Merchant, i. 26.

who still maintained that the East India trade was in reality little else than an exchange for useless and even pernicious luxuries of the only true wealth and, as it were, the very life-blood of the kingdom; but some of the writers in the British Merchant were probably concerned in that trade, and members of the now comparatively flourishing company by which it was carried on. The United East India Company had resumed the payment of their dividends in 1709, first at the rate of only five per cent.; but it was raised to eight in the latter part of the same year, soon after to nine, and at last, in September, 1711, to ten per cent.*

A curious illustration of the value of the Turkey trade is afterwards given in an account of the manufacture of 100 broad-cloths, and their export to and sale in that country, which is stated to have been communicated by a correspondent, and is probably therefore an account of an actual transaction. To begin at the beginning and follow the progress of the manufacture as well as the commercial history of the finished commodity, a clothier is first introduced who buys at market 50 packs of wool, picked and sorted, at 10*l.* per pack, or for 500*l.* With this wool he makes 100 broad-cloths, the manufacture of which, in carding, spinning, weaving, milling, dressing, &c., as such cloths were "usually brought to and sold white at Blackwell Hall," would amount to about the first cost of the wool, or 500*l.* more; making the whole cost of the article 1000*l.* The clothier's profit, of course, is on the manufacture, and is included in this sum, which is that for which he sells the 100 cloths to the merchant, being at the rate of 10*l.* per cloth. Then, the merchant has the cloths died, one-third in grain colours at 7*l.*, and two-thirds in ordinary colours at 30*s.* per cloth; making in all 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and he also pays 15*s.* per cloth for selling, drawing, pressing, packing, &c.: so that they have cost him altogether 1408*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To repay him for this outlay, and for all other charges including interest and insurance, he must get at least for his cloth in Turkey 2200 pounds of Persian fine raw silk (called Sherbaffee). Having brought this home he manufactures the half of it into plain coloured tabies, for which he pays at the rate of 13*s.* 7*d.* per pound, or 747*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* in all; and the other half into rich flowered silks brocaded, which will cost him 1*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* per pound, or 2,186*l.* 5*s.*; besides which the charge of dying only an eighth part of the silk into grain colours at 9*s.* per pound will be 123*l.* 15*s.* Add the freight of the cloth and the silk, computed at 40*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; the duty on the import of the silk, 156*l.* 15*s.*; and his factor's commission abroad on the sale of the cloth, and the investment of the proceeds in silk, 100*l.*; and it will be found that the entire expenditure of the merchant, omitting some petty charges, has amounted to 4762*l.* 15*s.* "If any is to added for the merchant's and the mercer's gain," continues the statement, "(and we may depend upon it they will not be at the trouble of driving their trades for nothing), we may very well affirm that the whole cost of this manufacture for consumption cannot be less than the sum of 5000*l.*; so that 2200 pound weight of Turkey raw silk manufactured here pays the sum of 5000*l.* to the subsistence of our own people." Our total annual export of cloths to Turkey is stated to be about 20,000 pieces, for about the half of which our returns were in raw silk.*

A very minute and complete account of our trade with France for one year in the reign of James II., 1686, when the trade was free, as drawn up from official returns, and laid before the House of Commons during the discussion on the Utrecht Treaty of Commerce, is here adduced simply to show that our imports from that country then amounted annually in value to 1,284,419*l.*—namely, into the port of London 569,126*l.*, into the outports 715,293*l.*; and our exports thither to only 515,228*l.*—namely, from London 409,563*l.*, from the outports 105,665; so that the former exceeded the latter by the sum of 769,190*l.*, or in other words that we lost by the trade to that amount, even by such goods as were entered at the custom-house. "This were loss sufficient, if annually repeated," exclaims the alarmed writer in the British Merchant, "to ruin this kingdom in a very few years." Dismissing that apprehension, we will here note a few of the entries in the account which throw a light upon the intercourse that formerly subsisted between the two countries in a social rather than a commercial point of view. Among the imports from France are the following items:—229 cwt. of unbound books, valued at 20*s.* per cwt.; 37 small gross of bracelets or necklaces of glass, valued at 44*l.* 8*s.*; 3876 fleams to let blood, at 2*d.* each; 162 dozen fans for women, at 40*s.* per dozen; 1487 cases of glass for windows, at 30*s.* per case; 20 reams of blue paper, at 10*s.* per ream; 20 of cap paper, at 7*s.* 6*d.* per ream; 77,336 of copy paper, at 5*s.* per ream; and 1659 reams of royal and larger paper at 40*s.* per ream; besides 11,617 reams (probably of copy paper) into the outports at 5*s.* per ream; 70 tons of Caen stones, at 15*s.* per ton; 1188 ells of tapestry with caddas, at 8*s.* per ell; 162 ells of tapestry with silk, at 13*s.* 4*d.* per ell; 16,648 tons of wine, at 17*l.* 10*s.* per ton; 400 mill stones, at 10*l.* each; 302 pounds of coral, at 3*s.* 4*d.* per pound; 4266 pounds of garden seeds, at 8*d.* per pound; 268 gallons of orange flower water, at 5*s.* per gallon; and 400 pounds of rose-leaves, at 1*s.* per pound. Among the exports to France are, 1075 dozens of old shoes, at 10*s.* per dozen; 3 pairs of virginals, at 5*l.* per pair; 49 cwt. of printed books and maps, at 20*s.* per cwt.; 3 pictures, at 40*s.* each; 49 barrels of salmon, at 4*l.* per barrel; 11 horses, at 10*l.* each; 50 cats, valued altogether at 7*s.* 6*d.*; 141 dozen dogs, at 6*s.* per dozen; and 561 pounds of tea, at 10*s.* per pound. The writer before us asserts that even in his time, besides the goods from France entered at the Custom-house, great

* Macpherson's European Com. with India, p. 168.

* British Merchant, i. 137.

quantities were every day clandestinely imported.* He states also that, notwithstanding the higher duties that had been imposed, either our luxury or our substance had so much increased, that nearly as much wine was still imported from France as in the time of James II. "And are we," he asks, "less fond of clarets now than heretofore?" † It was also understood that, besides the quantity mentioned in the above account, the importation of French wines into Scotland amounted to three or four thousand tons a-year. ‡ Comparing the four years from 1682 to 1685 inclusive, during which French wines were excluded from this country, with the four from 1686 to 1689 inclusive, during which they were admitted, it appears that the removal of the prohibition, while it brought us an average annual importation of French wines to the amount of 13,400 tons, reduced our average importation of Portuguese wines from about 11,000 to little more than 400 tons, of Spanish from about 6700 tons to less than 4000, and of Rhenish from above 1400 tons to between 600 and 700. In 1685 we imported no French wines and 12,185 tons of Portuguese; but the next year, when the prohibition was taken off, 12,760 tons of French wines were imported, and of Portuguese only 289.§ And it is admitted that even at the time when the prohibition was in force great quantities of French wines were every year imported under the names of Spanish and Portuguese, by the direction of the court and the connivance of the Custom-house officers. ‖ The British Merchant, while he laments and condemns, very frankly admits not only the general preference of his countrymen for French wines, but even the reasonableness of this preference as a mere matter of taste. "Not to insist," he says, glancing at the threatened infliction of the Utrecht Treaty of Commerce, "upon the general inclination towards everything that is French, these wines will be the cheapest; but they are so preferable in themselves, that I believe at a third-part greater price they would be the common draught in England." ¶

From an account of the manufacture of paper at this date, both in France and in England, we abstract the following details:—"There are seven provinces in France where the manufacture of paper is settled, viz., Champaigne, Normandy, Brittany, Angoumois, Perigord, Limousin, and Auvergne; the three last provinces are full of large forests of chestnut trees, and abound so much in that kind of fruit, that the common people have no other food all the year round, and no other drink but water; so that they can afford their work very cheap, and do it for next to nothing, except some of the upper workmen, who earn a small salary by the week. This is so true that considerable parcels of paper were imported lately from thence, although the duties paid here exceed one hundred per cent. on the first cost." To the objection made by De Foe, that a Frenchman living "on an onion and a draught of water, a bunch of grapes, and a piece of bread" never could do such a day's work—could do so much in a day, and that much so well,—as an Englishman who had his beef and his pudding, our author replies, "I have had the curiosity to inquire into the paper manufacture, and I find that five pair of hands are employed at every fat; that so many hands are necessary in England, and that more cannot be employed in France. I am taught, too, by our own manufacturers, that they do not dispatch here above eight reams of paper in a day at a single fat, and that they dispatch above nine in France with the same number of hands; and yet I believe there is not any man in England so hardy as to affirm that either ours, or indeed any paper in the world, exceeds that of France." He accounts for this on the principle, that there is a slight of hand in almost every manufacture which is much more effective than mere strength. "Before the Revolution," the account proceeds, "there was hardly any other paper made in England than brown; but, the war ensuing, and duties being laid from time to time on foreign paper, it gave such encouragement to the paper-makers, that most of them began to make white paper fit for writing and printing; and they have brought it by degrees to so great perfection, both for quantity and goodness, that they make now near two thirds of what is consumed in Great Britain; and several of them make it as white and as well-bearing as any comes from abroad, as Sir William Humphreys, Mr. Baskett, and several others can witness. And I make no doubt, if further encouragement was given them by taking off the twelve per cent. excise which was lately laid upon home-made paper, and which, by the multitude of officers, brings in little or nothing to the queen, and the said twelve per cent., for an equivalent to the fund, was laid upon outlandish paper, but that they could in a little time make enough to supply all the occasions of the nation; there being above 120 fats within sixty miles of London, besides several more in Yorkshire and Scotland, which all, more or less, make white paper, and will undoubtedly go on daily improving and increasing that useful manufacture, if the present high duties be kept on French paper, being that which they dread most, by reason of its extraordinary cheapness." Then follows a description of the process of paper-making, which it is unnecessary to extract: the rags, it is stated, which are the main ingredient, were formerly cast away, and thrown to the dunghill, "but are now gathered with great care by poor people, who get honestly their livelihood by it, and would otherwise beg their bread; this employs abundance of hands." There is no mention of any importation of rags from abroad. The consumption of paper in Great Britain, the writer thinks, was not greater than it had been in the reign of King William; he rates it at about 400,000 reams per annum, of which the 120 fats within sixty miles of the metropolis, making each

* British Merchant, i. 279. † Id. p. 293. ‡ Id. p. 297.
§ Id. p. 302. ‖ Id. pp. 307, &c. ¶ Id. p. 319.

on an average eight reams a day, furnished nearly three fourths, and those in Yorkshire and Scotland, and our importations from Holland and Italy, the remaining 100,000 reams.*

The Union of Scotland and England, which took place in the reign of Anne—an event important to both countries in every point of view—laid a foundation for the extension of the commerce of Scotland particularly, which was not one of its least important consequences. Till now the two kingdoms, though under the rule of the same sovereign, regarded each the other as a foreign state, commercially as well as in respect to most of their political relations. The privileges of foreign trade enjoyed by the one were withheld from the other; and their interchange of commodities with each other was extremely inconsiderable. An account has been published from the books of the Inspector-General of Customs of the value of the merchandize received by the one from the other by sea during the ten years preceding the Union, from which it appears that (independently of the little that might be conveyed by land-carriage) the amount of all the goods that passed between the two countries in a year much oftener fell short of than exceeded the small sum of 150,000*l.* In 1698 England imported from Scotland merchandize to the value of 124,835*l.*, and in 1700 to that of 130,087*l.*; but with the exception of these two years the English imports never reached 100,000*l.* And they went on decreasing almost every year: in 1697 they were 91,302*l.*; in 1699, 86,309*l.*; from 1701 to 1703 they never reached so high as 77,000*l.*; from 1704 to 1706 they were when at the highest under 58,000*l.*; and in the year 1706 they had fallen to 50,309*l.* The imports into Scotland from England, again, were never higher than 87,536*l.*, which they were in 1704; but they were more generally between 50,000*l.* and 60,000*l.*; in 1705 they were only 50,035*l.*† Except that she obtained a share in the Scottish fisheries, which for a long time she took very little advantage of, the chief direct commercial advantage of which the Union put England in possession was merely the increase of this intercourse with Scotland, which was now thrown as fully open to her manufacturers and merchants as Yorkshire; but Scotland, which had no colonies or distant dependencies of her own, her solitary attempt at Darien having not only failed in itself, but well nigh bankrupted the mother country, was at once admitted to a participation in all the colonial commerce of England, in so far as it was free to the subjects of the latter country themselves, and more especially to that both with the American plantations and with Ireland. The market of England, of course, was also opened to her for the sale of any native produce or manufactures she might have to export which suited the wants or the tastes of that part of the island. "By this union," writes Anderson, about half a century afterwards, "Scotland's coarse woollen stuffs and stockings, and her more valuable linen manufactures, now of many various, beautiful, and ingenious kinds, have a prodigious vent, not only in England, but for the American plantations." He also notices the consumption to a large extent of the black cattle and peltry of Scotland by their southern neighbours—a branch of trade which has continued to increase down to our own day. Another economical advantage which the Scots derived from this political incorporation with England was the substitution of the coinage of the latter country for their own greatly depreciated currency. The Scottish gold and silver money was all called in on the occasion to be recoined; and the native antiquaries boast that no less a sum than 411,117*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* was actually brought to the Mint at Edinburgh for that purpose; "besides, perhaps as much more, hoarded up by the whimsical, disaffected, and timorous, who were strongly prepossessed against the Union, and were far from believing it would last any length of time; besides, also, what was then exported, and what was retained by silversmiths for plate, &c."* On the whole, it is calculated that the gold and silver currency of Scotland in the year 1707 was not less than 900,000*l.* sterling. It has been estimated that the money circulated in England at this time was about sixteen millions.

After the details into which we have entered respecting the quarter of a century that immediately followed the Revolution, during which our trade may be supposed to have settled itself in the new channels into which it was impelled principally by that great political change and the wars to which it gave rise, it will be sufficient that we notice only the most remarkable or significant facts in the commercial history of the remainder of the present period.

The accession of the House of Hanover, however much the national industry in all its branches may have benefited from the tranquillity and security resulting from the confirmed establishment of that family on the throne, and the final extinction of the hope of a second restoration of the Stuarts, would not seem at first to have operated favourably upon our foreign trade, nor, consequently, upon the spirit and activity with which production was carried on at home, if we were to regard our exports to other countries as measuring the entire produce of our land and labour. The value of our exports for 1714, the last year of the reign of Anne, was 8,008,068*l.*, which was a higher amount than they ever reached during the reign of George I. In 1715 they fell to 6,922,263*l.*; in 1716 they were 7,049,992*l.*; and in 1718 they had declined so low as to 6,361,390*l.* From this point, however, they gradually improved: in 1723 they were 7,395,908*l.*; and their average annual amount for the three

* British Merchant, ii. 228-238.

† See account published by Macpherson, in Ann. of Com. ii. 737.

* Anderson, Chron. of Com. ii. 26, referring to Ruddiman's Preface to James Anderson's Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ.

years 1726, 1727, and 1728 was 7,891,739*l.* The amount of shipping cleared outwards in each year corresponded generally with these valuations of the cargoes: in 1714 it was 478,793 tons (of which 33,950 were foreign); in 1715, 425,900 tons (of which 19,508 were foreign); in 1716, 456,309 tons (of which 17,493 were foreign); in 1718, 444,771 tons (of which 16,809 were foreign); in 1723, 419,683 tons (of which 27,040 were foreign); and on the average of the three years from 1726 to 1728 inclusive, 456,483 tons (of which 23,651 were foreign).* In connexion with the subject of the mercantile shipping, we may note here that the royal navy, which at the end of the reign of Anne is stated to have amounted to 167,171 tons, was reduced in 1721, according to a writer of the day, to 158,233,† but had increased again at the death of George II. to 170,860 tons.‡

Among the minor events, or arrangements, by which our trade and manufactures were affected in the reign of George II., may be mentioned the following. In 1715 a treaty of commerce was made with Spain, by which it was stipulated that British subjects were to pay no higher duties in the Spanish ports than they paid in the reign of the Spanish king Charles II. (that is, than they paid before the commencement of the late war); that they should nowhere pay any higher or other duties than were paid by the subjects of his Catholic majesty in the same places; and that the subjects of both kingdoms should be mutually treated in each on the footing of the most favoured nations. In 1717 the duty on the export of British-made linen (which, however, was only sixpence on the piece of forty ells) was taken off, as that on the export of corn and woollens had been some years before, on the ground that the said linen manufacture employed many thousands of the poor of the kingdom.§ In 1721 parliament passed an important act for the encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, by which, first, certain bounties were granted upon the exportation of home-made silken stuffs and ribands, and mixed stuffs of silk and grogram, silk and inkle or cotton, and silk and worsted; secondly, all duties whatsoever payable on the exportation of native produce and merchandizes were taken off, except only those on alum, lead, tin, tanned leather, copperas, coals, wool-cards, white woollens, lapis calaminaris, skins, glue, coney wool, hare's wool, hair, horses, and litharge of lead; thirdly, all substances used in dyeing, saltpetre only excepted, were allowed to be imported duty-free; and, lastly, a reduction was made in the duties on the importation of pepper, mace, nutmegs, and cloves. Half the duty paid on furs was also ordered to be returned on their re-exportation.* In 1719 an annual sum of 2000*l.* per annum out of the revenues of customs and excise in Scotland was allotted for ever to be applied towards the encouragement of the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in that country as might most conduce to the general good of the United Kingdom.† And in 1726 certain new facilities were given by another act for the importation of salt from England into Newfoundland and the northern parts of America, where, as is recited in the preamble, the river Delaware, the bay and coast of the province of Pennsylvania, and the seas adjoining, had been found to be very commodiously situated for carrying on the fishing trade, and to abound with great quantities of shad, sturgeon, bass, and several other kinds of fish, which might be caught and cured, and made fit for foreign markets, "whereby," it is added, "the trade of Great Britain and the inhabitants of the said province would reap considerable benefit, which would enable the said inhabitants to purchase more of the British manufactures for their use than at present they are able by reason of the little trade and produce the said province affords."‡ Of how little value our American settlements were still esteemed may be understood from the fact, that, when only a few years before this, in 1715, a bill was brought into parliament (which, however, did not pass) for enabling the crown to purchase what were called the charter and proprietary colonies, William Penn had agreed to sell his lordship of Pennsylvania for twelve thousand pounds! He had himself asked only twenty thousand in the first instance, when the negotiation was begun with him in the reign of Anne. In 1724, on the application of the South Sea Company, who had resolved to re-enter upon the long-abandoned whale-fishery, an act was passed by parliament taking off the duty of three pence per pound on whale-fins, and allowing fins, oil, and blubber to be exported duty-free in British ships for the term of seven years. The company forthwith directed twelve ships of 360 tons each to be built for the Greenland trade; and "hired," says Anderson, "the Duke of Bedford's great wet-dock at Deptford, for the use of their ships and stores, and for curing of their oil and whale-fins." "In the year 1725," he afterwards relates, "the South Sea Company commenced their unfortunate whale-fishery. Their twelve new ships brought home twenty-five whales and a half; and, though this was scarcely a saving voyage, it was, nevertheless, the very best year of any of the eight in which they carried on that fishery. It must, however, he observed, that, the nation having entirely relinquished this trade for so many years past, there was not an Englishman to be found who knew anything of the Greenland or whale-fishery. The Company was, therefore, under the necessity of having all their commanders,

* Chalmers, Estimate, 104, 105.
† Survey of Trade, by William Wood (afterwards secretary to the commissioners of the customs), p. 15. Wood dedicates his book to George I.; and his object is to prove the progress that the navy, as well as all the other elements of the national power and prosperity, had made since the Revolution.
‡ Account laid before House of Commons in 1791.
§ Stat. 3 Geo. I. c. 7.

* Stat. 8 Geo. I. c. 15. † Stat. 5 Geo. I. c. 20, § 14.
‡ Stat. 13 Geo. I. c. 5.

harpooners, boatsteerers, line-veerers, and blubber-cutters, from Fohrde in Holstein (some few natives of Scotland excepted, who on this occasion left the service of the Hollanders), who had before this time been constantly employed either by Hamburghers, Bremers, or Hollanders. Those Holsteiners cost the Company this year 3056*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*, although but 152 in number; not only because they were all what is usually called officers in that fishery, and consequently had more wages and allowances than the common sailors, but had also their charges borne by the Company both in coming every year from and returning back to Holstein to their families, as was also their constant practice when employed by other nations; whereas above double their number, namely, 353 British subjects, employed on those twelve ships, cost but 3151*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*" The Company, however, the next spring built twelve more ships, and in 1726 the whole twenty-four proceeded to Greenland and Davis Straits. "In which," says our annalist, "they succeeded considerably worse than in their first voyage, having brought home but sixteen whales and a half." In 1727 they sent out twenty-five ships, manned by 762 British subjects and 344 foreigners; when two of the ships were lost, and the rest brought home only twenty-two whales and a half—being not quite one fish for each. At last, in 1732, the Company determined to retire from the trade; their expenditure upon which during the eight years they had carried it on had been 262,172*l.*, while their returns had amounted only to 84,390*l.*, leaving them losers to the extent of 177,782*l.* "It has been usually computed," observes Anderson, "that, if a Greenland ship brought home but three whales, it would be a reasonably gainful year; but, most unfortunately for the South Sea Company, they had not, in all the eight years' fishery, brought home at the rate of one entire whale per ship, taking one year with another. It has, moreover, been a maxim among the whale-fishing adventurers, that one good fishing year in seven usually makes up the losses of six preceding bad years. But it was very unhappy that all the said eight years happened to be bad, not only to the Company, but to most of the adventurers of other nations." The next year an attempt was made by parliament to revive the trade by the forcing system of a bounty upon the ships employed in it; and other similar artificial encouragements were afterwards on several occasions applied for the same purpose; but, although the English whale-fishery was thus kept from absolutely expiring, it never was prosecuted with any considerable or general success, nor could be regarded as one of the regular branches of the national industry, till after the close of the present period.

A full account has already been given in another chapter of the origin, progress, and result of the famous South Sea scheme, which has made the year 1720 so memorable in our financial history.*

* See ante, pp. 370-376.

Without going over again the facts which have been there stated, we may here remark that, wild as was the epidemic phrensy that seized men's minds on this occasion, and disastrous as it proved in its consequences to the fortunes of numerous individuals, it was probably neither in its beginning symptomatic of anything unsubstantial or tending to a decline in the national wealth, nor in its ultimate consequences very much of a public or general calamity. We have just seen, that for some years after the accession of George I. our exports to foreign countries rather diminished than increased; but we should probably misinterpret that fact if we assumed it to be an evidence of any falling off in our produce and manufactures, as if we sent less of them abroad because we had less at home. It is much more likely that the contrary was the case—that we had less to spare to our neighbours because we were able to consume more ourselves, or, in other words, that our merchants were partially withdrawn from the foreign market by the temptations of an improved market at home. If it was so, the importance of our home trade is and always has been so prodigiously superior to that of our foreign trade, that is to say, the demand for our produce and manufactures abroad has at all times been so insignificant in comparison with their consumption among ourselves, that a slight falling off in the quantity of our exports may very possibly have been compensated ten times over to our manufacturers and producers by the readier vent and higher prices they obtained for their goods without crossing the seas. The single circumstance of the decline that now took place in the rate of interest may be regarded as a proof of the growing abundance of capital, seeing that it cannot apparently be attributed to the only other cause by which such an effect could be produced, a diminution of the field for the employment of capital; for the rate of interest always represents the effective value of capital, which again (as with all other things that are marketable or exchangeable) varies directly as the demand and inversely as the supply. Now, at this time the national interest of money had fallen to three per cent: even the government, which, from the extent of its necessities always made its loans at a disadvantage, seldom throughout the reign of George I. borrowed at more than four. And other indications pointed in the same direction, disclosing in like manner an economical condition of the nation, and a temper of the public mind, from which the chief danger to be apprehended was the wanton and impatient recklessness of unwonted plenty and prosperity;—among the rest the taste for lotteries, projects, and other short cuts to wealth, which appears to have been ever since the Revolution more and more gaining possession of the popular mind. For it is a mistake to suppose that the history of projects and bubble companies in England begins with the year of the South Sea delusion. They had never, indeed, come in so great an inundation before, but we had had less consi-

derable outbreaks of the same kind of spirit on other occasions since the Revolution. The years 1694 and 1695, for instance, were remarkable project-years. Among many more schemes that were then set on foot, and which eventually came to nothing, were the famous Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, the man-midwife's, Land Bank, for lending money at a low interest on the security of land, and establishing a national paper currency on that basis; another scheme of the same kind proposed by one John Briscoe; various projects of fishing for lost treasure in the sea; projects for pearl-fishing, for mining, for turning copper into brass, for the manufacture of hollow sword-blades, glass bottles, japanned goods, printed hangings, Venetian metal, &c. "Some of which," says a writer of the day, who has given full details on the subject, "were very useful and successful whilst they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing. Others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world. . . . Moreover, projects, as usual, begat projects—lottery upon lottery, engine upon engine, &c., multiplied wonderfully. If it happened that any one person got considerably by an happy and useful invention, the consequence generally was, that others followed the track, in spite of the patent, and published printed proposals, filling the daily newspapers therewith; thus going on to justle out one another, and to abuse the credulity of the people."* Here we have, on a smaller scale, all the phenomena of the year 1720. Again, under the year 1698, we find the chronologist of our commerce noting—"London at this time abounded with many new projects and schemes, promising mountains of gold;" and quoting contemporary authorities as complaining heavily "that the Royal Exchange of London was crowded with projects, wagers, airy companies of new manufactures and inventions, stock-jobbers, &c." This was the reason, it seems, why soon after the business of stock-jobbing was removed from the Royal Exchange, first to 'Change Alley, and afterwards to Capel Court, where the building called the Stock Exchange now stands. The author of an Essay on Projects, printed about this time, speaks of having seen "shares of joint-stocks and other undertakings blown up by the air of great words, and the name of some man of credit concerned, to perhaps one hundred pounds for one five-hundredth part or share [the meaning probably is, for the fifth part of a hundred pound share], and yet at last dwindle to nothing."† Jobbing in the stock of the great chartered companies was now carried to such a length, that within the first nine or ten years after the Revolution shares in the East India Company had—"by the management of stock-jobbers," as Anderson affirms—been sold on the Exchange at all prices from 300 per cent. down to 37 per cent.—an extent of fluctuation belonging to a game of chance rather than to any legitimate commercial speculation. Successive acts of parliament testify to the rage for lotteries which had long prevailed. "Whereas," begins one passed in 1698, "several evil-disposed persons for divers years last past have set up many mischievous and unlawful games called lotteries, not only in the cities of London and Westminster, and in the suburbs hereof and places adjoining, but in most of the eminent towns and places in England and dominion of Wales have thereby most unjustly and fraudulently got to themselves great sums of money from the children and servants of several gentlemen, traders, and merchants, and from other unwary persons, to the utter ruin and impoverishment of many families; and to the reproach of the English laws and government, by colour of several patents or grants under the great seal of England for the said lotteries, or some of them, which said grants or patents are against the common good, trade, welfare, and peace of his majesty's kingdoms;" and then the lotteries in question are declared to be one and all public nuisances, and all the grants to be void and illegal.* The evil, however, was not effectually remedied; for in 1710 and 1711 we find parliament still complaining of its existence, and resorting to new measures for the suppression of lotteries and other such delusive and fraudulent projects, of which advertisements, it is declared, continued to be daily published in the common printed newspapers and otherwise.† The phrensy of the year 1720, therefore, we may say, was only the height and crisis of a fever that had been long at work in the public mind. And, although it is commonly assumed that it was the temporary success of Law's Mississippi conjuration in France which provoked the delirium and credulity of our own South Sea Company speculators, the truth rather appears to be that the example of the French project only suggested to the contrivers of the scheme for paying off the English national debt a method of proceeding by which, under that pretence, they could turn to the best account for themselves a general pre-disposition of their fellow-countrymen that prepared them for being readily duped by such extravagant promises of sudden wealth, and that would have certainly exploded about the same time in some other fashion, but with results nearly the same, if neither the South Sea scheme nor the Mississippi scheme had ever been thought of. And, after all, as we have observed, the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate than permanent or general. There was little if any absolute destruction of capital; the whole mischief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from

* Extracted, with much more, by Anderson, Chron. of Com. ii. 614, from "Angliæ Tutamen; or, the Safety of England; being an Account of the Banks, Lotteries, Diving, Draining, and Lifting, and sundry other Engines, Metallic, Salt, Linen, and many other pernicious Projects now on foot, tending to the Destruction of Trade and Commerce, and the Impoverishing of this Realm. By a Person of Honour." 4to. Lond. 1695.

† Quoted in Anderson, ii. 642.

* 10 Will. III. c. 23 (c. 17 in common editions).

* See 9 Ann. c. 6. §. 57, &c., and 10 Ann. c. 19 (c. 26 in common editions), §. 111, &c. See also 5 Geo. I. c. 9 (passed in 1718).

one hand to another; many rich persons were made suddenly poor, but many poor persons were also made suddenly rich; and, if some old families were thrown to the ground, some new ones were at the same time raised from the ground and established in their places. Not a social revolution, certainly, which it would be desirable to see often repeated—on the contrary, an interruption of the natural, even course of things fraught with much temporary inconvenience and misery—a wrench or shake given to the body politic which it cannot but feel sharply at the moment, but by which, for all that, its general health will suffer nothing. Nay, the shock may do good in the long-run rather than harm. In the present instance, that would appear to have been the case. The catastrophe of the South Sea delusion—the ruin many of the eager adventurers had brought upon themselves, and the well-merited punishment that was inflicted upon others—had probably a considerable effect in sobering down the extravagant spirit of cupidity, bred under the influence of an unaccustomed prosperity and abundance, in which the recent mania had originated, and in turning people's thoughts from the dream of making money by mere legerdemain and gambling to the slower but surer ways of regular commercial industry and enterprise.

During the short time it lasted, however, the excess to which the general intoxication excited by the mounting up of the South Sea Company's stock proceeded is almost incredible. Anderson has given us a curious table of the crowd of new projects that jostled one another in the money market, and also an interesting description of the general scene of competition and clamour among the dealers and purchasers of the various stocks, which seems to be taken from personal observation. Of the great legal corporations whose stock was raised for the time to extravagant prices he enumerates, besides the South Sea Company, whose original 100*l.* shares came at last to sell for 1000*l.* each, the East India Company, whose 100*l.* shares rose to 445*l.*; the Bank of England, whose shares originally worth about 96*l.* rose to 260*l.*; and the Royal African Company, whose 23*l.* shares rose to 200*l.* Besides these there were, having doubtful charters, the Million Bank, whose stock rose from 100*l.* to 440*l.*; the York Buildings Company, whose 10*l.* shares rose to 305*l.*; the Lustring Company, whose shares originally of 5*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* rose to 120*l.*, and others. Another class of funds was founded on the revival of old companies, such as the Mine Adventurers, the Sword Blade Company, &c., which had long been deserted and defunct. Other schemes were for local and personal objects, such as the Temple Mills Brass Works, whose 10*l.* shares rose to 250*l.*; and Sir Richard Steele's Fish Pool, for bringing fresh fish by sea to London, the shares in which rose in the market to 160*l.*, although no money at all was paid for them originally. Then there was a vast number of what Anderson describes as "Projects or bubbles, having neither charter nor act of parliament to authorise them; none of which were under one million, and some went as far as ten millions;" "very many whereof," he adds, "are distinctly remembered by the author of this work, how ridiculous and improbable soever they may now seem to many not acquainted with the infatuation of that year." The prices of the shares of only a few of those are given; but one example, that of the Orkney Fishery, the stock of which rose from 25*l.* to 250*l.*, may show that the most unsubstantial among them did not fail to be turned into powerful engines of swindling and plunder. Among them are enumerated eleven other fishing projects—four salt companies—ten insurance companies—four water companies—two companies for the remittance of money—two sugar companies—eleven companies for settlements in or trading to America—two building companies—thirteen land companies—six oil companies—four harbour and river companies—four companies for supplying London with coal, cattle, and hay, and for paving the streets—six hemp, flax, and linen companies—five companies for carrying on the manufacture of silks and cottons, one of which is described as Sir Richard Manningham's Company "for planting of mulberry trees and breeding of silk-worms in Chelsea Park, where two thousand of these trees were actually planted, and many large expensive edifices were erected, the remains whereof are scarcely now to be seen"—fifteen mining companies—and, bringing up the rear, a miscellaneous rabble, sixty in all, among which we read the following titles:—For building of hospitals for bastard children—for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger kind of mules in England; "for which purpose marsh lands were treating for near Woolwich; a clergyman, long since dead, being at the head of this bubble"—for trading in human hair—for fatting of hogs—for a grand dispensary, three millions—for a wheel for a perpetual motion—for furnishing funerals—for insuring and increasing children's fortunes—for trading in and improving certain commodities of this kingdom, three millions—and even, carrying the indefinite still farther than this, for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed! For this last we are told an subscription was actually opened. The most absurd of these bubbles indeed seem not to have wanted dupes. "From morning till evening," says Anderson, "the dealers therein, as well as in South Sea stock, appeared in continual crowds all over Exchange Alley, so as to choke up the passage through it. Not a week-day passed without fresh projects recommended by pompous advertisements in all the newspapers (which were now swelled enormously), directing where to subscribe to them. On some sixpence per cent. was paid down, on others one shilling per cent., and some came so low as one shilling per thousand at the time of subscribing. Some of the obscure keepers of those books of subscription, contenting

themselves with what they had got in the forenoon by the subscriptions of one or two millions (one of which the author particularly well remembers), were not to be found in the afternoon of the same day, the room they had hired for a day being shut up, and they and their subscription-books never heard of more." The utmost that appears to have been paid even on those projects that "had one or more persons of known credit to midwife them into the alley" was ten shillings per cent. "Persons of quality of both sexes," continues our author, "were deeply engaged in many of these bubbles, avarice prevailing at this time over all considerations of either dignity or equity; the males coming to taverns and coffee-houses to meet their brokers, and the ladies to the shops of milliners and haberdashers for the same ends. Any impudent impostor, whilst the delusion was at its greatest height, needed only to hire a room at some coffee-house or other house near that alley for a few hours, and open a subscription-book, for somewhat relative to commerce, manufacture, plantation, or of some supposed invention, either newly hatched out of his own brain, or else stolen from some of the many abortive projects of which we have given an account in former reigns, having first advertised it in the newspapers the preceding day, and he might in a few hours find subscribers for one or two millions—in some cases more—of imaginary stock. Yet many of those very subscribers were far from believing those projects feasible: it was enough for their purpose that there would very soon be a premium on the receipts for those subscriptions; when they generally got rid of them in the crowded alley to others more credulous than themselves. And, in all events, the projector was sure of the deposit money. The first purchasers of those receipts soon found second purchasers, and so on, at still higher prices, coming from all parts of the town, and even many from the adjacent counties; and so great was the wild confusion in the crowd in Exchange Alley, that the same project or bubble has been known to be sold, at the same instant of time, ten per cent. higher at one end of the alley than at the other end." In some cases what people got for their money scarcely professed to be anything else than simply a receipt for it—which nevertheless the purchaser was to try to pass over at a higher price upon somebody else; as if it were to be attempted to circulate a description of bank-notes without either signature or promise of payment, on the mere chance of each successive receiver finding some other more sanguine or venturous than himself to take the worthless paper off his hands on a similar calculation. This might be called a paper currency resting not on credit but on hope. Anderson says that he well remembers what were called Globe Permits, which came to be currently sold for sixty guineas and upwards each in the Alley, and which were nevertheless only square bits of a playing card bearing the impression in wax of the sign of the Globe Tavern in the neighbourhood, and the words Sail Cloth Permits for a motto, without any signature, and only conveying to their possessors the permission to subscribe some time afterwards to a new Sail Cloth Company not yet formed! We cannot help thinking that money must have been pretty plentiful when people could be found to give sixty guineas for any such article. Yet it is impossible to say how much higher the prices of shares in even the most nonsensical and absurd of these bubbles might have mounted, if the system had not received a sudden check from the very quarter whence it had derived its beginning and original impulse. "The taverns, coffee-houses, and even victualling-houses, near the Exchange," Anderson goes on to relate, "were constantly crowded, and became the scenes of incredible extravagance. The very advertisements of those bubbles were so many as to fill up two or three sheets of paper in some of the daily newspapers for some months." Even the wildest of the schemes, he adds, "had a very considerable run, much money being got and lost by them; and, as for the great bulk of them, there were almost incredible numbers of transactions in them daily and hourly, for ready money, and mostly at very advanced prices . . . . . Moreover, great numbers of contracts were made for taking many of them at a future time." About Midsummer it was calculated that the value of the stock of all the different companies and projects at the current prices exceeded five hundred millions sterling, or probably five times as much as the current cash of all Europe, and more than twice the worth of the fee-simple of all the land in the kingdom. But now, on the 18th of August, came out writs of *scire facias*, at the instance of the South Sea Company, directed against certain of the pretended companies expressly by name, and generally against all other projects promulgated contrary to law, all the subscribers to which were ordered to be prosecuted by the law-officers of the crown. "This," continues Anderson, "instantly struck so general a panic amongst the conductors of all the undertakings, projects, or bubbles, that the suddenness as well as greatness of their fall was amazing. York Buildings stock, for instance, fell at once from 300 to 200, and in two days after neither it nor the other three undertakings expressly named in the *scire facias* had buyers at any price whatever. The more barefaced bubbles of all kinds immediately shrunk to their original nothing; their projectors shut up their offices and suddenly disappeared; and Exchange Alley with its coffee-houses were no longer crowded with adventurers; many of whom, having laid out their substance in those airy purchases, now found themselves to be utterly undone; whilst, on the other hand, such as had dealt in them to great advantage became extremely shy of owning their gains." But the great mother of all the delusions and impositions soon felt that, though her progeny had become her rivals, in their life was involved her own. It was the spirit of gambling and mad-

ness that the mob of minor projects excited and fed by which the South Sea Company itself was sustained. From the day on which they were put down is to be dated the beginning of a decline in the price of the Company's stock from which it never recovered. When the *scire facias* came abroad South Sea stock was at 850; by the 22nd of August it had fallen to 820; by the 30th, to 780; by the 8th of September, to 680; by the 20th, to 410; by the 29th, to 175. By this time all faith in the possibility of its being kept up at a price above its original cost and real value was irretrievably gone; the bubble was burst; the delusion over; the drunkenness passed away, and only exhaustion, aching, and repentance left. "And now, towards the close of this year of marvels," says Anderson, winding up his narrative, "were seen the great losses of many families of rank, and some of great quality, and the utter ruin of merchants before of great figure, and also of certain eminent physicians, clergy, and lawyers, as well as of many eminent tradesmen; some of whom, after so long living in splendour, were not able to stand the shock of poverty and contempt, and died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world and never returned." But, as we have intimated, the hurricane which so greatly disturbed the air in rapidly passing through it probably made it purer and healthier for a long time to come.

The reign of George II. may be conveniently regarded for our present purpose as divided into three periods of nearly equal length—the first extending from its commencement to the year 1739, during which, with the exception of the short war with Spain, which George I. had left as a legacy to his successor, and which was brought to a close soon after the commencement of the new reign, we were in the enjoyment of peace with all the world;—the second, the space embraced by the general war which broke out in 1739, and continued to rage till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748;—and the third, consisting of the remaining twelve years of the reign, the first eight of which were years of peace, the last four of war.

The general condition of the country at the commencement of the reign was undoubtedly one of considerable actual prosperity; and the rate of our economical advancement was probably also both higher and steadier than it had ever been before. Anderson has collected under the year 1729 the various evidences by which Walpole and the friends of his administration supported their assertion of the thriving circumstances of the time in reply to the factious declarations of their opponents:—the low rate of interest, demonstrating the plenty of money; the rise that had taken place in the price of land, from twenty or twenty-one years' to twenty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-seven years' purchase;—the great sums that had been of late years expended in the enclosing and improving of lands and in the opening and working of mines; "the great increase of jewels, plate, and other rich moveables, much beyond elder times;" the increased value of our general exports, and especially of our exports of the great staple articles of produce and manufacture, wool, coal, lead, and tin; and, lastly, the increase that had taken place in the quantity of our mercantile shipping.*

The progress of the two last-mentioned measures of the activity of our manufactures and commerce may be stated as follows for the whole of the reign:—The total estimated annual value of our exports, which, on the average of the three years 1726, 1727, and 1728, was, as we have seen, 7,891,739*l.*,† had grown to be on the average of 1736, 1737, and 1738, the three last years of the peace, 9,933,232*l.*; on that of 1739, 1740, and 1741, the three first years of the war, it fell to 8,870,499*l.*; but in 1744 it was 9,190,621*l.*; in 1747, 9,775,340*l.*; and in 1748, which was rather the first year of peace than the last of the war, it mounted at once to 11,141,202*l.* Nor was this a mere temporary elevation: in the next three years, 1749, 1750, and 1751, the total value of our exports was on an average 12,599,112*l.* The amount slightly declined, indeed, in 1755, 1756, and 1757, on the average of which three years it was only 11,708,515*l.*—the depression being probably occasioned by the uncertain and threatening aspect of things that preceded the breaking out of hostilities; but the war when it came, unlike all former wars in which we had ever been engaged, rather assisted than injured our foreign trade; and our exports from this date continued to increase every year to the end of the reign, their estimated value being, in 1758, 12,618,335*l.*; in 1759, 13,947,788*l.*; and in 1760, 14,693,270*l.* Thus, in the course of the reign of George II. the amount of our exports was very little less than doubled. The increase in the quantity of the shipping employed in our foreign trade, however, was not nearly so great. The total tonnage of the ships cleared outwards, which on the average of the three years ending with 1728 had been 456,483 tons, was 503,568 (including 26,627 foreign) on that of the three ending with 1738; 471,451 (including 87,260 foreign) on that of the three years ending with 1741; 446,666 (including 72,849 foreign) in 1744; 496,242 (including 101,671 foreign) in 1747; 554,713 (including 75,477 foreign) in 1748; 661,184 (including 51,386 foreign) on the average of the three years ending with 1751; 524,711 (including 73,456 foreign) on that of the three ending with 1757; 505,844 (including 116,002 foreign) in 1758; 527,351 (including 121,016 foreign) in 1759; and 573,978 (including 112,737 foreign) in 1760. Thus the amount of native shipping employed in our foreign trade, which was 432,832 tons at the beginning of the reign, was not more than 471,241 at its close.‡ This, however, in the absence of

* Chron. of Com. iii. 156.

† Chalmers, Estimate, p. 105. At p. 112 the figures are printed 7,918,406*l.*

‡ From various accounts (apparently official) given by Chalmers, Estimate, pp. 112—132.

any account of our coasting trade, proves nothing as to the amount of the general mercantile marine of the kingdom. The tonnage of the royal navy, which at the end of the last reign was 170,862 tons, was in 1741, 198,387; in 1749, 228,215; in 1754, 226,246; and in 1760, 321,104.*

Another indication of the advancing wealth of the country throughout this reign is afforded by the regularly augmenting produce of the Sinking Fund, which, as explained in a previous Chapter, was made up from the surplus yielded by the ordinary taxes over and above certain fixed payments with which they were made chargeable.† The Sinking Fund, therefore, may be regarded as an index of the productiveness of the national taxation, which, again, was itself an index of the consumption of the people as determined by their numbers and their ability to purchase necessaries and luxuries. Now the surplus paid over to the Sinking Fund, which, at its establishment in 1717, was only 323,427*l.*, and by 1724 had only reached 653,000*l.*, had in 1738 come to be no less than 1,231,127*l.*, and it appears to have gone on increasing at the same rate to the end of the reign, seeing that in 1764, the next date at which we find it noted, it is stated to have been about 2,200,000*l.* Part of this increase is no doubt to be attributed to the increase of population; but that cause alone will not nearly account for the whole of it.

One of the sources to which the stream of our commerce owed its gradual and steady expansion throughout this reign was the growing importance of our possessions in the islands and on the continent of America. Of the attractions which the latter already presented to persons who found themselves in want of employment or in straitened circumstances in the old world, or for any other reason sought a new country in which to better their fortunes, we may judge from an account which has been preserved of the arrivals from Europe in the single province of Pennsylvania in the year 1729. There emigrated from Europe to Pennsylvania in that year no fewer than 6208 persons, of whom, as in the emigration of the present day, the great mass were Irish, driven from their native land, the account states, "by reason of rack-rents there"—in other words, by the same scarcity and high price of land, and utter want of any other means of subsistence, which still constitute the unhappy economical condition of that country. Of the 6208 individuals, 243 were Germans from the Palatinate, 267 English and Welsh, 43 Scotch, and the remaining 5655 all, or mostly all, Irish. The Germans were all passengers, the Scotch all servants, the English, Welsh, and Irish, partly passengers, partly servants. By this time, "in the province of Pennsylvania," says Anderson, "great improvements were constantly making in commerce, shipping, and agriculture; many ships and sloops were continually building at Philadelphia, Newcastle, &c., which they mostly dispose of to our sugar colonies, and the rest they use in the carrying their own product, consisting of cask-staves, lumber, pork, pease, flour, biscuit, &c., in exchange for sugar, rum, molasses, and British money."* As yet, however, as we learn from a report of the Board of Trade which was drawn up on an order of the House of Commons in 1732, there were no manufactures of any consequence established in Pennsylvania; even the clothing of the people and the utensils for their houses were all imported from Great Britain. The case was nearly the same, according to the report, in New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey. The inhabitants only made a few coarse linens and woollens for their own use, and even of these a less quantity than they used to do. In Massachusett's Bay, however, industry had made somewhat greater progress. There they not only built ships for the French and Spaniards, as the Pennsylvanians did for their neighbours of the West India islands, but they had already in that and other New England states six furnaces and nineteen forges for the smelting of iron, and they fabricated all sorts of iron-work for shipping. They also made great quantities of hats, many of which were exported, as was complained of by the Hatters' Company of London, to Spain and Portugal as well as to the West Indies. There were besides, the report states, several still-houses (for making rum) and sugar bakers established in New England. It is affirmed, however, that after all, the iron-works in the province of Massachusetts were not sufficient to supply the twentieth part of what was required for the use of the country, and that the quality of the little that was made was greatly inferior to that of the iron imported from Great Britain. Some iron was also made in Rhode Island, but not to the extent of a fourth part of the consumption. From another account of nearly the same date, a work published at London in 1731, entitled, "The Importance of the British Plantations in America to this Kingdom considered," we gather some other interesting particulars. Pennsylvania, this author states, though the youngest of our American colonies, had already a more numerous white population than was spread over all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas. The produce of this province for exportation consisted of wheat, flour, biscuit, barrelled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cider, apples, soap, myrtle-wax, candles, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, bees'-wax, tallow candles, strong beer, linseed oil, strong waters, deer-skins and other peltry, hemp, some little tobacco, sawed boards and timber for building of houses, cypress-wood, shingles, cask-staves, headings, masts, and other ship-timber, and various dyeing substances, or drugs as they were called. The shipping which they employed in their own

* This last number is taken from the account laid before the House of Commons in 1791, which was made up at the Navy Office. Chalmers, on whose authority the other numbers are given, makes the tonnage in 1760 only 300,416 tons.

† See ante, p. 686.

* Chron. of Com., iii. 155.

trade might amount to about six thousand tons, and the quantity they built for sale was about two thousand tons annually. "They send," the account continues, "great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling the ship as well as cargo; and the produce of both is thence sent to England, where it is always laid out in goods and sent home to Pennsylvania. . . . They receive no less than from 4000 to 6000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curaçoa alone, for provisions and liquors. And they trade to Surinam in the like manner, and to the French part of Hispaniola, as also to the other French sugar islands; from whence they bring back molasses and also some money. From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods, because rum and molasses are so dear there; and all the money they can get from all parts, as also sugar, rice, tar, pitch, &c., is brought to England, to pay for the manufactures, &c., they carry home from us." The amount of the purchases thus made by the Pennsylvanians in England, he affirms, had not for many years been less than 150,000*l.* per annum. New York and Jersey had the same commoditities to dispose of as Pennsylvania, except that they did not build so many ships; but there had lately been discovered in New York the richest copper-mine perhaps that was ever heard of, and great quantities of its produce had been brought to England. And, although this province sent fewer ships to England than some of the other colonies, yet those it did send were more richly laden, a larger portion of their cargoes being made up of furs and skins, which were obtained from the Indians. On the whole, this writer reckons New York to be at least of equal advantage to the mother country with Pennsylvania, both in respect to the money it sent us and the manufactures it took from us. Massachusetts, he goes on to state, had already at least 120,000 white inhabitants, employing about 40,000 tons of shipping in their foreign and coasting trades, making above 600 sail of one kind and another, about one-half of which traded to Europe. "Their fisheries," he adds, "have been reckoned annually to produce 230,000 quintals of dried fish, which, being sent to Portugal, Spain, and up the Mediterranean, yield twelve shillings per quintal, being 138,000*l.* sterling. . . . By this fishery they are said to employ at least 600,000 seamen; and, adding to the above sum the freight and commission, all earned by our own people, and reckoned at one-third more, the whole will be 172,500*l.*, all remitted to Great Britain." To this was to be added their whale-fishery, employing about 1300 tons of shipping. They also sent to England great quantities of provisions, lumber, and the other descriptions of produce already enumerated as forming the exports of Pennsylvania; and many of their ships were loaded directly from the sugar islands for this country. "From New England, also," continues the account, "we have the largest masts in the world for our royal navy. From thence also, as from our other continent colonies, we receive all the gold and silver that they can spare; for we give them in exchange all manner of wearing apparel, woollen, brass, and linen manufactures, East India goods, &c., in all, to the value of 400,000*l.* yearly." Of the southern colonies, Virginia and Maryland are described as together sending over annually to Great Britain 50,000 hogsheads of tobacco, one with another of the weight of 600 lbs.; the value of which, at 2½*d.* per pound, would be 375,000*l.* The shipping employed to bring home this tobacco is reckoned to amount to at least 24,000 tons, in by far the greater part English-built, and always fitted out and repaired in England—though, it seems to be implied, owned by the colonists. From these provinces also we received annually about 6000*l.* worth of skins and furs; they produced, moreover, excellent flax, and wool equal to the best grown in England; and there were already at least one iron-work in Virginia and another in Maryland. But, of all our American colonies, the one perhaps of the most visibly rising importance was that of Carolina. This author relates how the cultivation of rice originated in that province about the beginning of this century:—"A brigantine from the isle of Madagascar happened to put in at Carolina, having a little seed-rice left, which the captain gave to a gentleman of the name of Woodward. From part of this he had a very good crop, but was ignorant for some years how to clean it. It was soon dispersed over the province, and by frequent experiments and observations they found out ways of producing and manufacturing it to such great perfection that it is thought to exceed any other in value. The writer of this hath seen the said captain in Carolina, where he received a handsome gratuity from the gentlemen of that country, in acknowledgment of the service he had done that province. It is likewise reported that Mr. Dubois, then treasurer of the East India Company, did send to that country a small bag of seed-rice some short time after, from whence it is reasonable enough to suppose come those two sorts of that commodity—the one called red rice, in contradistinction to the white, from the redness of the inner husk or rind of this sort, although they both clean and become white alike." Before the year 1733 the Carolina rice exported to Spain and Portugal had nearly put a stop to the purchase of the article by those two countries from Venice and other parts of Italy. In that year the total exportation of rice from Carolina was 36,584 barrels; besides which the province also exported 2802 barrels of pitch, 848 of turpentine, 60 tons of lignum vitæ, 20 of Brasiletto wood, 27 of sassafras, 8 chests of skins, and a quantity of lumber, pork, peas, beef, and Indian corn. "This colony," adds Anderson, "is continually increasing by the encouragement they give to new comers, both British and foreigners."* By the year 1739 we find its exportation of rice raised to 71,484 barrels,

* Chron. of Com., iii. 201.

and among various additions to its other exports above 200,000 feet of pine and cypress timber, and a small quantity of potatoes. The vessels that cleared out from the province this year were 238 of all sorts. The next year its exportation of rice amounted to 91,110 barrels. A few years after this the Carolina planters, finding that they were overstocking the European market with their rice, began the culivation of indigo, which had formerly been extensively grown in Jamaica and the other sugar islands. In 1747 about 200,000 lbs. of indigo was sent from Carolina to England, which had been heretofore wont to pay about 200,000*l.* a year to France for that article. Parliament the following year granted a bounty of sixpence per pound weight on all indigo raised in any of our American colonies, and imported into Britain directly from the place of its growth; and aided by this encouragement the cultivation of the plant continued to be prosecuted in Carolina with considerable success, so that by the end of the present period the quantity annually exported from the province amounted to about 400,000 lbs. In the year 1732 a new colony was established on the unoccupied territory between Carolina and the Spanish possession of Florida, by a society of gentlemen, headed by General Oglethorpe, whose primary object was to provide by this means a place of settlement for destitute debtors after their liberation from gaol, and for foreign protestants who might be desirous of emigrating to a settlement where they would have the free exercise of their religion. A charter was granted by the crown establishing the independence of the new province, which was named Georgia, in honour of his majesty. The trustees immediately erected two towns, Savannah and Frederica; planted a nursery of white mulberry-trees, with a view to the production of silk; and imported a number of natives of Piedmont to tend the worms, as well as other foreigners to dress and improve by cultivation the vines which grew wild in the country in great abundance. "Yet," adds Anderson, "by having several idle drones, drunkards, and determined rogues, the prosperity of this colony was at first much retarded, as it was also by frequent alarms from the Spaniards, and, it must be confessed, in part also by an ill-judged though well-meant Utopian scheme for limiting the tenure of lands and for the exclusion of negro slaves; both which mistakes have since been rectified."* The rearing of the silkworm was gradually extended both in Georgia and Carolina; so that before the end of the present period the quantity of raw silk produced in Georgia exceeded ten thousand pounds weight annually.†

The growing strength and importance of these continental settlements, however, was regarded with a jealous eye by the elder sugar colonies in their neighbourhood; and so early as the year 1715 loud complaints began to be made by the planters of Jamaica and the other West India islands of what they considered as the illegal traffic that was springing up between them and the French and Dutch dependencies in that quarter of the world, which they supplied, as we have seen, to a considerable extent, both with agricultural produce and with shipping, and from which they were themselves furnished in return with sugar, rum, and other articles of which the English islands maintained that they had by law a monopoly in regard to all the dominions of the mother country. The dispute produced several publications on both sides—among others, that entitled The Importance of the Plantations, noticed above; and at last, in 1731, a bill was brought into parliament, which passed the Commons, absolutely prohibiting, under forfeiture of ship as well as cargo, the importation into any part of English America of sugar, rum, or molasses grown in the plantations of any foreign power. This bill was allowed to drop in the House of Lords; but, two years after, the matter was settled by an act "for the better securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America," which, while it granted a drawback upon the re-exportation from Great Britain of West India sugar, imposed certain duties upon the importation into the American settlements of the produce of the foreign plantations.* According to the preamble of the act our West India islands were at this time far from being in a thriving condition; their welfare and prosperity are asserted to be of the greatest consequence and importance to the trade, navigation, and strength of the kingdom; but of late years, it is added, the planters had fallen under such great discouragements as to be "unable to improve or carry on the sugar-trade upon an equal footing with the foreign sugar colonies without some advantage and relief be given to them from Great Britain." From an account of our West India Islands laid before the House of Lords by the Board of Trade in 1734 we learn various particulars of their trade and general condition. All our sugar islands together were reckoned to produce annually, an an average, 85,000 hogsheads, or 1,200,000 cwt., of sugar; "of which," adds Anderson, in his comment on the Report, "Great Britain was thought to consume annually 70,000 hogsheads, or 94,080,000 pounds of sugar; which, for ten millions of people, if so many there be in Britain, comes to nine pounds and a half of sugar to each person; or, if but eight millions of people, then about eleven pounds and a half of sugar to each person; and, as there are undoubtedly about two millions and upwards of people in Ireland, we may omit them in this computation, as there may probably be near that number in all the British dominions who use little or no sugar at all." In the present day, we may mention, our consumption of sugar is upwards of 400,000,000 of pounds, or between four and five times what it was a century ago. At that time it was computed that the shipping that went annually from

* Chron. of Com. iii. 189. † Id. 309.

* Stat. 6 Geo. II. c. 13.

Great Britain to the sugar islands amounted to about 300 sail, navigated by 4500 seamen; and that the value of the British manufactures annually exported thither was about 240,000*l.* On an average of the four years ending with 1732, our annual exports to Jamaica amounted to 147,675*l.* in value, and our imports thence to 539,499*l.* At this time the number of the white inhabitants of Jamaica was only 7644, which was much less than it had formerly been. "The diminution of the white people of Jamaica," Anderson observes, "was owing to the great decay of their private or illicit trade to the Spanish main; that trade having drawn thither many white people, who were wont to get rich in a few years, and then return to their mother country, and the Spanish money they got in Jamaica did at length centre in England. From Jamaica our said people privately carried all sorts of our manufactures, &c., to New Spain, which it is well known can only be legally carried thither by the flota and flotilla from Old Spain: they also carried thither great numbers of negroes." Barbadoes had a white population of 18,295; that of our Leeward Islands, consisting of St. Christopher's, Antigua, Nevis, and Montserrat, with their dependencies, Barbuda, Anguilla, Spanish Town (or Virgin Gorda), Tortola, and the rest of the Virgin Islands, was 10,262; that of Providence, the only one of the Bahamas that could yet be said to be peopled, was 500; and that of the Bermudas, 5000. Besides sugar and rum, considerable quantities of cotton, indigo, ginger, pimento, and cocoa were exported from Jamaica and some of the other islands; and the cultivation of coffee, which had been grown in the Dutch continental settlement of Surinam since 1718, was introduced a few years after into the French and Spanish, and also into our own West India plantations. From Jamaica, as is well known, we now derive a large portion of our supply of this article.

During the latter portion of this period the affairs, and it may be said the essential character, of the East India Company underwent a complete revolution, under the influence of circumstances and events of which this is not the place to enter into any detail. The destruction of the authority of the Mogul Emperor by the invasion of Thamas Kouli Khan in 1739, and the consequent assumption of a practical independence, though still veiled under the old forms of vassalage, by the nabobs and other provincial Mahometan governors, had, in the course of the war which terminated in 1748, involved the agents of the French and English companies, as partisans of opposing competitors for various of the petty thrones which had thus arisen, in as fierce hostilities as were carried on by their respective countries in Europe or in any other part of the globe; nor did the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which gave some years of repose to the swords of the combatants in the West, allay for more than a moment these oriental feuds, which had again burst into flame, and embroiled the two companies as furiously as ever, long before arms were again taken up by the two nations. All this has been elsewhere related, as well as the course of the memorable contest that now arose, in which the brilliant successes of Clive at the same time levelled with the ground the already formidable fabric of political power which France was erecting in India, and elevated his own employers from a trading company to be the rulers of an empire. What we are here concerned with are merely the results of these great changes upon the position and circumstances of the Company. The factory at Calcutta, which had been previously subordinate to Madras, had been declared an independent presidency so early as the year 1707; and in 1717 a firman granted by the Mogul had exempted the Company's trade from duties, and permitted them to purchase and hold possession of land in the neighbourhood of their several factories. In 1726 a charter obtained from the crown authorised the establishment of courts of justice at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, for the trial of all causes, civil and criminal, high treason only excepted. In 1746 the French took Madras, which however was restored two years after on the termination of the war. In 1749 the Company obtained possession of the town and district of Devicotah, in Tanjore, by a negotiation with the rajah of that country, after they had unsuccessfully attempted to depose him at the solicitation of his half-brother, from whom he had shortly before wrested the crown—a transaction which may be regarded as the first in which they openly took part in the politics of India, and as that which laid the foundation of their subsequent military power. Clive's operations range from the year 1751 to the end of the present period, in the course of which space of time Calcutta was taken by Surajah-ul-Dowlah, the subahdar of Bengal, in June 1756, but retaken in January following; the French settlement of Chandernagore was captured in March 1757; the power of Surajah-ul-Dowlah was overthrown at the battle of Plassy, in June, that same year; and before the end of the year 1760 every fort and factory belonging to the French had fallen into the hands of their rivals, except Pondicherry, which also surrendered in January, 1761. All this time, however, while the Company was making such advances in the acquisition of political power and even of territorial possessions, no great increase appears to have taken place in its trade. On the average of the eight years ending with 1741 the value of the British produce and goods of all sorts annually exported to India and China was no more than 147,944*l.*; and on that of the seven years ending with 1748 it had only increased to 188,176*l.* The average annual export o bullion during the last seven years was 548,711*l.* For some years after this there was a considerable rise in the amount exported both of goods and of bullion. Thus in 1749 the value of the goods was 275,890*l.*, of the bullion 909,136*l.*; in 1750, of the goods 305,068*l.*, of the bullion 816,310*l.*;

in 1751, of the goods 341,633*l.*, of the bullion 944,471*l.*; in 1752, of the goods 410,968*l.*, of the bullion 840,417*l.*; in 1753, of the goods 418,015*l.*, of the bullion 951,951*l.*,—making together 1,369,966*l.*, which was the largest amount to which the total exports rose within the present period. From this date there was, with the exception of one or two years, a great decline in the amount of the bullion, and some falling off also in that of the goods; so that in 1755 the value of the goods was only 245,030*l.*, and that of the bullion 625,485*l.*; in 1758, of the goods 358,949*l.*, of the bullion 174,099*l.*; in 1759, of the goods, 366,974*l.*, of the bullion, 144,160*l.*,—making together only 511,134*l.*, which was a lower point than the total amount of exports had descended to since 1715. In 1760 the value of the goods exported was 520,719*l.*, but the amount of bullion was only 91,924*l.* The number of ships annually sent out usually ranged from sixteen to twenty; some few times it was twenty-two or twenty-four, but in other years it was only fourteen. Of the Company's imports the chief article in which there appears to have been a steady increase was tea: of that the home consumption gradually rose from 141,995 lbs. in 1711, to 237,994 lbs. in 1720, to 537,016 lbs. in 1730, to 1,380,199 lbs. in 1735, to 2,209,183 lbs. in 1745, and to 2,738,136 lbs. in 1755. In 1760 it appears to have fallen to 2,293,613 lbs.; but that proved only a temporary check. Perhaps it would not be easy to find a better evidence of the advancing refinement as well as comfort of the great body of the people than is furnished by this steadily extending preference for what may be called the temperate man's wine—"the cup that cheers but not inebriates."

The active spirit of the national industry, and the growth of our trade and manufactures, throughout the greater part of the present period, were shown by nothing more remarkably than by the continued extension of the metropolis and most of our other long established centres of population, and the rapid rise of several places formerly of inconsiderable magnitude to the rank of great towns. In London no fewer than eight new parishes were erected between the Revolution and the end of the reign of George II.:—in 1694 that of St. John, in Wapping; in 1729 that of Christ Church, Spitalfields, and that of St. George in the East; in 1730 that of St. George, Bloomsbury, and that of St. Anne, Limehouse; in 1732 that of St. John, Southwark, and that of St. Luke, in Old-street; and in 1743 that of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green. The act for the building of fifty new churches passed in 1710, the establishment of the Chelsea Water Company in 1721, and the building of Westminster Bridge, begun in 1739, and finished in 1750, are all further indications of the expansion of this mighty heart of our social system. Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Frome, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin, had also each derived a large accession of population, some of them to the extent of several times the numbers they contained at the commencement of the period, either from the increase of trade and manufactures, or from that diffusion of luxury which is one of the common and natural consequences of commercial prosperity. Yet the spirit of improvement was still in a great measure confined to our cities and towns. In the country even the basis and first essential of a good economical system was still very deficient or altogether wanting; although turnpikes had been introduced soon after the Restoration, and in the reign of George II. it was made a felony to pull them down, our highways still continued to be generally kept in repair merely by the compulsory labour of the parish paupers, and even so late as 1754 we are told the traveller seldom saw a turnpike for two hundred miles after leaving the vicinity of London. Most of our great roads consequently still remained nearly in their ancient condition to the end of the present period.*

We must not close the commercial history of this period without adverting for a moment to the progress of the new science of political economy, some of the earlier cultivators of which we noticed in the last Book.† The most remarkable work upon this science that had yet appeared was produced in 1691, on occasion of the proposed recoinage of the silver money, by Sir Dudley North, under the title of "Discourses upon Trade, principally directed to the cases of Interest, Coinage, Clipping, and Increase of Money." The immediate object of the work was to oppose the government plan (which was that ultimately adopted) of throwing the loss arising from the clipped money upon the public; and Sir Dudley's brother and biographer, Roger North, hints that means were taken to suppress it:—"it is certain," he says, "the pamphlet is, and hath been ever since, utterly sunk, and a copy not to be had for money."‡ But the author sought to establish his conclusions by the most rigorous and methodical deduction, and his Discourses accordingly presented a statement and elucidation of all the leading principles of commercial and economical science. "He is throughout," says a distinguished modern writer upon these subjects, "the intelligent and consistent advocate of commercial freedom. He is not, like the most eminent of his predecessors, well informed on one subject and erroneous on another. His system is consentaneous in its parts, and complete. He shows that in commercial matters nations have the same interests as individuals, and forcibly exposes the absurdity of supposing that any trade which is advantageous to the merchant can be injurious to the public. His opinions respecting the imposition of a seignorage on the coinage of money, and the expediency of sumptuary laws, then very popular, are equally enlightened."§ One or two of the general proposi-

* Chalmers, Estimate, p. 125.
† See Vol. iii. pp. 863-865.
‡ Lives, iii. 172.
§ Principles of Political Economy, by J. R. M'Culloch, Esq.,

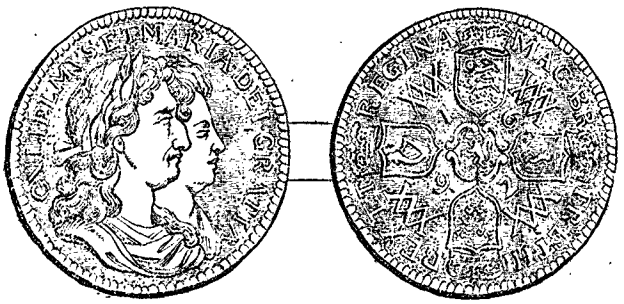
tions which Sir Dudley lays down will show how perfectly untrammelled he was by the prevailing prejudices and false notions of his day:—"That there can be no trade unprofitable to the public; for, if any prove so, men leave it off; and, wherever the traders thrive, the public, of which they are a part, thrive also:—That money is a merchandize, whereof there may be a glut as well as a scarcity, and that even to an inconvenience:—That a people cannot want money to serve the ordinary dealing, and more than enough they will not have:—That no man will be the richer for the making much money, nor have any part of it but as he buys it for an equivalent price."* Other writers who immediately followed North, and who all also promulgated some sound principles, though no one of them perhaps with the same complete elevation above the false or imperfect views of the time, were John Locke, in his "Considerations on the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money," published in 1691, and his "Further Considerations on raising the Value of Money," 1695; Nicholas Barbon, in a Discourse concerning Coining the New Money lighter, published in 1696; and the anonymous author of a very remarkable pamphlet which appeared in 1701, entitled "Considerations on the East India Trade." To a later part of the period belong Jacob Vanderlint's tract entitled "Money answers all things," 1734; Sir Matthew Decker's very able "Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade," 1744; Mr. Hume's "Political Essays," 1752; and Harris's "Essay on Coins," 1757, the views in which are chiefly systematised from the previous disquisitions of Locke and Hume, but which has been described as perhaps the best work, upon the whole, on the subject of money antecedent to the Wealth of Nations.*

p. 43. Mr. M'Culloch, we believe, was fortunate enough to recover a few years ago the only known copy of the original edition of Sir Dudley North's tract. A small impression has been since privately printed from that copy.

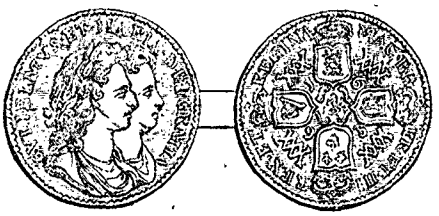
* Quoted by Mr. M'Culloch, *ut supra*.

* Article on Political Economy, by Mr. M'Culloch, in Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica; to which treatise, and to the same writer's Principles of Political Economy, we are indebted for the substance of the above notices.

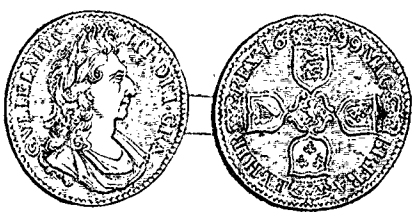
COINS OF WILLIAM AND MARY, AND WILLIAM.



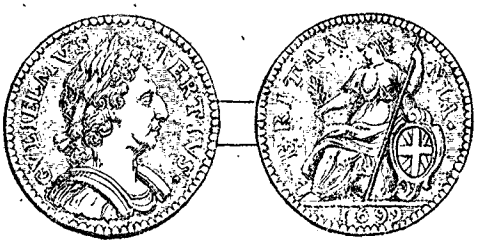
CROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.



SHILLING OF WILLIAM AND MARY.



SHILLING OF WILLIAM III.

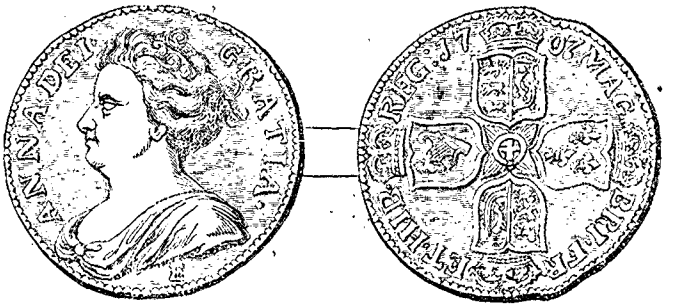


HALFPENNY OF WILLIAM III.

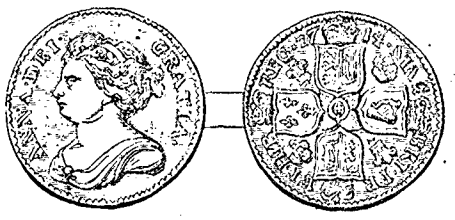
The money of this period will not detain us long. The gold coins of William and Mary are five-pound pieces, forty-shilling pieces, guineas, and half-guineas; the silver, all the usual pieces, from crowns down to pennies. On both the gold and silver money are the heads of their majesties in profile, both looking to the left, the queen's half-covered by the king's, which is outermost. Some tin halfpence and farthings were coined in 1690; but, being frequently counterfeited, they were replaced by a copper coinage of these descriptions of money in 1694. We have already given an account of the calling in of the old silver money, and its recoinage, in 1696. Each of the new coins has immediately under the king's head the initial letter of the name of the town where it was struck. The Scotch coins of William and Mary have their heads turned to the right. Their only Irish coins are halfpence and farthings, of copper, brass, and pewter. The escutcheon in the centre of the royal arms on the money of this reign is that of Nassau.

The gold and silver money of Anne consists of the same pieces as that of her predecessor. She likewise coined a few copper halfpence and farthings, the latter dated in 1713 and 1714, and now very rare. "Upon the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland," says Leake,

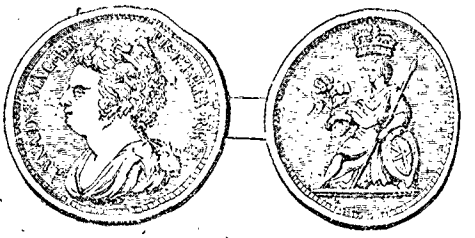
COINS OF QUEEN ANNE.



Crown.



Shilling.



Halfpenny.

"the arms being altered, the same was observed upon all the money coined afterwards; the arms of England and Scotland being impaled in the first and bottom shields, France in the sinister, and Ireland in the dexter, according to this left-handed rotation, which, however irregular and absurd, has prevailed ever since the first milled money."* For some time after the Union a mint was kept up at Edinburgh, at which silver money was coined of the same stamp with that coined in London, but distinguished by an E, for Edinburgh, under the queen's head.

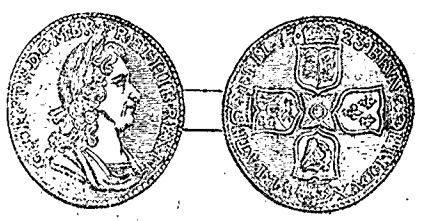
The coins of George I. are remarkable as being the first on which the letters F. D. (for *Fidei Defensor*) appear. They have also his majesty's electoral titles on the reverse; and in the arms Ireland is placed in the bottom shield, and in the dexter (where those of Ireland used to be) are the arms of his majesty's German dominions. In this reign, in the year 1717, the legal value of the guinea was reduced from 21*s.* 6*d.* to 21*s.*, and that of each of the other gold coins in the same proportion; considerable loss having been sustained by our mint price of gold being higher than that of other countries. In 1718 there were issued, for the first time, some quarter-guineas; but they were found too diminutive for use, and no more of them were coined within the present period. Of the famous Irish copper money coined by Wood in 1722 and 1723, the halfpence, and the farthings of 1723, have on the reverse Ireland represented under the figure of a woman in profile, sitting, with a palm-branch in her right hand, and resting her left upon a harp, with the legend Hibernia: the figure on the farthing of 1722 is slightly different. "These," says Leake, "were undoubtedly the best copper money ever made for Ireland, considerably exceeding those of King Charles II., King James II., and King William and Queen

* Historical Account of English Money, p. 405.

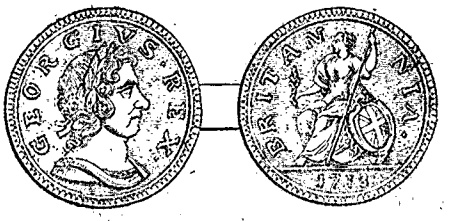
QUEEN ANNE'S FARTHINGS.—Complete Set.—The third of the series is the one so highly valued by Collectors.

COINS OF GEORGE I.

CROWN.



SHILLING.



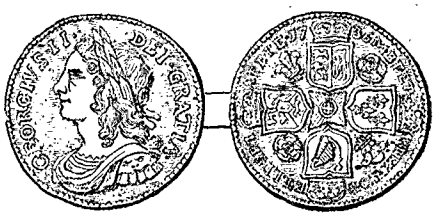
HALFPENNY.

Mary, in weight, goodness, fineness, and value of the copper." They were also much handsomer than the contemporary English farthings and halfpence, the king's head being in particular much better executed, as well as having more resemblance to his majesty. The violent opposition raised against them, although not one of the allegations on which it professed to be founded was ever either proved or attempted to be proved, compelled the crown to issue an order, in August, 1724, that only as many of the halfpence and farthings as had then been issued, amounting in value to about 17,000*l.*, and as many more as should make up that amount to 40,000*l.*, should be put into circulation. The amount for which the patent had been granted was only 100,800*l.* Before this it is stated that the Irish, in their want of small money, were wont to make use of counterfeit coins called *Raps*, of such base metal that what passed for a halfpenny was not worth half a farthing, and persons employing many workmen were obliged to pay them their wages with tallies, or tokens in cards.

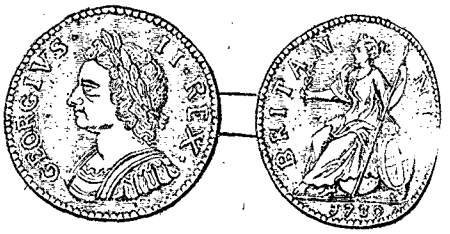
Silver groats, threepenny, twopenny, and even penny pieces continued to be coined in the reign of George II. Upon the gold coins of this reign the arms, Leake observes, are properly disposed in one shield crowned, instead of being misplaced in four shields, as had been done upon all the milled money since the Restoration, some few coins of William and Mary excepted. At the commencement of the reign a great deal of the old hammered gold money of James I., Charles I., and Charles II. was still current, under the name of broadpieces, half broadpieces, and quarter broadpieces, much of which was greatly diminished either by wear or by clipping and filing; but in 1732 all this old money was called in, and

COINS OF GEORGE II.

Crown.



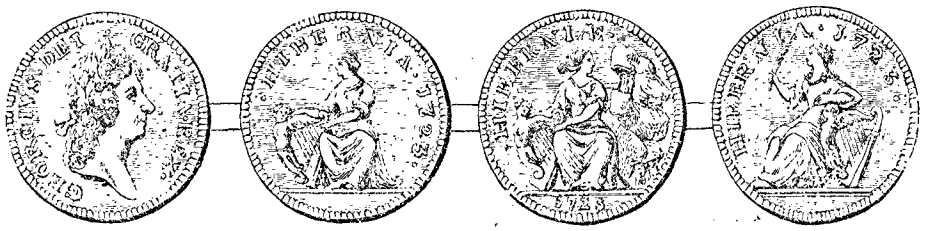
Shilling.



Halfpenny.

paid for at the Mint at the rate of 81*s.* per ounce; after which it was declared no longer current. In one of George II.'s halfpennies of 1730 an extraordinary blunder occurs, the omission of the R in his majesty's name. Foreign gold coins still continued to form a great part of our currency in this reign, much to the general inconvenience. Leake, writing in 1745, gives a deplorable account, also, of the state to which the silver money was already reduced, although most of it was not yet fifty years old. "We have not, indeed," he says, "had any clipping, as formerly, for that is impracticable upon the milled money; but time has diminished it in a manner equivalent to clipping. Our sixpences are, many of them, worn to groats, and some shillings are not much better in proportion. The half-crowns are not so bad, but then they are not so common; the later ones, since King William, being most of them melted or transported; and crowns seem to have answered no other end; they disappear as soon as coined, and indeed are too burdensome for common use, two half-crowns better answering the purpose." *

* Historical Account of English Money, p. 427.



WOOD'S IRISH HALFPENNIES.

The state of things to which the Revolution of 1688 put a termination was favourable to the development of agricultural industry during the present period. Other political circumstances also favoured the landed interest, and for eighty years after the Revolution England, as we have seen, was a corn-exporting country;* fresh land was brought into cultivation, and in 1710 the first Enclosure Act was passed. In 1697 a duty was laid in England on malt, and the same duty was extended to Scotland in 1713. In 1710 the winnowing-machine was introduced from Holland; in Scotland its use was denounced from the pulpit as impious. The threshing-machine was first employed in the northern parts of the island about the same time: no instrument for saving labour has made such slow progress, and in many extensive districts its use is unknown even in the present day. In 1732 Jethro Tull commenced his experiments in drilling and horse-hoeing on his farm in Berkshire, but thirty years elapsed before they excited much practical attention, and before the really valuable parts of his system began to be adopted by intelligent agriculturists. Towards the close of the period the extension of the turnip-husbandry was already effecting the most important revolution in the history of modern agriculture. Those improvements were also commenced which have gone far towards eradicating the defects of the ancient breeds of domestic animals in this country: Bakewell, the great improver of live-stock, began his experiments about the year 1760.

The writings of Evelyn, published near the close of the last period, had awakened a taste for horticulture and planting. Gardens had become a luxury on which large sums were expended; the cottage of the labourer began to be considered incomplete without a plot of ground for the cultivation of vegetables; and a great increase took place in the quantity and variety of vegetables consumed by the labouring classes. The farmer who did not provide plenty of greens, pease, and beans for his servants to eat with their salt-meat was despised for his parsimony.† By the middle of the century the cultivation of the potatoe had become almost general in every part of England, and the prejudices against its use had been nearly removed; but in some quarters premiums were still resorted to for the purpose of bringing this root into consumption amongst the poor.

In the higher departments of horticultural science an important advance was made. At the commencement of the century the successful cultivation of the plants and fruits of tropical countries was nearly unknown. In 1684 the greenhouse in the Apothecaries' Garden at Chelsea was heated by embers placed in a hole in the floor. The greenhouse was only a receptacle for plants in winter, and they were removed to the open air as soon as the warm weather returned. The adoption of glass roofs by Switzer, in 1717, rendered it practicable to cultivate plants which would not bear the open air in summer by affording light as well as heat; and all the modern improvements in the science of "forcing" may be said to date from this period.

At the close of this period Arkwright, Watt, Hargrave, Crompton, and others, were silently co-operating in effecting those improvements in machinery and inanimate agents, by means of which the great branches of national industry assumed in many instances a totally new character; but this change did not take place during the present period. The application of steam as a moving power, which had been proposed by the Marquess of Worcester* in 1683, was but imperfectly carried into effect. In 1698 Savery constructed his steam-engine for draining the mines, but it required a large supply of fuel, and a great waste of power attended its operations.† To Savery, however, belongs the merit of producing a vacuum by the condensation of steam. In 1707 Newman and Cawley remedied some of the defects of Savery's engine, and conjointly with him they obtained a patent for these improvements. From this time no further advance was made in the efficiency of the steam-engine for about half a century. In 1756 Brindley made some alterations in its construction which effected a great saving in fuel,

* From 1697 to 1773 the total excess of exports amounted to 30,968,366 quarters of corn, upon which bounties were paid of not less than 6,237,176*l*. From 1748 to 1752 the average quantity exported was 643,961 quarters annually. The bounty paid in 1750 amounted to 324,176*l*.

† White's Selborne.

* Century of Inventions.

† The act securing to Savery the benefits of his invention was passed in 1698 (10 Wm. III. c. 61), and is entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of a New Invention by Thomas Savery, for raising Water and occasioning Motion to all sorts of Mill Works by the impellent force of Fire."

and this was the chief object of most of the attempts at improvement which were made until the time of Watt. That great man did not commence his experiments on the power of steam till 1763.

The origin of navigable canals in England dates from 1755. In 1758 the Duke of Bridgewater obtained an act for constructing the canal which bears his name. He employed Brindley as his engineer, a man of original genius, who superintended nearly all the great works of this kind constructed during the ensuing ten years. The introduction of railways occurred about a century before any artificial canal had been formed in England for the purposes of navigation. The rails were of wood, which were laid down to facilitate the transport of coal from the colleries at Newcastle.*

In 1754 The Society for the encouragement of Arts and Manufactures was instituted in London; and, though it scarcely ever happens that great inventions or discoveries are to be directly attributed to such institutions, yet their existence is a strong proof of the necessity and desire for improvement.

In preceding notices of the state of the useful arts during each period, the woollen manufacture, from its extent and value, has always first demanded our attention; but another textile fabric was now growing into importance, and was placed in circumstances which led to future improvements of such vast consequence that its condition first attracts consideration.

From the end of the sixteenth century a species of mixed fabric had been manufactured at Manchester and some other towns in Lancashire, the material of which consisted of linen and cotton, the latter imported from the Levant and the East Indies. The weft was cotton, and the warp, which constituted the most important part, was of linen. The manufacture of this mixed cloth during the whole of the present period was as much a domestic employment as that of woollens or linen; but the demand for it had considerably increased towards the middle of the century. The average importation of cotton-wool indeed did not exceed two million lbs. a year up to this time, but a considerable quantity of cotton-yarn was imported by the East India Company. In working up cotton-yarn an active weaver could keep in continual occupation three women at the wheel spinning weft, and unless he obtained this article in sufficient quantity he was unable to fulfil his engagement with the merchant or the wholesale manufacturer: the latter pressing upon the weaver for the completion of his work occasioned him to be urgent with his spinners. Towards the close of this period the demand for the compound fabric in question had so much increased, that the greatest difficulty was experienced by the weavers; and all who were connected with the manufacture felt the want of some process for accelerating the operations of the spinners and enabling them to keep pace with the loom. The weaver was often obliged to visit his spinners, walking perhaps a distance of several miles, to importune them for a supply of weft to keep his loom employed during the day. In these excursions he was met by other weavers on the same errand as himself, and he was "often obliged to treat the females with presents in order to quicken their diligence at the wheel."* These were the circumstances which led to the inventions of Arkwright, Hargrave, and Crompton, the influence of which upon this branch of industry we shall have occasion to describe in the next Book. Before they accomplished their improvements some ineffectual attempts had been made to render the spinning of wool and cotton more purely mechanical processes. In 1733 Mr. Wyatt constructed a model of a machine by which it is asserted "the first thread of cotton ever produced without the intervention of the human fingers" was spun. Wyatt applied to a foreigner named Paul, who obtained a patent for this machine in 1738. In 1741 the invention was brought into practical operation in a warehouse at Birmingham: the machine was set in motion by two asses walking round an axis, and ten or a dozen girls were employed in superintending and assisting its operations. The establishment soon failed. Wyatt's apparatus was next employed in a factory at Northampton, belonging to Cave the London bookseller; but this concern also proved unsuccessful. The machinery was in fact ill adapted to its purpose, and the yarn which it produced was inferior to that obtained by the common hand-wheel. The machine for which Wyatt and Paul obtained a patent must therefore be regarded as having completely failed, since it did not supersede the ancient household machine. In 1758 Paul obtained a separate patent for the spinning-machine, but neither did this invention accomplish the desired object, and in fact it did not greatly differ from those which he had first constructed. The cylinder-card was his invention, but it was not adapted to cotton, and on the breaking up of his factory it appears to have been employed in carding sheep's-wool for hats; in 1760 it was again applied to the carding of cotton, and ten years afterwards Arkwright introduced such improvements in its construction as rendered it a valuable auxiliary in the cotton manufacture. We leave the cotton manufacture (so called, though during this period no fabric was manufactured in England entirely of that material) on the eve of great improvements.

The acts of Edward VI. and Philip and Mary, which were formed to prevent the introduction of new machines in the woollen manufacture, and to confine the clothing trade, as far as it was possible,

* A description of these railways as constructed in 1676 is given in Roger North's Life of his brother, the lord keeper:—"The manner of the carriage is by laying rails of timber from the colliery to the river, exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts are made with four rollers fitting those rails, whereby the carriage is so easy that one horse will draw down four or five chaldron of coals, and is an immense benefit to the coal-merchant."

* Baines's History of the Cotton Manufacture; also Guest's History.

to cities and corporate towns, still remained in force; and these acts undoubtedly had the effect of repressing mechanical improvements and preventing any material changes in the ancient modes of cloth-making: the same machines which were in use at the beginning of the present period continued for the most part unimproved at its close. The notions which prevailed respecting the influence of machinery on human labour might also probably have some effect in repressing improvement. The skilfulness of the workmen, however, had become greater in every department of the manufacture. A writer on trade and manufactures, whose work was published in 1694,* confirms this opinion. He says, "We have evidently made a great progress in the curiosity of our cloth these late years, having quite vanquished the Dutch in their last efforts upon us with their blacks;" and he further remarks that "not above forty years past we were served from Holland with most of our fine cloths for our nobility and gentry, and the great complaint of those days was that our cloth was not fully manufactured in England; both which points are now accomplished." In 1738 Mr. John Kay invented the present mode of casting the shuttle, by what is called a "picking-peg," by which means a weaver was enabled to perform twice the former quantity of work, and to weave cloth of any width. This valuable little instrument was confined to the weaving of woollens for the first twenty years after its invention.† This branch of the national industry continued, as it had heretofore been, the one of greatest importance; and all the old opinions which had been current for three or four centuries concerning its magnitude and value continued to be repeated; but, although it might be true at the commencement of the present period that "nine parts in ten of our exported commodities doth come from the sheep's back, and from hence alone is the spring of our riches,"‡ this was far from being the case at its close.

The woollen manufacture seems to have been in some parts of the country carried on under local regulations. Thus in the West Riding of Yorkshire the magistrates in quarter-sessions appointed persons to take an account of the quantity of cloth manufactured in the riding in each year. From 1732 to 1741 inclusive, the total number of pieces produced appears to have been 580,645; from 1742 to 1751 the quantity had more than doubled, being 1,236,304 pieces; and from 1752 to 1761 it remained nearly stationary, being 1,255,339 pieces. The Leeds Cloth Hall was established in 1758, and had 1800 stands for the exposure of the goods of country manufacturers on the market-days: a hall for white cloths was erected about twenty years afterwards.

The stimulus given to the silk manufacture at the close of the last period, when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes brought great numbers of French artisans to this country, was sufficiently powerful to have enabled this branch of manufacture to have defied competition. But, instead of its being fearlessly left to take care of itself, and to make its way by its own natural strength, its progressive improvement was checked by a system of protection, though the manufacture was evidently rising into great importance. In 1697 a Royal Lustring Company was established in London, with the Earl of Pembroke as governor, for making silk "lustrings" and "à-la-modes." The company had sufficient influence to procure the passing of an act prohibiting the importation of foreign goods of this particular description; but before they could derive much profit from their monopoly the fashion of wearing these silks had begun to change. In 1713 the Silk Weavers' Company, in a petition to parliament against the commercial treaty with France, represented the silk manufacture as being of twenty times greater extent than it was in 1664; affirming that black and coloured silks were made equal in quality to those of France; and that black silk for hoods and scarfs, which had not been made in England at all twenty-five years before, had now for several years been manufactured to the value of 300,000*l.* a year. These statements, if taken literally, would doubtless present an exaggerated view of the progress of the silk manufacture, but they sufficiently indicate that it was advancing. In 1722 an act was passed granting bounties on the exportation of silk goods for the three following years.

The art of silk-throwing was at this period practised with most skill in Italy, where machinery of a superior description was applied to the purpose; and the weavers in England were entirely dependent upon that country for the supply of silk thread. In 1715 Mr. John Lombe, one of three brothers who were in business in London as silk-throwsters and merchants, proceeded to Italy in the hope of obtaining such an acquaintance with the machinery as might enable him to introduce it into this country. Undeterred by the dangers and difficulties of his project, he succeeded in obtaining employment in a mean capacity in one of the Italian mills, in which, on account of his supposed destitute condition, he was allowed to sleep, and the night was employed in making drawings of the machinery, which he succeeded in bringing in safety to England. A silk-mill, the first of the kind in England, was erected at Derby in 1719, by Lombe and his brothers. But, the King of Sardinia having prohibited the exportation of raw silk, great difficulty was experienced in procuring a supply from other quarters, so that the patent which had been granted to Sir Thomas Lombe, for the sole making and use of the engines for fourteen years, did not prove so advantageous to him as he had anticipated; and parliament, in consideration of these circumstances, granted him 14,000*l.*, on condition that the invention should be thrown open to the trade. The mill erected at Derby came nearer to the idea of a factory of the

* The Interest of England Considered. *London*, 1694.
† Baines's Lancashire.
‡ The Interest of England Considered, 1694.

present day than any previous establishment of the kind. The machine had 97,746 wheels, movements, and individual parts (working day and night), all which received their motion from one large water-wheel, and were governed by one regulator; and it employed three hundred persons to attend and supply it with work.* To encourage this new branch of industry duties were imposed on foreign-wrought silk. In 1750 an act was passed (the second which had ever been enacted against the exportation of machinery) prohibiting the exportation of tools and utensils used in the silk manufacture. About 1730 our silks appear to have been held in considerable esteem in various parts of the continent. "In Italy itself," says a writer of this date, "the silks of English manufacture are most esteemed, and bear a greater price than those of Italy; so that at Naples, when a tradesman would highly recommend his silk stockings, &c., he protests they are right English."†

Great efforts were made during the present period both in Scotland and in Ireland to raise the importance of the linen manufacture. In Ireland it was hoped it might become what the woollen manufacture was in England: in Scotland, at the Union, it was the staple branch of industry, though of no great absolute value. In 1698, when it was resolved to crush the woollen manufacture of Ireland by an act prohibiting the export of woollen goods from that country,‡ it was at the same time determined to afford every encouragement to the Irish linen trade. Political feeling was in some measure mixed up with this determination, for the Protestant interest was strong in that part of Ireland where the manufacture was carried on with most spirit. In 1704 an act was passed allowing the exportation of Irish linens to England; and the ground for conferring this privilege is set forth in the preamble of the act as follows:—"Forasmuch as the Protestant interest ought to be supported by giving the utmost encouragement to the linen manufactures of that kingdom."§ In 1711 a board was established in Dublin for effecting this object, for which purpose premiums and bounties were liberally given. Bounties on exportation were granted in 1743. As in England the bodies of the dead were shrowded in woollen for the encouragement of the manufacture, so in Ireland linen scarfs and hatbands were directed to be used at funerals. The importation of linen into Ireland from Scotland was prohibited in 1705.‖ In Scotland also the linen manufacture was superintended by a board established in 1727. One of its plans was to advance money to manufacturers, and the system of bounties and premiums was also adopted. All the mechanical processes connected with the manufacture of linen still continued of the simplest kind, and the yarn was all produced by the common spinning-wheel of the cottager. In 1753 the manufacture of coarse linens had made some progress in the Highlands. The quantity manufactured in Scotland at the period of the Union is said not to have exceeded one million and a half yards; and in 1750 it was about seven millions and a half. In England the linen manufacture was comparatively neglected.

In 1699 we had passed an act* prohibiting the importation of lace from Flanders, which was met by a prohibition on their part of our woollens. This mode of retaliation had the effect of rendering our legislators more clear-sighted; and an act was passed repealing the prohibitory enactment within three months after the duty on our woollens should have been taken off in Flanders. The manufacture of lace was essentially a domestic employment, and was chiefly carried on in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and some of the adjoining counties, and in a few places in the west of England. No lace was made by machinery in England before 1768.

In 1696 the exportation of stocking-looms was prohibited;† from which we may infer that the best machines of this kind were at that time made in England: this was also the first act passed against the exportation of machinery. About 1755 Mr. Jedediah Strutt introduced some useful improvements in Lee's stocking-frame.

The state of the metallic manufactures will not require any lengthened notice. In preceding periods we had to notice the increasing scarcity of timber which prevailed in the districts where the smelting of iron had been carried on for several centuries. The legislative provisions that were made with a view of maintaining the supply of fuel did not effect much towards accomplishing this object; and the rise of prices indicated the necessity of resorting to some other remedy. It was proposed by some that the waste lands of the kingdom should be planted; and others suggested that the forests of our American colonies pointed out that quarter as a fitting place to which the business of smelting should be transferred. The woods of Ireland being less exhaused than those of England, attention was directed to that country, and for some time considerable quantities of iron were smelted there. The device of offering some public reward to any individual who should discover the means of making bar-iron with coal might, it was also thought, be the means of relieving the ironmasters from their difficulties. The patent which Lord Dudley had obtained in 1619 for accomplishing this very object seems to have been forgotten. The works which he had established had been destroyed by an ignorant mob. About 1740, however, Lord Dudley's process seems to have been revived, and iron was made with pit-coal at Colebrook Dale; but in 1747 the fact seems to have been so little known, that it had not reached the author of a paper on the subject in the Philosophical Transactions for

* Paper by Sir Thomas Lombe, setting forth his claims.
† Keyslar's Travels, from the German. London, 1756.
‡ See ante, p. 703.
§ 3 and 4 Anne, c. 7.
‖ 3 and 4 Anne, c. 7.

* 11 and 12 Wm. III. c. 11.
† 7 and 8 Wm. III. c. 20.

that year, although he resided in the above-mentioned district: he states, however, that iron was made by one ironmaster in Colebrook Dale, either brittle or tough at pleasure, by means of pit-coal.* In 1740 the quantity of pig-iron made in England and Wales was estimated at about 17,000 tons. In 1719 the iron trade was deemed the third of our national manufactures, and the number of persons it is said to have employed was 200,000. The furnaces in Kent and Sussex were not entirely relinquished at the close of this period; but iron-works were now established in many other parts of the kingdom; those at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, about 1750, and the great works at Carron, in Scotland, in 1760.

The manufacture of copper appears to have made satisfactory progress during this period. By an act passed in 1694† the exportation of copper was allowed (except to France) with a view of encouraging the working of copper-mines. From 1736 to 1745 the mines in Cornwall furnished about 700 tons of fine copper annually, and towards the close of the period the supply had considerably more than doubled. The great copper-mines in Anglesea were not yet discovered; but besides the Cornish mines there were others worked in Staffordshire, which however have long ceased to be productive. In an act passed in 1714,‡ permitting the re-exportation of foreign copper with a drawback, it is asserted that "the copper manufacture of this kingdom is brought to such great perfection that there is more made here than can be expended here and in the Plantations." Of the manufacture of brass, a material of so much value in the composition of a great variety of articles, and which had been introduced into England by a German in 1649, we have scarcely any account during the present period. The brass manufacture was commenced at Birmingham in 1748. In 1721 it was computed that the number of persons employed in England in the manufacture of articles of copper and brass amounted to 30,000.

The patent for applying Yarranton's process for tinning iron, already noticed,§ does not appear to have been long made use of by the individuals who acquired the rights which it conferred; and it was not until about the year 1730 that this manufacture can be said to have been established by parties who commenced making tinned iron in Wales: it was further improved about the year 1740.

The refining of metals was carried on by improved processes. A statute of Henry IV.‖ which impeded the operations of refiners of the precious metals was repealed in 1689,¶ by an act in the preamble of which it is stated that men "are arrived to great skill and perfection in the art of smelting and refining of metals and otherwise improving them and their ores (which very much abound within this realm), and extracting gold and silver out of the same, but dare not exercise their skill within this realm for fear of the penalties in the said act." Wardens and assay-masters for assaying wrought plate were appointed in York, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Norwich, by an act passed in 1706.*

In 1742 the ware known as Sheffield plate was first made in that town, and was at first confined to buttons, snuff-boxes, and articles of a similar description; but a few years afterwards the side-board was furnished with articles of the new manufacture, elegant in design, and as brilliant as silver in appearance.

According to Postlethwayte watches of English manufacture were in great repute in France in the early part of the century; and Law, the notorious projector, is said to have established a number of English watchmakers at Versailles. By an act passed in 1698,† the exportation of parts of watches, that is, cases and dials, was prohibited. The other parts were made abroad, and the completed article stamped with the name of a London maker. Being of inferior quality and workmanship, these foreign fabrications tended to bring English watches into disrepute.

Printing-type, which we imported from Holland until some time after the reign of Anne, was so much improved during this period that the type made in England came to be in demand on the continent. This was effected by Caslon, an engraver of gun-locks and barrels, who, being employed in 1720 to cut a fount of Arabic type, was induced to commence business as a letter-cutter, and in a few years rendered the English types superior to any in Europe. Baskerville, the printer, added further improvements. In 1725, William Ged, an inhabitant of Edinburgh, discovered the principle of casting metal plates, that is, the art of stereotyping. It was employed by the University of Cambridge to print bibles and prayer-books, but the compositors, thinking their craft in danger, secretly made errors in the pages as originally set up in moveable types after they had passed the reader, and the bibles were so defective that the university abandoned the practice of stereotyping them. We may notice in this place the art of paper-making. The improvements which were introduced at the close of the last period did not render paper made in England equal in quality to that manufactured abroad; and the importation of foreign paper continued, though in a diminishing proportion, to the end of the present period. In 1690 we commenced the manufacture of white paper: about 1713, as we have seen, the quantity of paper of every description, made in England, was estimated at 300,000 reams. An excise duty was first laid on paper in 1711. So late as the last years of this period Baskerville imported paper from Holland for his fine editions.

The improvements which Wedgwood introduced

* Vol. ix. p. 305.
† 5 and 6 Wm. and Mary, c. 17.
‡ 12 Anne, st. 1. c. 18.
§ See vol. iii. p. 870.
‖ 5 Hen. IV. c. 4.
¶ 1 Wm. and Mary, c. 30.
* 12 and 13 Wm. III. c. 4.
† 9 and 10 Wm. III. c. 28.

in the manufacture of earthenware do not date earlier than the year 1760, up to which period we imported considerable quantities of earthenware from the continent. At the commencement of the period the art was in the rudest state, and only articles of the commonest and coarsest kind were made. De Foe introduced the manufacture of pantiles, at Tilbury, in Essex. They had been previously imported in large quantities from Holland, but notwithstanding the concern did not prosper. In his Review for March, 1705, De Foe tells us that he employed a hundred poor 'abourers in making pantiles. Before the war with France in 1698 the best kinds of glass, even for windows, as has been already stated, were imported from France: the manufacture of crown glass was not even attempted in England until after 1760. Still, even at the commencement of the period, the glass manufacture was of sufficient importance to render it an object of taxation; a duty being levied upon glass by an act passed in 1695.* This duty, which had been granted for five years, was made perpetual by an act of the following year. By a statute of the session immediately succeeding one-half the amount of duties was remitted, it being found "by experience (says the preamble to the statute) that the said rates and duties upon glass and glass wares are too great, so that the makers of those manufactures in this kingdom are thereby discouraged." By another act* passed in the following year the glass manufacture was fortunately relieved from the vexatious interference of fiscal officers, partly on the ground that the duties did not produce much, and being oppressive would thus "hinder the employing great numbers of poor and endanger the loss of so beneficial a manufacture to this kingdom." Glass remained free from any duty until 1746, when a duty was imposed on the materials used in the manufacture,† and additional duties were at the same time levied on the importation of foreign glass.

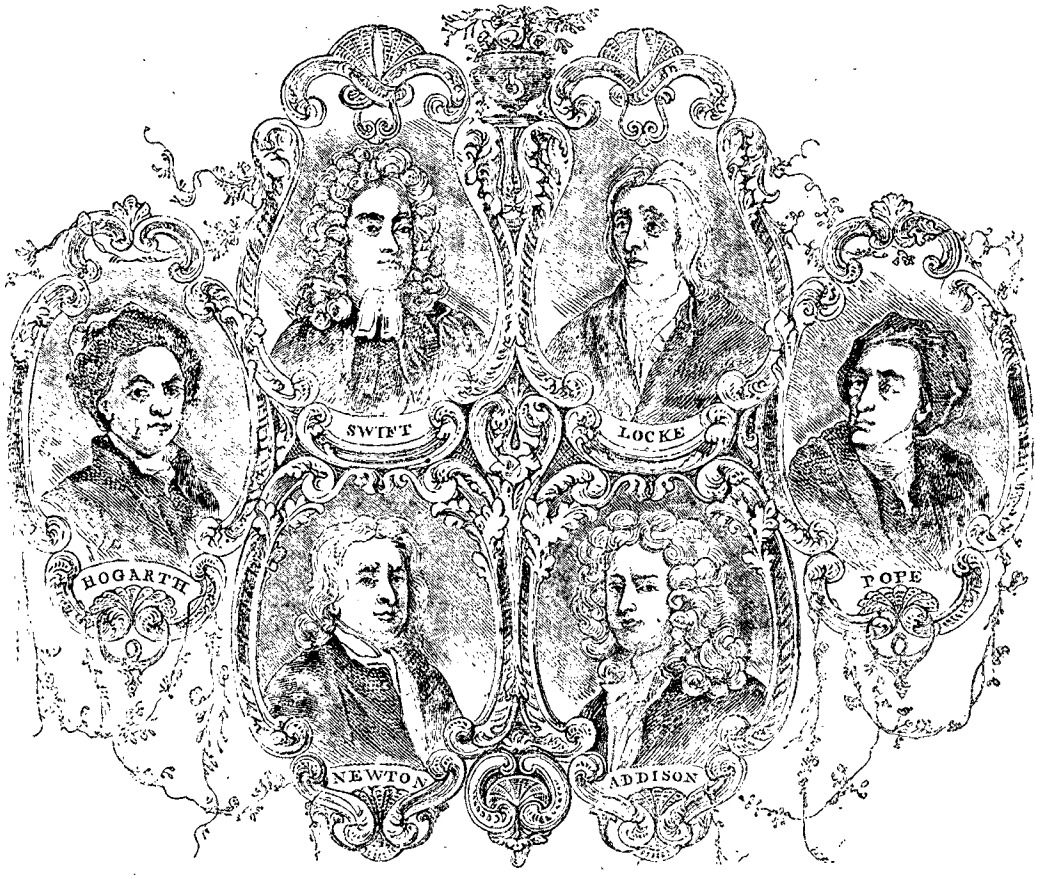
* 6 and 7 Wm. and Mary, c. 18.

* 10 Wm. III. c. 18. † 19 Geo. II. c. 12.

Whitehall, as it appeared before the great fire of 1691, which destroyed all but the Banqueting House.
From a View in the margin of Morden and Lea's Map of London, published at that period.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



SWIFT, from a Picture in the Bodleian Library.
LOCKE, from a Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
HOGARTH, from a Picture by himself.
NEWTON, from a Picture by Vanderbank.
ADDISON, from an anonymous Picture.
POPE, from a Picture by Hudson.

IN the present occasion we will postpone our review of the history of literature and science till we have dismissed the subject of the fine arts of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

Perhaps at no period since the revival of the arts have they ever fallen into so low a state in Britain as during that upon which we are now about to enter. In painting, the degradation was general throughout Europe: in Italy the art was all but extinct; the French school, such as it was, on the decline; and the sources now dried up, or utterly vitiated, from which the demands of England had hitherto been satisfied. Sculpture was reduced to the manner of Bernini. The independent school of architecture which England can claim at least from the middle of the fourteenth century, if not from a much earlier period, approached its extinction, but not until it had taken a new flight and attained the highest pitch of grandeur under Wren and Vanbrugh.

Few circumstances in the history of the arts are more remarkable than the coincidence which produced a genius so mighty as that of Sir Christopher Wren, and afforded such extraordinary occasion for its development. He was destined to

raise a metropolis from its ashes, and he proved himself worthy of the task. The number of public buildings which he executed during the progress of this undertaking seems almost to surpass the measure of human industry. Their merit is not inferior to their extent. Much of what is most valuable among the public buildings of England (and they are inferior to none), especially among modern ecclesiastical structures, we owe to this great architect, whose name is worthily associated throughout the civilized world with that of Inigo Jones, to the honour and glory of their country.

During the most important period of his public life, Wren sustained alone the reputation of English architecture. The progress of Inigo Jones, and of the arts in general, had been checked by the calamity of the great rebellion, and he left none worthy to be called his successor. His scholar and son-in-law, Webb, gained a reputation by completing some of his works, but we have no evidence that he possessed any original talent, and the fact that Charles I. had granted the reversion of Inigo's post of surveyor-general to Sir John Denham, the poet, sufficiently proves, if proof were necessary on this point, that between Jones and Wren none were to be found of merit sufficient to challenge on professional grounds an employment so honourably filled by them both.

The education of Wren was not professional; and, though architecture must very early have engaged his attention, yet his application to it exclusively seems to have been determined by the circumstances in which he was placed. Before he had displayed his talents in the art which has rendered him so illustrious, he had acquired an eminent reputation as a mathematician and astronomer. At the early age of sixteen he had highly distinguished himself at Oxford by his proficiency in the sciences, and in his eighteenth year he held a place among those philosophers whose association formed the nucleus of the Royal Society, in the establishment of which institution in 1660 he was called upon by the united voices of his sovereign and his fellow-labourers in science to act a leading part. The result of his studies had at this time been exhibited in fifty-three new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanical improvements;* and, whatever may be the practical value of most of them in the present day, when they have been superseded by the accumulated knowledge of nearly two centuries, they are not the less illustrative of the originality of Wren's genius, and the solidity as well as the variety of his acquirements.

Although several of his inventions have a direct reference to architecture, yet we have no account of his pursuits in that art; but that he had studied it assiduously and successfully, and had given proofs that he had done so, is evident, since in 1661 he was called upon by the king to assist Sir John Denham in his office. The great works which Charles contemplated from the moment of his restoration demanded knowledge and skill in architecture. Wren was appointed coadjutor to the surveyor-general, and, after some delay of which the reason is not ascertained, during which he seems to have occupied himself principally with the proceedings of the Royal Society and the duties of the Savilian professorship of Oxford (to which he had been elected in 1659), he received a commission under the great seal to make a survey of the cathedral church of St. Paul, and furnish plans for its restoration. Thus he entered upon that great work which was destined to furnish him with occupation during the greater part of his long life, and to result in the completion of "a building which is deservedly the boast of England and the eternal monument of its author." This commission is dated in 1663.

Notwithstanding the partial repair executed by Inigo Jones, this vast, venerable, and once magnificent church was found to be in a state of dilapidation bordering upon ruin. Since the alterations intended in the preceding reign had been interrupted, the hand of violence had lent its aid to accelerate the more gradual effect of time in the destruction of the fabric. "The body of the church," says Dugdale, "was converted to a horse-quarter for soldiers. The beautiful pillars of Inigo Jones's portico were shamefully hewed and defaced for the support of the timber-work of shops for seamstresses and other trades, for which sordid uses that once stately colonnade was wholly taken up and defiled. Upon taking away the inner scaffolds which supported the arched vaults in order to their late intended repair, the whole roof of the south cross tumbled down, and the rest in several places of the church did after fall, so that the structure continued a woeful spectacle of ruin till the happy Restoration."

Wren's opinion from the first was in favour of rebuilding, working to the scale laid down by his great predecessor, and making the church worthy of the portico; but to this scheme the prejudices of the majority of those who were with him in the commission were too strongly opposed; and, when he pointed out that the pressure of the vaulting had thrust the piers of the nave considerably out of the perpendicular, some of these worthy members of what would be called in modern parlance the committee of taste were not ashamed to argue that they had been thus built by the original architect for the purpose of assisting the effect of the perspective!* Being thus baffled in his design of entirely taking down the old Norman pile, he gave a plan for removing the tower and expanding the centre of the church into a cupola, uniting the transepts to the main body of the church by a concave line. But to this plan also, which he seems to have suggested as a *mezzo-termine* between the proposals of those "who might aim at

* Allan Cunningham, Life of Sir C. Wren, in Family Library.

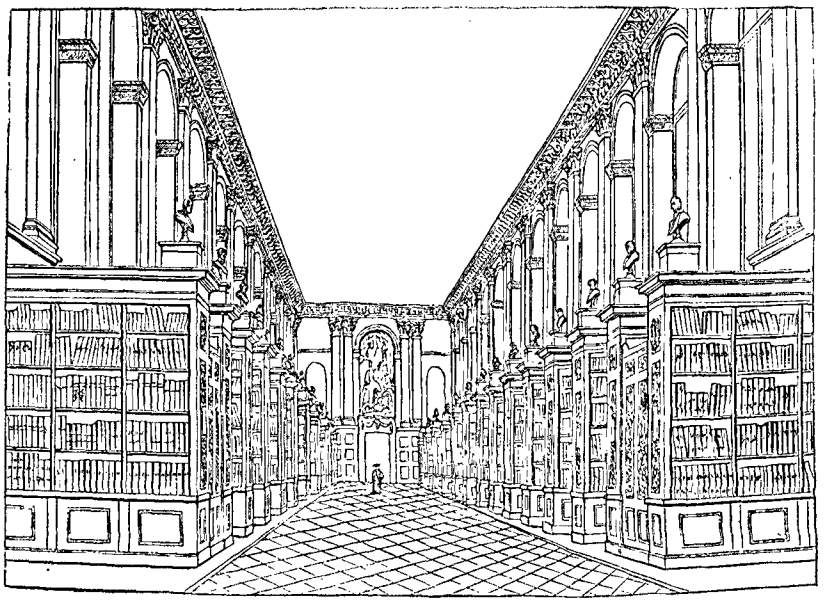
* Sir John Soane has recorded some anecdotes of amateur architects in the nineteenth century quite a match for this, in his account of the building of the new Law Courts—not however in the published edition of his "Public Buildings," but in the copies for private distribution, which are scarce.

too great a magnificence, which neither the disposition or extent of this age will probably bring to a period," and the opinions of others who might "fall so low as to think of piecing up the old fabric, here with a stone, there with a brick, and cover all faults with a coat of plaster, leaving it still to posterity as a further object of charity,"*—to this plan no less difficulties presented themselves, not only on the part of the commissioners, but from a strong popular feeling in favour of preserving the old tower, of which the citizens of London were traditionally proud, although its glories were long since departed. Strong applications were made to the king for its preservation, and Wren was obliged to propose a plan by which the tower might be kept standing until the new work should be built around it; "for," to use his own words,† "many unbelievers would bewail the loss of old St. Paul's steeple, and despond if they did not see a successor rise in its stead." At length came the great fire of London to interrupt these disputes, in all of which Wren had been strenuously backed and supported by his friend and fellow-commissioner, John Evelyn. "You will not, I am sure," says this excellent and accomplished man (whom it is impossible to name without a testimony of respect), "forget the struggle we had with some who were for patching it (St. Paul's) up anyhow so the steeple might stand, instead of new-building, which it altogether needed, when, to put an end to the contest, five days after that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whose ashes this Phœnix, new St. Paul's, is risen, and was by Providence designed for you."

But, though the great fire suspended these vexatious contests, they were by no means terminated. In the teeth of Wren's opinion on the hopeless state of the building—the tower now tottering to its fall, the portico shattered to pieces, and the very crypt broken down by the weight of the fallen materials—two years more were consumed in vain attempts to restore it, and the commissioners persevered in their own course, even after the architect's prognostications had been justified by the fall of a portion of the nave while the scaffold was up for its repair. It was not until a second warning of the same kind had occurred that he was at length authorized to raze the church to its foundations. The removal of the ruined walls was a work of time and labour; but, though it was long before the ground was cleared, it was still longer before the necessary approval of the plan for the new building could be obtained from the king and the commissioners. It was not until the year 1675, nine years after the fire, and twelve years after the first commission had been issued, that Wren was enabled to lay the foundation of "the second temple of the Christian world."

During this interval Wren had executed several of those edifices of which his country is justly proud. Although St. Paul's is the first public work with which his name is associated, yet the first which he completed was the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, a structure planned with the most successful adaptation to its purpose, and remarkable for the skilful construction of its roof. This building was commenced in 1663, and opened in 1669. The noble Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the beautiful quadrangle called Neville's Court, were the work of the same period,

* Parentalia. † Id.



LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

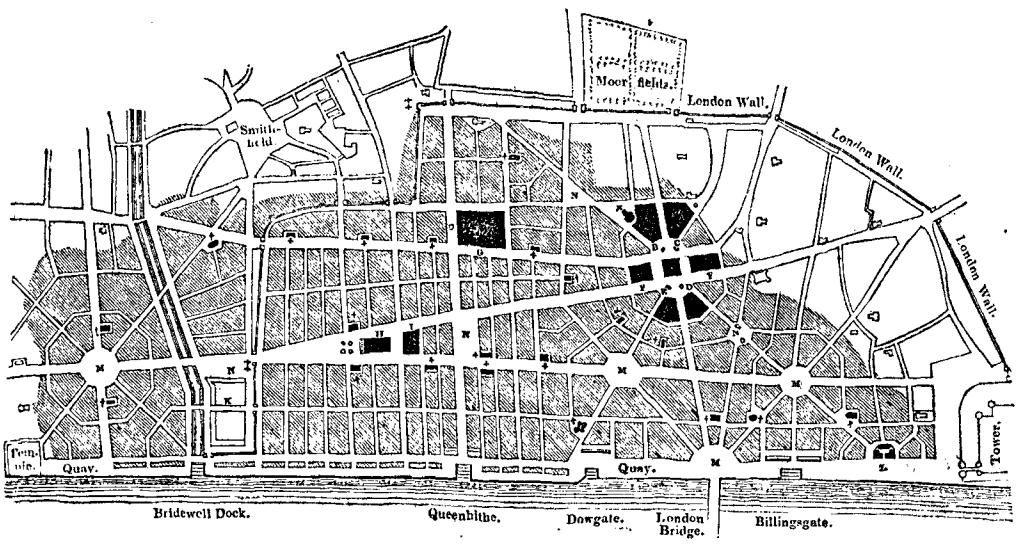
and, from a letter written by the president of the college in 1665, they appear not to have been executed without a considerable share of the same sort of controversy which had thwarted Wren in his designs for St. Paul's. "One of the chief miseries of an architect's life," observes Allan Cunningham,* in reference to this circumstance, "springs out of the changes which presumption more frequently than knowledge compels him to make in his designs. Ordinary eyes cannot see the derangement of true harmonious proportion which trivial alterations cause in architectural plans; they are incapable of perceiving that symmetry in a work of art, as in the human frame, may be utterly ruined by adding or withdrawing even a very little." Wren was at the same time employed upon the less important works of the chapels of Pembroke and Emmanuel Colleges in the same university. The latter is an early specimen of his intense feeling for the picturesque in architecture.

In 1665 he withdrew for a while from the squabbles of the commissioners, and visited France. At this time the most eminent artists of the age of Louis XIV. were in their zenith, and structures were rising which could not fail to excite the highest admiration in the possessor of a genius destined to create those which should rival them. The Church of St. Roque and the College of the Quatre Nations (now the Institute of France) were lately completed, the elegant cupola of the Invalids nearly so, and the Louvre was in progress. Wren's correspondence shows that he surveyed these buildings, and the numerous châteaux which the example of the monarch was creating in France, with a full appreciation of their beauties and a due sense of their defects; and we find him in communication with Mansard, Le Vau, and Le Pautre, and with Bernini, who had been invited from Rome to furnish designs for the Louvre. "Bernini's design for the Louvre," says Wren, "I would have given my skin for; but the old reserved Italian gave me but a few minutes' view. It was five little designs in paper, for which he hath received as many thousand pistoles. I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory." This journey of Wren's is important in the history of his works, since it has been assumed that his style was biased and his taste vitiated by what he learned at Paris.

The fire of London has been represented as a great ultimate benefit to our metropolis, by at once clearing the way for those extensive improvements which in other capitals have been the slow work of ages; but this position may very reasonably be doubted. It is true that little seems to have been lost that there is much reason to regret. The pictures of old London are not very favourable. The houses, as we have had previous occasion to notice, were universally of timber, projecting story above story, till the narrow streets were nearly closed at the top, and a great proportion of them were now very old. As early as the reign of Elizabeth complaints had arisen of the state of the streets; and Evelyn, in his tract called "Fumifugium," written to advocate the improvement of the city shortly before the fire, remonstrates indignantly "that the buildings should be composed of such a congestion of mis-shapen and extravagant houses, that the streets should be so narrow and incommodious in the very centre and busiest places of intercourse, that there should be so ill and uneasy a form of paving underfoot, and so troublesome and malicious a disposure of the spouts and gutters overhead." Of the public buildings swept away by the conflagration we have but a scanty account. With the exception of St. Paul's, the church of the Grey Friars (or Christ Church, in Newgate-street) is the only ecclesiastical edifice existing at the time of the fire upon which our old topographers have thought it worth while to be particular. This church measured three hundred feet in length. It was consecrated in 1325, and during two centuries nobles and citizens seem to have delighted in lavishing gifts upon it. In the number of its royal tombs it was second only to Westminster Abbey; but even this building had been grievously dilapidated and its monuments defaced long before it was involved in the general destruction. Hollar's elaborate view of the city shows that it possessed but two spires and few towers of importance; and, if such as were spared may be taken as a criterion for those which were lost, Old London had but little to boast in her parish churches. Nor does Howel,* in his comparison between London and other cities, ancient and modern, find any public building which he can venture to exalt except the Cathedral, that unfailing object of admiration to the citizens of the olden time; and even this he is compelled to praise rather for what it had been and ought to be, than for what it actually was. Thus far it must be admitted that London rose regenerated from its ashes. The legislature took advantage of the occasion to order, that in future all buildings in London should be of brick or stone, that sufficient party-walls should separate one house from another, and that rain-water pipes should replace those "malicious spouts" of which Evelyn complains; and builders were encouraged to study some effect in street architecture, by a recommendation to make mouldings and projections of rubbed brick. To Wren was intrusted the restoration of London. He was appointed deputy surveyor-general and principal architect for the rebuilding of the city, and a field of action was opened to his genius such as perhaps was never afforded to any other single architect. At the king's desire he made a survey of the ruins, and produced a plan for laying out the new town on a regular and consistent design. In this plan Wren proposes to enlarge the principal streets to ninety feet, the second-rate streets being sixty, and the third-rate thirty feet wide. The

* Life of Sir C. Wren, in Family Library.

* *Londinopolis.*



PLAN proposed by SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN for rebuilding the CITY OF LONDON after the great fire of 1666.
The shaded part shews the extent of the fire.

A The Royal Exchange. | B Post-office. | C Excise-office. | D The Mint. | E Insurance. | F Goldsmith's. | G Guildhall. | H St. Paul's. | I Doctor's Commons. | K Wood-market. | L Custom-house. | M Piazzas. | N Markets. | † Churches.
‡ Continuation of London Wall.

Exchange occupies the centre of a grand piazza, round which are situated the Post Office, the Mint, the Excise, and other public offices, and from whence as a centre the streets radiate to all the principal points of the city, one spacious line extending to Ludgate, where it falls into another of like dimensions reaching from the Tower. In the fork of these two streets is formed a large opening for St. Paul's. The parish churches are distributed as nearly as possible at equal distances, and each is so placed as to form the termination of a vista. They are likewise completely isolated, and it was proposed to banish churchyards from the town and establish cemeteries in convenient places in the suburbs. Toward the river a noble quay extends from London Bridge to the Temple.* "The practicability of this scheme," says the author of the Parentalia, "without loss to any man or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered." It may be doubted whether the answers to the objections were satisfactory to the parties principally interested, and the scheme, however desirable, was ill calculated for the circumstances in which the citizens of London were placed. Besides the prejudices and jealousies which would naturally lead them to cling to their old possessions, it may easily be imagined that they had neither funds to bestow upon external grandeur, nor leisure to wait for new distributions of property by the public commissioners.* When we consider what was actually done, we shall find sufficient cause to admire the energy and wonder at the resources of the citizens. According to a contemporary writer,† ten thousand houses were erected in the course of four years, and in 1681 scarcely a vacancy remained. But the new plan had been abandoned—opposition had started up—private interests had prevailed, and, though the mode of building was essentially improved, the new city finally rose up in nearly the same inconvenient form as the old one, and the general aspect of our metropolis was restamped for an indefinite period with that meanness which has remained its characteristic down to the present century. Within that period important changes have been effected in our older streets, and, whatever may be thought of the manner in which some of these alterations have been effected, a taste for more lofty buildings, coupled with a dislike to the dingy brick which has hitherto disgraced our street architecture, has indisputably been established, and the London of the seventeenth century is beginning to disappear before it. When we see these changes rapidly following the increase of wealth and intelligence, and consider the progress of architecture in other capitals (in Paris, for instance, where, without the aid of a conflagration, the city of the middle ages has long been nearly obliterated), it is not to be doubted that the intervention of the great fire, by causing a renewal

* It may not be generally known that the act of Charles II. for removing obstructions on the quays continued in force until 1821. In that year the head of a city firm, alarmed at certain encroachments connected with water-side premises being called in question, made use of his influence as a member of parliament, and the act was repealed.

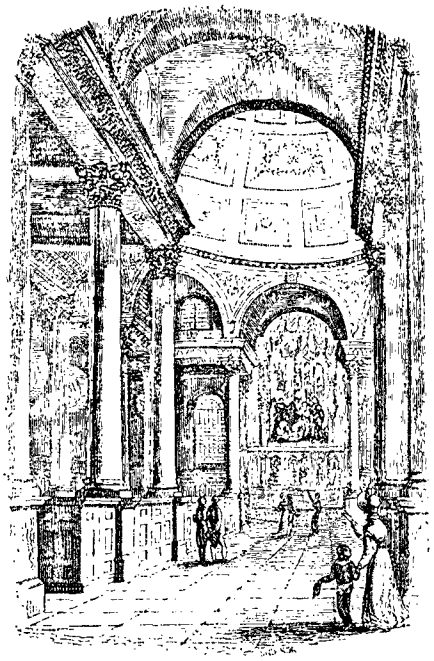
* The records of the disputes relative to the properties of the citizens adjudicated by the commissioners appointed for that purpose fill forty-one folio volumes in the British Museum.

† Delaune, The Present State of London, 1681.

of the whole city under adverse circumstances, has only retarded a much more effectual though more gradual improvement, at such opportunities as might have been favourable to its development.*

To trace minutely the course of Wren's life, or even to follow the progress of his buildings, is not the object to be considered in this place. It will be sufficient to glance rapidly at the facts and dates necessarily connected with such a review of his works as may interest the general reader. From the time that Wren became thoroughly engaged as an architect, we hear but little of him as a philosopher, and, although he continued to take an interest in the proceedings of the Royal Society, he resigned the Savilian professorship in 1673.

Among the earliest public works completed in the restoration of London were the Royal Exchange and Temple Bar, neither of them favourable specimens of the architect's style. The latter especially contrasts very unfavourably with the design left by Inigo Jones. The palace erected for Charles II. at Greenwich, which expanded at a later period under the auspices of Queen Mary into that proud national monument, the Royal Hospital, was also among Wren's earliest finished works; and it was on the completion of the original building in 1673 that he received the honour of knighthood. The following forty years of a life passed in the service of his country saw the completion of the fabric of St. Paul's, of the fifty-one churches erected from his designs in the city of London, the Royal Hospital of Chelsea, the College of Physicians, the extensive works at Windsor, the Palace of Winchester, left incomplete; that of Hampton Court, vitiated by the Dutch taste of William III., who rejected Wren's original design; Marlborough House, St. James's; the Monument of London; several of the halls of the city companies, and numerous works of less account. To analyse even the principal of these would lead us far beyond the limits of general history; but some critical notice cannot be altogether withheld. In this inquiry the churches claim the first place, not only in regard to their number, but because it is in his ecclesiastical edifices that the originality of Wren's genius shines most conspicuously. In his churches Wren appears as an *inventor*. He had the problem to solve of adapting them to the forms of worship of the church of England, for which no precedent existed, and he has essayed various forms with various degrees of success. They may be divided into three classes:—domed churches; those of the basilical form, *i. e.*, with nave and side aisles; and simple rectangular plans without columns. At the head of the first class stands the justly celebrated fane of St. Stephen, Walbrook, a work unsurpassed in masterly composition and graceful proportions, to which is superadded a degree of refinement and delicacy of taste not always apparent in the works of its author. St. Benet Fink is remarkable chiefly for the ingenuity with which the difficulties of a confined and irregular site have been overcome. St. Mildred's, in Bread-street, is a small church of this class without columns, and deriving its beauty from its simplicity. St. Magnus is a noble building of the second class, of the Ionic order, but injured by an unaccountable irregularity in the intercolumniation.



Interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

St. Bartholomew's, near the Bank, and St. Michael's, Cornhill, are composed altogether on the ancient plan, with arches springing from single columns, a clerestory above, and a recess for the altar; and the satisfactory result produced by these combinations seems to vindicate the basilical form as the most characteristic of ecclesiastical edifices. The former especially, in a style of the most perfect simplicity, is strikingly effective from its harmonious proportions and the good keeping of all its parts. Bow Church is a composition of much grandeur, though it has suffered some wrong in the process of adaptation from the Temple of Peace, at Rome, a favourite authority among the monuments of antiquity with Wren, who misquotes it in defence of some indefensible solecisms in the interior of St. Paul's. In this church the galleries are well introduced. In his management of these obstructions Wren has not always been successful. In some cases he has raised the pedestals of his columns to an extravagant disproportion, in order that they may serve also as props to the galleries, of which St. Swithen's, in Cannon-street, a domed church with columns reduced to insignificance by the stilts on which they are raised, and Christ Church, in

* One of the latest of the great improvements in the city is a model for street architecture—Moorgate-street. "O si sic omnia!"

A PARALLEL OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWERS AND STEEPLES BUILT BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

1. St. Dunstan in the East. 2. St. Magnus. 3. St. Benet, Gracechurch-street. 4. St. Edmund the King, Lombard-street. 5. St. Margaret Pattens. 6. Allhallows the Great. 7. St. Mary Abchurch. 8. St. Michael, Cornhill. 9. St. Lawrence, Jewry. 10. St. Benet Fink. 11. St. Bartholomew. 12. St. Michael, Queenhithe. 13. St. Michael Royal. 14. St. Antholin, Watling-street. 15. St. Stephen, Walbrook. 16. St. Swithen, Cannon-street. 17. St. Mary-le-Bow. 18. Christ Church, Newgate-street. 19. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. 20. St. Mildred, Bread-street. 21. St. Augustin, Watling-street. 22. St. Mary Somerset. 23. St. Martin, Ludgate. 24. St. Andrew by the Wardrobe. 25. St. Bride, Fleet-street.

The Scale is expressed by St. Paul's in the background.

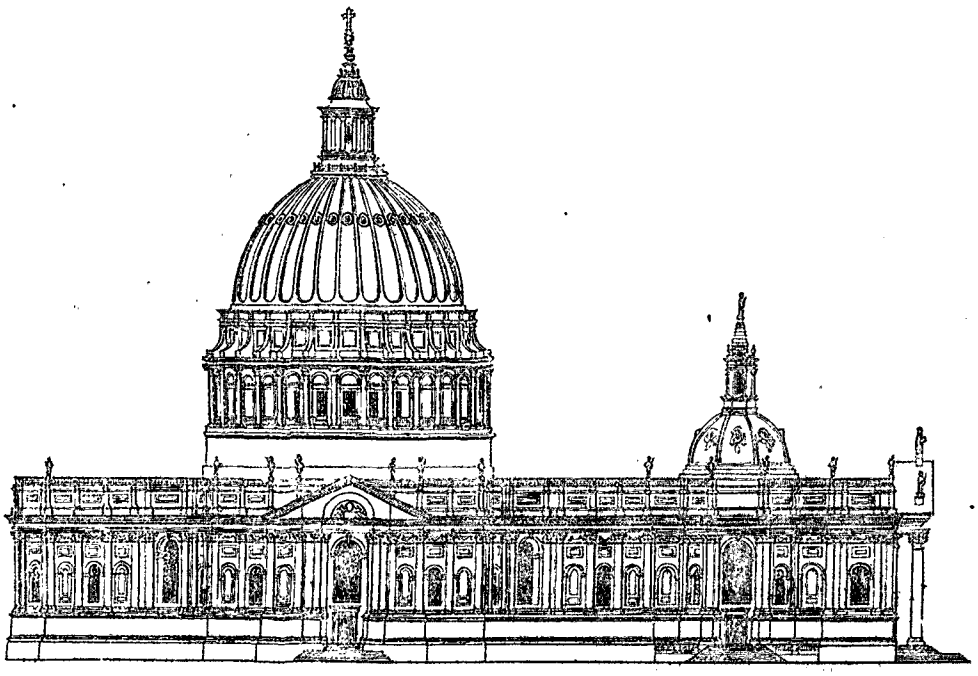
Newgate-street, may be cited as examples. But in other instances, where he has placed the galleries on supports of their own, and established an order above to carry the roof, he has produced in a high degree that union of beauty and usefulness in which he surpasses all other architects, and has established a precedent which has regulated the majority of modern English churches. The church of St. James, Westminster, is of this class, and is an edifice worthy of the author of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, as far as the interior is concerned. The outside has the unpardonable fault of being plain without being simple. Of the third class of Wren's churches want of character is a prevailing fault, some of the plainer sort differing from ordinary halls in little but the extraneous fittings: but these are in many instances sufficient of themselves to merit observation, as in the church of St. Edmund the King, which is raised to the dignity of the ecclesiastical style chiefly by the picturesque grouping and rich carved-work of the pews. St. Lawrence Jewry, one of the finest of the London churches, is also of this class; an irregularity in the plan, said to have been committed for the purpose of giving it a resemblance to a gridiron, is in nowise injurious to the noble and effective style of decoration which is its characteristic. The exterior is also to be noted, as being the most *Palladian* of Wren's designs.

Thus far the interiors of these buildings have been principally considered; externally they exhibit but little that calls for remark. The majority are huddled into corners or ranged in narrow avenues, where grandeur would be misplaced and decoration thrown away. Wren has, therefore, with consummate judgment put his strength into the steeples and campanili, which soar above the sordid and dingy mass of habitations, and, clustering like satellites round the majestic dome of the Cathedral, impart to the general aspect of the city a picturesque grandeur scarcely rivalled by Rome itself. Again may Wren claim the attribute of invention—for, although he did not originate the principle upon which his spires and lanterns are for the most part composed, of applying Italian detail to Gothic forms, (which is in fact a characteristic of the French semi-Gothic architecture of the sixteenth century), yet his mode of adapting it is peculiarly and exclusively his own, and he has maintained with perfect success the most characteristic feature of the English church in a style never before applied to it. The popular association between the forms of religion and the buildings anciently consecrated to it may have had its effect in suggesting these compositions to Wren; and if these prejudices on some occasions proved an embarrassment and stumbling-block to the architect, we may allow that they bore their own antidote if we owe to them the spires of Bow and St. Bride's. Had the stream set in another direction the fifty-one churches might each have exhibited its bald portico and its *pepper-box*.

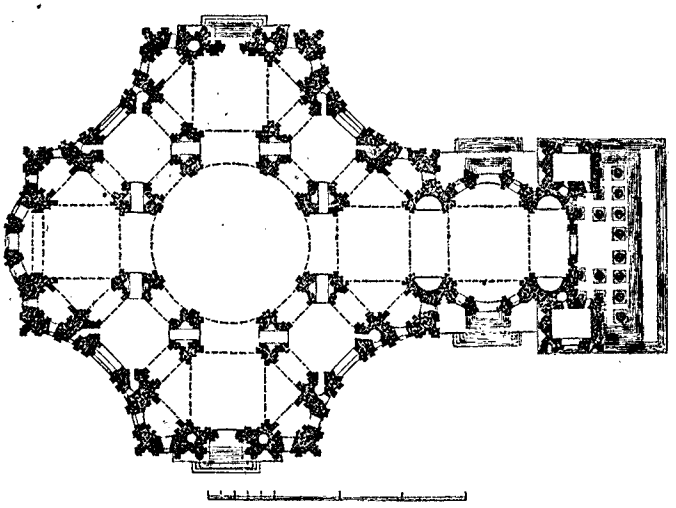
Of Wren's steeples the designs are very various and the merits very unequal. The accompanying plate shows some of the principal of each sort, and may supersede descriptions, which could hardly be made intelligible. One excellence they possess in common—the graceful manner in which the superstructures unite with the towers which support them. The vases and other objects which decorate the angles are always admirably calculated for this effect. Wren's eye for form and proportion seems to have been perfect, and his invention always at command to fill up the beautiful and luxuriant outlines which his imagination shadowed forth. This was his vantage-ground, and the failure of some of his interiors may be attributed to his desire to maintain it when it could be of no avail to him. Perhaps none of his buildings have suffered more from this error than St. Paul's.

Wren presented several designs for St. Paul's. It is well known that the one which he preferred himself was not adopted, and that which was underwent considerable alterations, suggested by the Duke of York, in order to adapt the church to the Roman worship, which it was already in his contemplation to revive, and insisted upon although Wren is said to have remonstrated even to tears. The original plan was compact and simple, and suited to the uses of the reformed church: he was compelled to add the oratories, the long aisles which James wished to fill with processions, and the recesses which he would have occupied with altars. But, apart from these impertinencies, which altered the character of the plan, and compelled the architect to Italianize a Gothic cathedral, it may be doubted whether he exercised a sound judgment in his partiality for the rejected design. A physical difficulty, that of obtaining stone of sufficient scantling, militated against the adoption of an order on a scale amounting to grandeur, and it must require an inveterate attachment to *system* to reconcile the extravagant height of the stylobate and attic into which the architect was driven in attempting to obtain a suitable altitude. At St. Peter's a column has been adopted of such dimensions that no attainable material would suffice for the entablature, which has consequently been restricted and stunted even to deformity. This fault, and many others necessarily contingent upon working to a disproportionate module in a building adapted to modern purposes, have been successfully avoided at St. Paul's by the use of two orders, and, whatever faults that expedient may have entailed, it will hardly be disputed that the exterior architecture of St. Paul's is both better in composition and sounder in style than that of its more magnificent rival.

In the adaptation of the old basilical form to Italian architecture a great difficulty has always been experienced in reconciling the low flanks of the side aisles with the elevated front of the nave. The principal elevation of the original basilicæ of the ancients was on the side; the pyramidical façades of the Romanesque churches and the

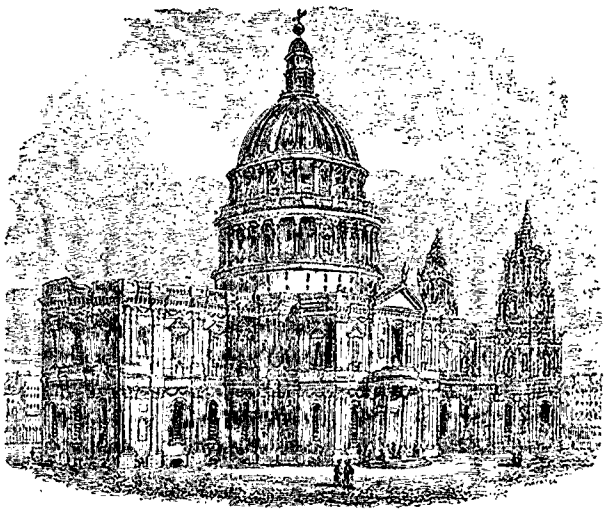


SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN'S FIRST DESIGN FOR ST. PAUL'S.

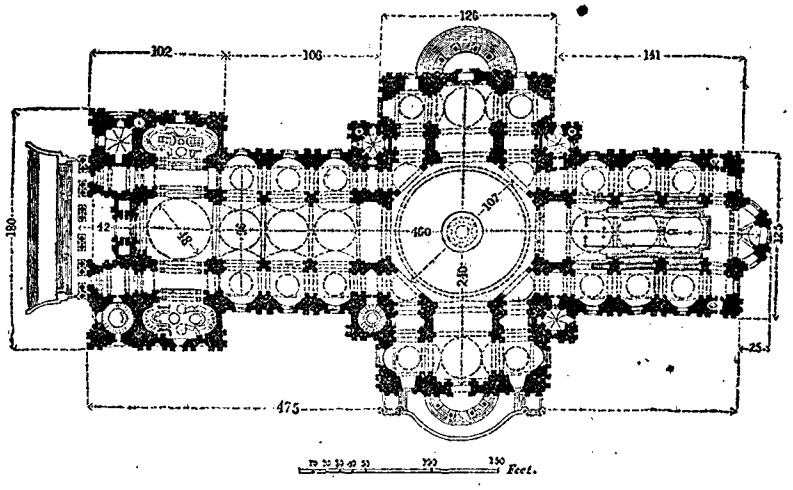


WREN'S FIRST PLAN FOR ST. PAUL'S.

flying buttresses of the pointed style exhibit without disguise the real form of the building; but to the Italian architect it has always proved a stumbling-block, and few have passed over it with credit. The usual expedient to which they have resorted is, to mask the end of the nave with a second order, and, as this superstructure has no proper correspondence with anything within, Forsyth has pithily called the fronts of the Roman churches "a splendid lie." What shall be said of St. Paul's? The deception is carried all round the building, and on the flanks the upper order is a mere screen wall, concealing the roof and the buttresses which sustain the vaulting of the nave and choir. To the internal effect the upper order contributes nothing. Upon entering the church the discrepancy is at once detected between the low and confined space of the side aisles and the perpendicular altitude outside, while the order of the nave is exaggerated and crowned by a disproportioned attic, for the purpose of exalting it into something like an accordance with the elevation.



Exterior of St. Paul's.



Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral.

It may be doubted whether the superiority of the exterior of St. Paul's has not been attained at too great a sacrifice of principle.

The cupola is by far the most magnificent feature in the building, and rises from the body of the church in great majesty. Nothing can be more pleasing and harmonious than its outline and proportions, nothing more pure in style than the peristyle with its unbroken entablature. "It may be safely affirmed," says an excellent critic,* "that for dignity and elegance no church in Europe affords an example worthy of comparison with this cupola." To this may be added, that a parallel with the more modern cupola of St. Geneviève at Paris, which is evidently modelled upon it, will point out in an instructive manner the line of demarcation between two qualities in architecture too often confounded in the present day—simplicity, and poverty of invention.

The interior of St. Paul's is unsatisfactory, and, with the exception of Gibbons's exquisite carving in the screen-work of the choir, destitute of any decoration which might serve to draw the attention from the faults of the architecture. The lateral arches of the nave and choir interfere with the continuity of the entablature, and that without any sufficient reason, unless it be for the purpose of complicating the parts; nor can any other motive be assigned for the barbarous broken pediments over the openings from the side aisles to the dome. The concave of the dome, and the mysterious effect of the opening above, is indeed grand, though spoiled as much as it could be by a most improper

* Gwilt, in Britton's Public Buildings of London, where the reader may refer to the plans and sections of St. Paul's and several other of the buildings cited.

THE DOME OF ST. PAUL'S.

THE CHOIR OF ST. PAUL'S.

introduction of fictitious architecture, in the paintings which the present generation may hope to see obliterated, time having already half performed the work. When Wren designed the church he dreamed of Mosaics!

The most striking defect not only of St. Paul's, but of Wren's style in general, is a want of purity in the treatment of the parts. Such as Wren's style was, he derived it from the common authority which at this time regulated all Europe. Bernini had long exercised a despotic influence over the arts, to the extent of which our attention will be more pointedly called when we come to the subject of sculpture. Wren, who, it must be admitted, wanted some of that discriminating taste which characterizes Inigo Jones, to whom alone it was given to be picturesque without being licentious, seems to have been content to follow such precedents as this school of art afforded him; hence the mutilations caused by the interpenetrations of pilasters, interruptions of the horizontal lines, complicated forms in the

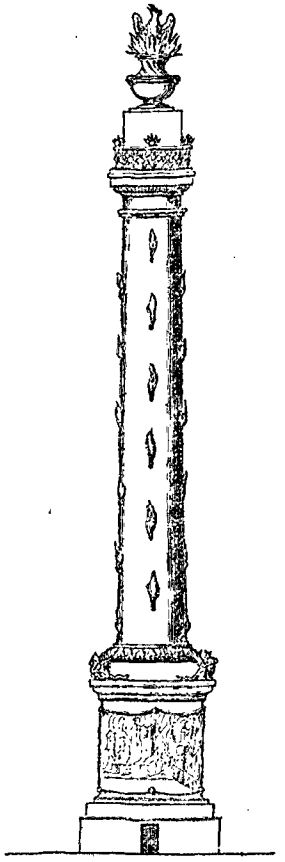
arched windows, and, above all, a most wretched style of decoration, loose and uncertain, executed with a relief ruinous to general breadth of effect, and

Festoons.
1. From the Antique. 2. From St. Paul's.

encumbering without filling the spaces it is designed to ornament. These defects are unfortunately such as catch the eye of the superficial observer, and stamp an unfavourable impression upon those who are incapable of looking farther. Hence abundance of small criticism in disparagement of Wren.

The London Monument is a column remarkable for nothing but its magnitude and poverty of invention,—a fault not to be attributed to the architect, who submitted a design at once characteristic, striking, and original. The accompanying plate will supply the place of description. The flames issuing from the loop-holes were to be gilt. The causes for its rejection, and the substitution of the actual design by the authorities who had the control of the affair, may easily be imagined after what we have seen of the manner of conducting St. Paul's. They were probably afraid to approve of an original idea, and experience shows that the impotence of indecision ever resorts to precedent, and that ignorance takes refuge in the common place. They would be incapable of appreciating a column which differed in anything from the regular orders of architecture. Another proposition of Wren's was to crown the column with a statue of the king; but Charles himself seems to have declined the compliment.

One of Wren's latest employments was the repair of Westminster Abbey, to which he added the towers at the west end, and proposed to erect a spire in the centre. Wren's want of comprehension of the details belonging to a style, into the general spirit of which he entered so thoroughly, is surprising. It might have been supposed that he aimed, however unsuccessfully, at a composite style in his Gothic performances, were it not that, in his report upon Westminster Abbey, he speaks of his additions being such as he conceives may agree with the original scheme of the architect, "*without any modern mixtures to show my own*



Sir Christopher Wren's first design for the Monument of London.

inventions."* This report, and another on Salisbury Cathedral, which he surveyed in 1678, are invaluable for their observations on the construction of our Gothic cathedrals; and his reports in general ought to be the study of every one who aspires to a knowledge of architecture.

In addition to his executed works, Wren left a numerous collection of drawings.† Charles II. seems to have kept him in constant employment; and among other designs proposed, but never effected, is one for a stately mausoleum to Charles I., intended to be erected at Windsor. Seventy thousand pounds were voted by parliament for this work and for celebrating the obsequies of the royal martyr, but the money fell into Charles's hands, and the mausoleum remained upon paper. He also made designs for Whitehall after the fire which finally led to the abandonment of that site

* The general repairs of the Abbey were partly effected under the superintendence of Edward Tufnell, architect, as recorded on his monument in the Cloister.

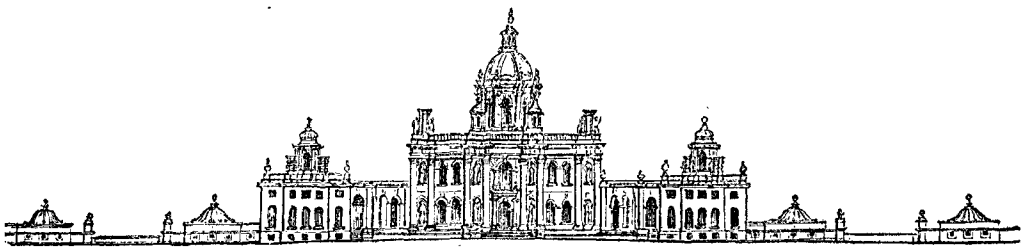
† Preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford.

in 1697. They extend to the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament.*

It has always been noted as a remarkable fact that the architect of so vast an undertaking as St. Paul's should live to see its completion. He laid the last stone in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when most of those who had been associated with him in its commencement were to be seen no more; but among the commissioners who conducted the work a disposition seems to have been perpetuated to persecute him. After the death of his early friend Evelyn he was left exposed to the full effects of their ignorance and malice; and after the loss of his unfailing patroness Queen Anne, they succeeded in depriving him of his post of surveyor-general, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his service. "He then," says his son, "betook himself to a country life, saying only, with the stoic, *Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari;*—in which recess, free from worldly affairs, he passed the greatest part of the five last years of his life in contemplation and study, and principally in the consolation of the Holy Scriptures;—cheerful in solitude, and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." He closed his lengthened and glorious life on the 25th of February, 1723, and lies in the vault of St. Paul's under the south aisle of the choir, "with four words," says Walpole, "that comprehend his merit and his fame,—SI MONUMENTUM QUÆRIS CIRCUMSPICE."

During the greater part of his protracted career Wren was without a rival to partake of his fame. It was not until the year 1702, in the thirty-sixth of his age, that Vanbrugh, who, like Wren, was fitted to succeed in more pursuits than one, and was already in the zenith of reputation as a dramatic writer, made his appearance as an architect. He must, however, have distinguished himself by his knowledge of architecture much earlier, since in 1695 he had been made secretary to the commission appointed for extending the Palace of Greenwich and converting it into the Hospital. His first essay, the noble mansion of Castle Howard, erected for Charles,

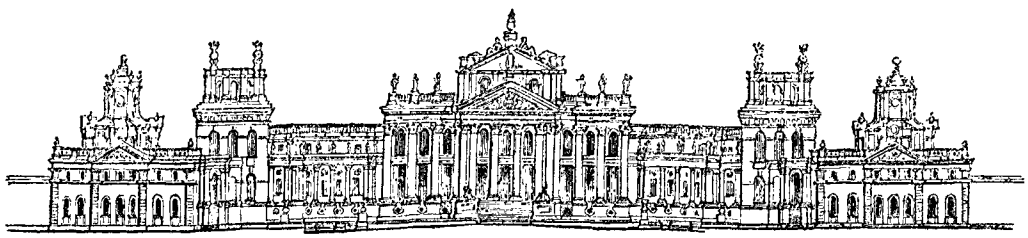
* The last occasion on which we hear of Inigo Jones's palace is in the reign of Queen Anne, when a pamphlet was published, which, supposing the inhabitants of Westminster to be damnified to the extent of 30 per cent. in their houses, trades, and properties by the removal of the court, proposes the rebuilding of the palace as a popular measure, and suggests ways and means to carry it into effect.



CASTLE HOWARD.

third Earl of Carlisle, at once developed the full extent of his genius. The success of that magnificent work led to his employment on the national tribute of gratitude to the Duke of Marlborough, and he produced Blenheim, a monument worthy of the nation and of the hero to whose glory it was dedicated. But, while the architect was immortalised, his days were embittered and his fortune injured. Parliament, which voted the palace, forgot to vote the funds. As long as the queen lived this deficiency continued to be supplied; "but Queen Anne died; the treasury closed its doors; the parliament eluded to fulfil their engagement; and . . . . . it will scarcely be credited, but no fact is better established, that the English parliament ordered Blenheim to be erected, —Queen Anne paid for what was built while she lived,—the duke paid a part,—and Vanbrugh and his workmen did the rest at their own costs and charges."* It was Vanbrugh's misfortune that, amidst the embarrassments arising out of these circumstances, he had provoked the implacable resentment of the duchess, and he was neither suf-

* Allan Cunningham, Life of Vanbrugh.



BLENHEIM.

fered to complete his own design nor did he ever obtain what was due to him.

It is no disadvantage to the comparative reputations of Wren and Vanbrugh that they followed different courses in the pursuit of their profession. Vanbrugh's practice lay chiefly in the erection of noble mansions, in which branch of architecture Wren has left few examples of any note, and those few seem purposely contrasted with his ecclesiastical buildings by a studied tameness of style. Vanbrugh turned to new account the principle established by Wren, and adopted the majestic turrets of the baronial residences of our ancestors with the same success as had attended Wren's appropriation of their spires. The characteristics of Sir John Vanbrugh's style cannot be better defined than in the words of Price, in his Treatise on the Picturesque,—"It appears to me that, at Blenheim, Vanbrugh conceived and executed a very bold and difficult design, that of uniting in one building the beauty and magnificence of the Grecian architecture, the picturesqueness of the Gothic, and the massive grandeur of a castle; and that, in spite of many faults for which he was very justly reproached, he has formed in a style truly his own, and a well-combined whole, a mansion worthy of a great prince and warrior. His first point appears to have been massiveness as the foundation of grandeur; then, to prevent the mass from being a lump, he has made bold projections of various heights as foregrounds to the main building; and, lastly, having been forcibly struck with the variety of outline against the sky in many Gothic and other ancient buildings, he has raised on the top of that part where the slanting roof begins in any house of the Italian style a number of decorations of various characters. These, if not new in themselves, have at least been applied by him in a new and peculiar manner, and the union of them gives a surprising splendour and magnificence, as well as variety, to the summit of that princely edifice."

These sentiments in a man of sound taste belong to an age which thinks for itself, and were not those of some of Vanbrugh's contemporaries. His merits could not have been unappreciated, since he obtained extensive patronage from those who proved the sincerity of their belief in him by employing him at their own, and not at the public, expense: but he was assailed by the class of critics who swore by Palladio; who were determined to measure architecture by no rule but his; who could allow but one kind of merit; and could see in the works of Vanbrugh nothing but a fantastic affectation of novelty. Swift and Pope lent the aid of their verse to lampoon him; the brilliant sarcasms of Walpole have perpetuated the same judgment in prose; and thousands who take opinions upon trust have been influenced by the epigram—

> Lie heavy on him, earth; for he
> Laid many a heavy load on thee.

Vanbrugh died in 1726. His principal works, after Castle Howard and Blenheim, are—King's Weston in Gloucestershire, Grimsthorpe in the county of Lincoln, Eastbury in Dorsetshire (now destroyed), and Seaton Delaval in Northumberland; all strongly marked with the picturesque beauties of his style.* He also built the Opera House in London, which perished by fire in 1789, after having undergone many alterations.

In the tenth year of Queen Anne an act of parliament was passed for the erection of fifty new churches in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and, though the intentions of the legislature were imperfectly carried out, yet many of our finest churches resulted from this act, and others which were consequent upon it. Among the architects who distinguished themselves on the occasions arising from this new impulse given to church-building, James Gibbs, a native of Aberdeen, claims the first place. After ten years of diligent study in Italy, he appeared in London as an architect about 1710, and the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields placed him at once in the foremost rank of his profession. Few works have excited more general admiration than the portico of this building; and yet it has had the singular fate of being praised for what it is not, and condemned for not being what it ought not to be—that is to say, a model after the antique. To the unlearned in architecture it would seem to require but little skill to arrange so many columns on a given plan and surmount them with a pediment, and still less if it be sufficient to appropriate a portico ready made from some ancient temple. But there is surely some difference required in the character of a portico, the quantity of its masses, the proportion of its intercolumniations, and the style of its ornaments, according to its position as an integral portion of the simple and unbroken form of a Greek temple, with its dead walls and single aperture, or as the *avant-corps* of a modern building, more intricate in composition, and pierced with numerous openings for light and entrance. To modify the ancient portico to modern usages, without either losing its intrinsic beauties or its unity of combination, may indeed exercise the talent of the architect. In this difficult task Gibbs has been eminently successful, and the portico of St. Martin's Church is still unequalled. The great fault of St. Martin's is the position of the spire. Nothing can be more contrary to sound principle than the appearance of a tower elevated upon a roof. Gibbs set the example of this vicious practice, which has had the fortune to be almost universally followed. Wren *never* committed this error—his steeples always stand upon the ground.

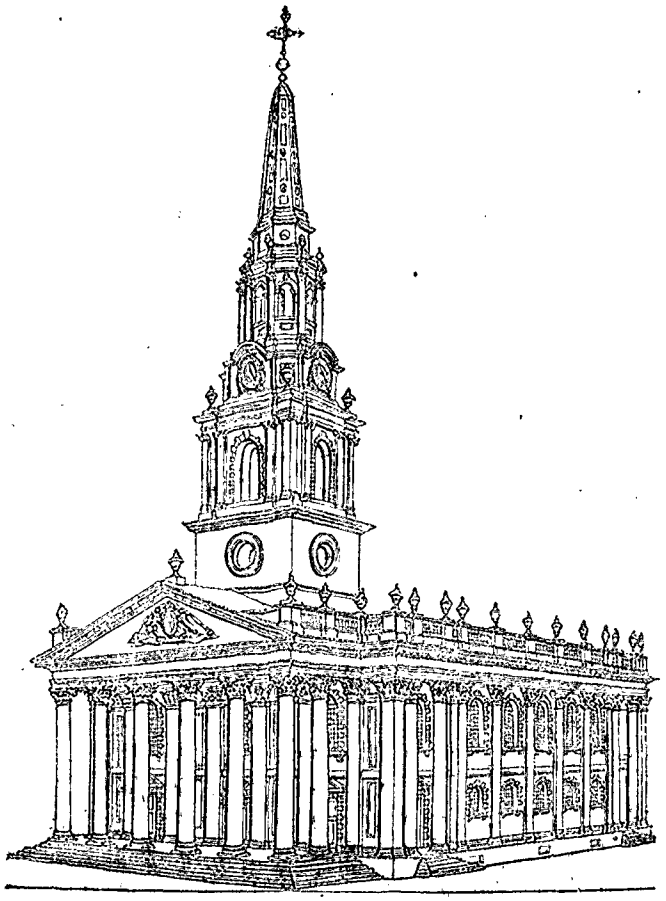
Few buildings have provoked severer criticism than Gibbs's next work—St. Mary's in the Strand; but, though it must be condemned as a heap of small parts and meretricious ornaments, yet it possesses in a high degree the merit of being admirably composed for the situation in which it is placed, and the combination between the façade

* All published in the Vitruvius Britannicus.

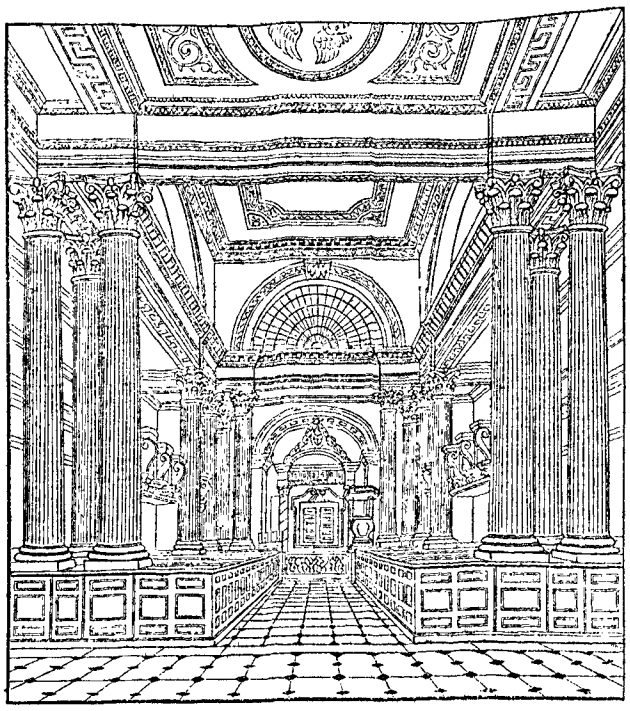
of the building and the campanile is very happy. The interior also merits praise. Gibbs was also the architect of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, a noble domed building in a country where such domes are scarce; Mary-le-bonne Chapel, a standard model for economical ecclesiastical buildings during the last century; and Allhallow's Church, Derby, a good and simple design, but incongruously tacked to an ancient Gothic tower. The west side of the quadrangle of King's College, and the Senate House, at Cambridge, are portions of extensive designs left incomplete. The credit of the latter he divides with Sir James Burrough, Master of Caius College, an amateur of distinguished talent, and designer of the beautiful Chapel of Clare Hall in the same University.

Nicholas Hawksmoor, who greatly distinguished himself in this church-building period, was a pupil of Wren, and succeeded him in several of his public appointments. He was also associated with Vanbrugh both at Blenheim and Castle Howard, and certainly imitated him in the churches of St. George in the East; St. Anne, Limehouse; and Christ Church, Spitalfields; but he labours clumsily to heap up the picturesque forms which his master seems to drop into their right places without effort. St. George's, Bloomsbury, is in another and a better style. The portico stands out with dignity; and the steeple, notwithstanding all that has been said in disparagement and even in ridicule of it, is an original and effective composition. The interior of St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard-street, is Hawksmoor's masterpiece, and may challenge comparison with any work that modern architecture has produced for the classical simplicity of its plan and the harmony of all its proportions.

Among the rest of those buildings which call for particular remark St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, was built by Thomas Archer, a pupil of Vanbrugh, not deficient in grandeur of conception, but supplying the variety of parts peculiar to the school by barbarous contortions and mutilations of the architecture; the churches of Greenwich, St. George, Hanover-square, and St. Luke, Middlesex, by John James; and those of St. Giles in the Fields, and St. Olave, Southwark, by Flitcroft, the architect of Woburn Abbey. We may further notice as belonging to this period the noble palace of Chatsworth by Talman; Thoresby by the same architect; Montague House by Pouget, remarkable as our only complete specimen of the



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH.



St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard-street.

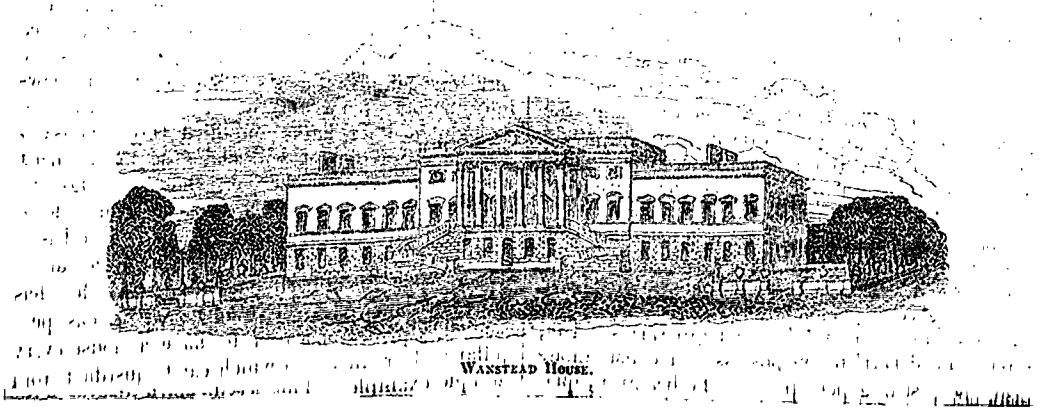
genuine peculiarities of the French style; and Buckingham House, now so strangely metamorphosed, by Wynne. Nor must we omit the works of two distinguished amateurs—Dr. Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, architect of the Peckwater quadrangle in that College, the Church of All Saints, and several other buildings in the University of Oxford; and Dr. George Clarke, M.P. for Oxford in the reign of Queen Anne, from whose designs the Library of Christ Church was erected.

But we are now passing beyond the contemporaries of Wren, and touching upon another school of architecture, at the head of which must be placed the name of Richard Earl of Burlington, a nobleman distinguished from his earliest years by his attachment to the fine arts, and especially to architecture, to the study of which he devoted himself with the assiduity of a professor. Having visited Italy, he returned with a high admiration of the works of Palladio, and a deep reverence for the genius of Inigo Jones. To the revival of the pure style of architecture drawn from the study of the ancients by those great masters, and to the diffusion of sound taste among the great and wealthy, Lord Burlington thenceforward devoted his talents and his fortune, and it is not surprising that, with the additional advantages of his rank and high descent, he should have attained the utmost degree of personal distinction and the most extensive influence over his contemporaries. But, though Lord Burlington possessed a consummate taste and a strong perception of the beautiful, qualifications to which he has established his claim no less in practice than in theory, yet to them must his pretensions as an architect be limited; and he who, with the names of Palladio and Inigo Jones to conjure with, could direct the critical storm which burst upon the productions of Vanbrugh, was little capable of imparting anything like original character to his own. "Perhaps," observes Allan Cunningham, "the witty Vanbrugh smiled at the elegant tameness of Burlington's designs as often as the other arched his eyebrows and shrugged his shoulders at the wild and unprecedented splendours of Blenheim or Castle Howard. One was an original inventor, admired at once by the public, and by slow degrees admitted into the favour of critics and connoisseurs; the other, by working to pattern and rule, achieved a name of note in his own time, but which has ever since been on the wane. Such, sooner or later, is the sure fate of all copyists. We never can lawfully become heirs to the fame of men who wrought in other lands and died three thousand years ago. No poet will claim as much merit from translating Homer or Dante, though he should excel Cowper or Carey, as he would deem his due had he written a Fairy Queen or a Task; but your architectural copyist takes a much loftier view of himself;—he imagines he has achieved something truly grand when he has persuaded a prince or a peer to have a house every pillar and architrave of which can be justified from antique example. This servile spirit disgraces the

architecture of our country. Greece will never surrender to us the honour of her porticoes, nor Italy of her elevations; and there is the more reason that we should dwell on the memories of such men as Wykeham and Vanbrugh, whose genius, whatever else we may say of it, has at least given us architecture which we can honestly call our own."

These just and penetrating observations are applicable to all of that numerous class of architects which sprung up under the example and encouragement of Lord Burlington. To avoid errors, and to adhere to precedents, seem to be the fundamental doctrines of the whole school, and their practice to be confined to mere selections and combinations from the works of Palladio, with very little attention to the adaptations demanded by the exigencies of our habits and climate. On the other hand, the merit must be conceded to them, and it is not a trifling one, of a thorough knowledge of the style they imitated, and their works generally display in an eminent degree the harmony and good keeping which result from a familiar acquaintance with the principles so laboriously worked out by the great masters of Italy, which are to architecture what grammar is to language, and which later architects, "the mob of *geniuses* who *build* with ease," have thought it superfluous to acquire. And it is worthy of observation, and to the credit of the English school of this period, that the style they had adopted they maintained against all the influence of the new and execrable mode of decoration (known in the present day as the Louis Quinze style) into which the successors of the Perraults and Mansards had degenerated in France. Still the charm of independent character is wanting in their spiritless compilations. The consequence has been, that no beauty which these structures may possess has been sufficient to redeem their authors from obscurity; and the names of those architects with which we are familiar bear a surprisingly small proportion to the number of mansions deficient neither in grandeur nor elegance which were erected in England during the eighteenth century. The works of Colin Campbell, who shared with Kent the patronage of Lord Burlington, and built Houghton, Wanstead, Goodwood, and many other houses of the first class, are typical of the whole school, and may be consulted by the reader in the Vitruvius Britannicus. The executed works of Lord Burlington himself are not numerous. The beautiful Villa of Chiswick (spoiled by subsequent additions) is a professed copy from Palladio's chef-d'œuvre, the Villa Capra near Vicenza, and the noble architect is entitled to all the praise due to having copied it well. The dormitory at Westminster School is an unbroken and unpretending façade, possessing a truly Palladian character in the just proportions of all its component parts, and the excellent drawing of the details. He also erected an assembly-room at York, Lord Harrington's house at Petersham, the Duke of Richmond's at Whitehall, and General Wade's in Burlington-street, in which convenience was so much sacrificed to architectural effect, that Lord Chesterfield said the general had better take a house over the way and look at it. His best work is the colonnade in the court-yard of Burlington House. "Few in this great city suspect," says Sir William Chambers, "that behind an old wall in Piccadilly there is one of the finest pieces of architecture in Europe." The façade of Burlington House has been claimed both by Kent and Campbell, but the title of the noble architect to the beautiful peristyle, a production equally classical and original, has never been denied. It was by the munificence of Lord Burlington that Kent was enabled to publish the designs of Inigo Jones. The Antique Baths of Palladio, and Castell's Villas of the Ancients, were also published at his cost. He died in 1753, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

If our notice of every artist of celebrity were proportioned to that which he obtained from his contemporaries, none would occupy more space in our pages than William Kent, who demands attention as the principal agent in the introduction of the *English* system of gardening. With little talent for any other art except that useful one—the art of rising in the world, he professed himself a painter, sculptor, and architect; and contrived to establish and maintain during his life the reputation of a universal genius. For this position he was mainly indebted to the influence of Lord Bur-



WANSTEAD HOUSE.

lington, although the works which he executed as a painter of portrait and history, at the recommendation of his patron, are remembered only for their utter deficiency in every requisite of the art. His altarpiece for the Church of St. Clement Danes has been embalmed by Hogarth in a caricature scarcely more ludicrous than the picture itself.* As a sculptor he designed the wretched cenotaph to Shakspeare in Westminster Abbey, executed by the hand of Scheemakers. As an architect posterity has refused to confirm his reputation. Holkham, in Norfolk, is one of his best works, and has no particular beauty to boast. The Horse Guards, his principal work in the metropolis, exhibits nothing excellent but what he could produce by rule; and the cupola, where he was left to his own resources, betrays at once the total absence of "the felicitous invention of genius." The unaccountable lack of discrimination which secured to Kent the patronage of Lord Burlington seems to have been infectious. "His oracle," says Walpole, "was so much consulted by all who affected taste, that nothing was thought complete without his assistance. He was not only consulted for furniture, as frames of pictures, glasses, tables, chairs, &c., but for plate, for a barge, for a cradle, &c. Nay, so impetuous was fashion, that two great ladies prevailed upon him to make designs for their birthday gowns. The one he dressed in a petticoat with columns of the five orders, the other like a bronze, in copper-coloured satin with ornaments of gold."

Kent's only title to his extraordinary reputation lies in his talent for landscape gardening, an art of which the invention has been claimed for him, but not with justice. It is true that an invention seldom starts forth at once matured and armed, and it would detract little from Kent's claim that Lord Bacon had long before condemned the petty formality of artificial gardens, that poets had imagined scenes of delight from which art was discarded, or even that another artist (Bridgman) had been so far his precursor as to let a glimpse of nature into our pleasure-grounds by the adoption of sunk fences. The exquisite landscapes of Spenser and Milton were but "the baseless fabric of a vision," until another poet developed the principles upon which their conceptions might be realized, and reduced them to practice in his own little domain. Few rights are less disputable than that of Pope to the honour of having planned and executed the first *English garden*. There is still left a great share of credit to Kent, who enlarged and illustrated the new art, and to whose influence it is chiefly due that the world were at once persuaded to prefer the graceful movements of "nature to advantage dressed" to the barbarous trammels of stone walls and topiary works. On this ground the fame of Kent rests on a substantial basis.

During the reign of George II. also flourished Thomas Ripley, originally a carpenter, who perpetrated the Admiralty; — Giacomo Leoni, a *protégé* of Lord Burlington, who did much private business, and has left us an excellent edition of Palladio;—and John Nicolas Servandoni, who had acquired a great and undeserved reputation at Paris, where he built that most defective composition the church of St. Sulpice. Labelye, a Swiss, was employed to erect Westminster Bridge, at the recommendation of the Earl of Pembroke, who laid the first stone of that structure in 1739. It was completed in 1747, being the first work of the like description and importance which England had seen since Peter of Colechurch built the old London Bridge,—a period of nearly six centuries.

At the accession of William and Mary the throne of painting was occupied by Sir Godfrey Kneller; "a man," says Walpole "lessened by his own reputation, as he chose to make it subservient to his fortune. Had he lived in a country where his merit had been rewarded according to the worth instead of the number of his productions, he might have shone in the roll of the greatest masters; but where he offered one picture to fame he sacrificed twenty to lucre, and he met with customers of so little judgment, that they were fond of being painted by a man who would gladly have disowned his works the moment they were paid for."

Sir Godfrey Kneller was born at Lubec about 1648. Having studied under the best Flemish masters of the day, and completed his education in Italy, he came to England, where the fairest field was then open to talent in that branch of the art to which he had devoted himself. By the recommendation of the Duke of Monmouth, he immediately obtained a commission to paint the portrait of Charles II.; and, in order to save trouble to the king, it was arranged that he should sit to Sir Peter Lely and Kneller at the same time. The former had the choice of light and position, but, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which Kneller was thus placed, the facility of his execution, the vigour of his handling, and the force of his colouring and effect excited the greatest admiration when contrasted with the refined but more timid style of his rival. He rose at once into reputation, and after the death of Lely reigned paramount until 1723, when he died, leaving his art in the lowest state of degradation, to which he had himself been mainly instrumental in reducing it.

Kneller's talent was of the highest order, but totally obscured by his inordinate love of money. For the gratification of this sordid passion, the man who could, and occasionally did, produce works inferior to none achieved by his predecessors, degraded his art to a mere manufacture, and aimed at nothing beyond supplying the demand for faces, which flowed upon him with the irresistible tide of fashion. He painted his heads with inconceivable rapidity, and then left his canvas to be filled by his assistants. Pieters, Bakker, and Vander Roer, Flemings, and the two Bings,

* This painting is still extant in the vestry-room of the parish, and is a curious specimen of what passed for art at this period.

Englishmen, were fully occupied in painting his draperies and backgrounds, in a style purposely calculated to give value to the heads by the slovenly execution of the accessories. Sir John Medina, a Fleming of Spanish extraction, and a respectable painter, who came over in 1684, carried this mechanical system to perfection. He prepared ready-made bodies and postures to which he fitted the heads of his sitters. To the level of performances thus produced, the blind deference paid to Kneller soon had the effect of sinking the general taste. His own fame he considered to be secured by the few works upon which he exerted himself, and he was accustomed to say of the rest, "that no one would ever believe they were painted by the same man who did the Converted Chinese." That admirable specimen of his pencil, one of the gems of our royal collection, was his favourite work.

Under such influence the art declined rapidly, and in the reign of George I. came to that state in which it is proverbially said things are about to mend. John Riley, who died as early as 1691, was, indeed, a painter of original talent, and has left some excellent works; but, though patronised by the courts both of Charles and James, the overwhelming popularity of Kneller kept him in obscurity, and he has been less known than he deserves. Michael Dahl, a Swede, who came to England in the year of the Revolution, and died in 1743, and John Murray, a Scot, whose portrait holds a place in the collection at Florence, are also to be distinguished as rising above the general mediocrity. But few artists of the period had any ambition beyond following in the path which had led Kneller to fame and fortune. The state of the art throughout Europe was such, that little new light was to be expected from abroad. Encouraged by feeling themselves competent to meet the expectations of the public upon the depreciated scale of merit which Kneller had established, and by the employment which unavoidably fell to their share in the absence of foreign competition, a school of artists was at length formed within the country; and at the death of Kneller, the public patronage in England, for the first time since the revival of the arts, was inherited by native painters, among whom Jervas, Richardson, and Hudson took the lead.

The reputation of Charles Jervas was assuredly not founded on his merit. He lives to posterity solely through his friendship with Pope; and the extravagant praises bestowed upon him by the poet, and by Steele,* prove sufficiently how slender an appreciation of the fine arts entered into the highest degree of cultivation and accomplishment at this period. Whatever merit any portrait of Jervas may possess arises from his imitation of Carlo Maratti, whose works he had learned to copy in Italy with some success. He died in 1739. Jonathan Richardson, a disciple of Riley, was an artist greatly superior to Jervas. He enjoyed a considerable reputation even during the life of Kneller, and was afterwards considered the head of the profession. It is, however, from his writings on art that Richardson derives his greatest honours. His "Essay on the whole Art of Criticism, as it relates to Painting," should be in the hands of every one who seeks for a knowledge of sound principles, and would learn to appreciate the divine excellencies of Raffaelle. Richardson died in 1745. Thomas Hudson was Richardson's pupil and son-in-law, and a good painter of heads. His name will ever be in remembrance as the master of Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose appearance on the horizon in 1752 gilds the close of this gloomy period with the dawn of an *English school.* Joseph Highmore also obtained a considerable share of reputation, and his works deserve notice for the lightness and freedom of his handling. One foreigner may also be named: John Baptist Vanloo, brother of the celebrated Carl Vanloo, whose careful finishing and attention to nature certainly contributed to the improvement in the art which is visible during the reign of George II. With these names we may stop. It were an unprofitable task to follow into detail a catalogue of artists whose works have long since perished in the oblivion of brokers' shops, save where they maintain a place on the walls of our palaces and mansions as illustrations of the genealogical tree. Want of taste and ignorance of drawing are the marks set upon them all. In fact, drawing and composition were not even attempted. That which Kneller dispensed with, others thought it superfluous to acquire; and the leading painters of the day were glad to shelter their neglect of the elements of their art under the precedent of confining their own share of their pictures to the head, and leaving the rest to be done by deputy. Joseph Vanaken, a native of Antwerp, a dexterous workman in satins, velvets, and embroidery, supplied attitudes and dresses to most of the principal painters; and it is said that Hudson was nearly driven to quit the profession on being deprived of Vanaken's assistance by his death in 1749. Hogarth drew the funeral of Vanaken followed by all the painters in despair. He had, however, a share in mending our style, by leading the way to a better taste in drapery.

We cannot take leave of the school of Kneller better than by summing up its characteristics in the words of Walpole, in reference to the state of the arts at the accession of George I.:—"From the stiffness introduced by Holbein and the Flemish masters, who not only laboured under the timidity of the new art, but who saw nothing but the starch and unpliant habits of the times, we were fallen into a loose, and, if I may use the word, a *dissolute* kind of painting, which was not less barbarous than the opposite extreme, and yet had not the merit of representing even the dresses of the age. Sir Godfrey Kneller still lived, but only in name, which he prostituted by suffering the most wretched daubings of hired substitutes to

* Tatler, No. 4.

pass for his works, while at most he gave himself the trouble of taking the likeness of the person who sat to him. His bold and free manner was the sole admiration of his successors, who thought they had caught his style when they neglected drawing, probability, and finishing. Kneller had exaggerated the curls of full-bottomed wigs, and the tiaras of ribands, lace, and hair, till he had struck out a graceful kind of unnatural grandeur; but the succeeding modes were still less favourable to picturesque imagination. The habits of the time were shrunk to awkward coats and waistcoats for the men, and for the women to tight-laced gowns, round hoops, and half a dozen squeezed plaits of linen, to which dangled behind two unmeaning pendants called lappets, not half covering their straight-drawn hair. Dahl, Richardson, Jervas, and others, rebuffed such barbarous forms, but, not possessing genius enough to deviate from what they saw with graceful variations, clothed all their personages with a loose drapery and airy mantles, which not only were not, but could not be, the dress of any age or nation, so little were they adapted to cover limbs or exhibit any form, or to adhere to the person which they scarce enveloped, and from which they must fall at the least motion. As these casual lappings and flowing streamers were imitated from nothing, they seldom have any folds or *chiaroscuro*, anatomy and colouring being equally forgotten. Linen, from what economy I know not, is seldom allowed in these portraits, even to the ladies, who lean carelessly on a bank, and play with a parrot they do not look at, under a tranquillity which ill accords with their seeming situation; the slightness of their vestments and the lankness of their hair having the appearance of their being just risen from the bath, and having none of their clothes to put on but a loose gown." Anomalous as were these female costumes, they are not worse than the plate-armour and voluminous wigs with which the Kneller school clothe their warriors. The ludicrous combination of the reigning fashion, the Highland costume, and the royal robes, represented at p. 483 of this volume, is perfectly characteristic of the taste of the period, and illustrates it better than pages of description.*

In the higher class of art efforts were still made in the decoration of ceilings, halls, and staircases, on a grand scale, with as much success as might be expected when we consider the state of the arts in general. To the fame and practice of Verrio succeeded his assistant and imitator, Louis Laguerre, a native of Paris, who had studied under Le Brun, came to England in 1683, and died in 1721. His name and reputation are inseparably linked with those of his predecessor in that significant line of Pope's—

"Where *sprawl* the saints of Verrio and Laguerre."

His works were numerous, and many still remain at Hampton Court, Burleigh, Blenheim, and other places. The saloon at Blenheim is his best performance. The compartments represent the costumes of various nations, and the ceiling of course a vast allegory. Laguerre was in the first instance chosen to paint the Cupola of St. Paul's, for which designs were also offered by Antonio Pellegrini, who painted the staircase and ceilings at Castle Howard, and Marco Ricci, another artist of reputation in the same class. But the claim was preferred of a native painter worthy of the distinction, whose name will ever occupy an honourable place in the history of English art. Sir James Thornhill, though his rank is rather that of a clever painter than an artist of genius, stands alone among his compatriots as a successful follower of the Italian and French style of decoration, and in the fertility of invention and readiness and freedom of pencil requisite for distributing numerous groups over large surfaces, while in every qualification of an artist he is at least equal to any of his contemporaries. It is to be lamented that Thornhill never visited Italy, but was content to form his taste upon the French school. There is much grandeur in the compositions of the history of the apostle in the dome of St. Paul's, but, as we have already had occasion to notice, the architectural framework which accompanies them is misplaced, and, with all their merit, they are a defect upon the general aspect of the building. Many of his works have perished in the changes of fashion. Among the best of those which remain are the halls at Greenwich Hospital and Blenheim, which display many beauties of his own, and all the defects of the age, which his talents were not of an order to surmount. Although he was much employed, he felt severely the unjust predilection for foreigners, which has ever been the bane of English art; and, while Lafosse had received thousands for his paintings at Montague House, Thornhill was forced to submit to be paid for his public works by the square yard. Sir James Thornhill was an honour to his profession in every way. He enriched himself by his works, repurchased the estate of the ancient family to which he belonged, was chosen member of parliament for Weymouth, and died in 1734, universally esteemed both as an artist and a man. The valuable copies of the Cartoons of Raffaelle, now the property of the Royal Academy, were painted by him.

After the death of Sir James Thornhill this branch of painting went rapidly out of fashion in England, probably from the mutual attrition of want of talent and want of encouragement. Kent may have contributed to bring it into disrepute. In the earlier part of his career, as we have already noticed, he had been extensively employed as a painter through the interest of Lord Burlington, although, according to Walpole, his colouring was worse and more raw than that of the most arrant journeyman of the profession, and his drawing as defective and void

* Perhaps, however, we have nothing in England which *quite* equals Mignard's representation of two little French princes deceased, sitting naked in the clouds, with the order of St. Louis round their necks!

of every merit as his colouring. Giacomo Amiconi, a Venetian, who came to England in 1729, is one of the last painters who professed this style. After filling many staircases and halls with Scripture, fable, and allegory, now long forgotten, but recorded as equally devoid of colour, composition, and expression, he was obliged to descend to portrait, in which, in spite of these demerits, he was greatly encouraged and well paid. Henry Cooke, who belongs to the earlier part of this period, since he died in 1700, must be noticed as having studied under Salvator Rosa. He painted the choir of New College Chapel, at Oxford, and the ceiling of the large room at the New River head.

A few more painters, both foreign and native, not included in the foregoing classes, remain to be mentioned. The celebrated battle painter, Peter Vander Meulen, came to England in 1676; Hemskirk died in London in 1704; and Godfrey Schalken, famous for his candle-lights (to which, however, his talent was entirely limited), came over twice in the reign of King William, by whom he was patronised. It is related of him that he directed the king to hold the candle, and suffered the hot wax to run over his fingers while he was painting his portrait with his favourite effect. John Van Wyck, a painter of horses scarcely inferior to Wouvermans, died in England in 1702. James Bogdani, a Hungarian, painted flowers, fruit, birds, and other light decorations, of which many still remain in the panels of the royal palaces. Luke Cradock, a native of Somersetshire, distinguished himself in the same style, which seems to have come into vogue as the heavier mode of decoration declined, since Walpole mentions several artists who practised it at the same time.* Boit, an artist of French parentage, was an excellent master in enamel, who was much patronised and received high prices in the reign of Queen Anne. Liotard and Zincke, in the same style of art, flourished in the reign of George II. The latter is scarcely surpassed by Petitot. Theodore Netscher, the eldest son of Gaspar Netscher, painted in England; he excelled in small portraits placed in family groups. Balthazar Denner, known by his extraordinary finish, which he carried to a perfection amounting to a merit, came to England on the invitation of George I. in 1726. Monamy, a native of Jersey, was a good painter of sea-pieces. The landscapes of Peter Tillemans, who painted many views of gentlemen's seats, with hunts, races, &c., are well known in English collections. He died in 1734. John Wootton was one of the first artists of his time as an animal painter. He was also successful in landscape. Francis Hayman ought perhaps to have been placed in the former class of artists, as he professed the historical style; but he began life as a scene-painter, and first distinguished himself by his decorations at Vauxhall. He is best known by his designs for book-plates, in which he succeeded well, though a strong mannerist, and "easily distinguishable," says Walpole, "by the large noses and shambling legs of his figures." His best work is his set of designs for Don Quixote. The celebrated Antonio Canaletti, encouraged by the number of pictures he sold to the English who visited Venice, came to England in 1746; he staid about two years, having met with indifferent success. Canaletti's Venetian paintings are the most perfect transcripts of his native city; those he executed in London are inferior in the precise ratio of the difference of subject and climate. George Lambert is one of the first of our painters who distinguished himself in landscape; but as yet there was no *English* school, and he did but imitate Gaspar Poussin.

Apart from all, himself a class, of which he is the first and the last, dwells William Hogarth, of whom England may proudly boast that he is her own son. This great and original genius was born in London in 1697 or 1698. His early propensity for the arts met with no further encouragement than to place him with an engraver of arms upon plate; but he very soon felt his strength, and aspired to something beyond an occupation so humble, and, having applied himself to painting, we find him, when he began business on his own account, furnishing plates to booksellers, among which the illustrations to Hudibras brought him some reputation, and painting small family groups, in which for some time he met with good success. He also occasionally produced a satirical plate—the earliest, called "The Taste of the Times," is dated 1724. Thus employed, he passed several years before he astonished the world with any of those productions which have immortalised him. The "Midnight Modern Conversation" and "Southwark Fair" were his first considerable works in his own peculiar style; but it was "The Harlot's Progress" which fully revealed his genius and established his fame in 1734. A representation of real life so just and so striking—a tale so interesting, so intelligibly told, and so dramatically elaborated—passions and feelings so accurately expressed, accessories so pregnant with humour, at once impressed the understandings and the hearts of all ranks. Its popularity was unbounded; twelve hundred subscriptions to the engravings rewarded the talents of the artist: the scenes were dramatised for the stage, and thousands of imitations were dispersed throughout the kingdom. The success of this first essay in his pictured morals led to the production of "The Rake's Progress" in the following year, which produced less *éclat*, as it was no longer a novelty.

Previously to the publication of the Harlot's Progress he had married, against the consent of her parents, the only daughter of Sir James Thornhill. His success was the means of leading to a reconciliation with his father-in-law, and Hogarth's pungent satires against Kent and his supporters may be traced to the jealousy with which Thornhill re-

* Monkey Island, near Windsor, was so named from the monkeys painted there in two temples for the Duke of Marlborough, by Clermont, a Frenchman.

garded the *protégé* of Lord Burlington. In the Taste of the Times Hogarth had already represented Kent exalted above Raffaelle and Michael Angelo on the apex of Burlington gate, and some years later he joined in the general indignation against Pope for his description of "Timon's Villa," by a print in which the poet is white-washing Burlington-gate, and bespattering the Duke of Chandos's carriage as it passes by.

As Hogarth had married with only his profession for a maintenance, he judged it prudent to continue the practice of portrait-painting, for which he certainly possessed but few qualifications. By the other professors of that branch of the art he was considered an interloper; in fact, they reluctantly admitted him to be a painter at all, but affected to look upon him as an engraver, and his pictures as materials for copper-plates. They could not complacently class with themselves one who belonged to no school, and followed none of the *conventions* which passed with them for the principles of art, and whose works bore an impress of thought different from what had raised any artist to eminence. Hogarth, on the other hand, holding the contemporary state of art as cheap as it deserved, was inclined to misunderstand his own just value. Having expressed some contempt for the taste of one of his friends who had compared Greene with Handel — "Ay," said his informant, "but he said at the same time that you were as good a portrait painter as Vandyke." "*There* he was right," said Hogarth; "and so by G— I am—give me my time and let me choose my subject." Conceiving himself to have attained this point without any obligation to books or to the works of other masters, he affected upon all occasions to despise a course of study which he considered superfluous. On this favourite topic his declamation was fluent and bitter, and provoked enmities which pursued him through life.

In 1744 he brought to the test the public estimation of his talents on canvas, by offering for sale the original paintings of the Harlot's Progress, the Rake's Progress, those amusing records of London life "The Four Times of the Day," and the "Strolling Actresses dressing in a barn," perhaps the most exquisitely humorous of all his productions. Owing probably in some measure to the cabals which his pretensions had raised against him, partly perhaps to the offence given by the etching of "The Battle of the Pictures," which he distributed as a ticket of admission, and partly to some singular and arbitrary conditions in the terms of the sale, not likely to conciliate patrons, he received for the whole of these pictures, nineteen in number, no more than 427*l*. The Rake's Progress alone has since produced nearly double the amount.

The next of his dramas—for such he himself designated them, and as such they have been well characterised by Walpole—was the "Marriage à la Mode," of which the prints were published in 1745. The pictures he put up to the best bidder in 1750, and, remembering and resenting his disappointment on the former occasion, he put forth an advertisement in such caustic and imprudent terms as effectually drove away all competitors, and he obtained but 120 guineas for this admirable series, which were afterwards placed in Mr. Angerstein's collection at the price of 1000.*

These were not all the mortifications the painter had to undergo. On the production of the "March to Finchley" he dedicated the plate to the king, and the picture was submitted to his majesty's inspection. George II. was a brave soldier and an honest man, but no judge of any work either of art or humour. Expecting, perhaps, to see some warlike allegory, he was unluckily seized with the idea that the painter meant to ridicule his Guards, and ordered the picture out of his sight in terms to which Hogarth gave the retort courteous, by substituting for his name that of the King of Prussia, "as an encourager of the arts." This picture, considered his chef-d'œuvre, being disposed of by lottery, Hogarth presented the unsold chances to the Foundling Hospital, where it was consequently deposited and still remains.

The Marriage à la Mode was shortly followed by the twelve plates of Industry and Idleness. As the former exposed the vices of high life, the latter were meant to convey similar instruction to the humbler classes. The artist announces them as being for use rather than ornament, and the execution in fact is inferior to the intention.

In 1753 he gratified his old enemies and made a host of new ones by writing a book. "The Analysis of Beauty" drew upon him a storm of clamour. But, whatever may be the value of the theory which its purpose is to recommend, or however signal the failure which attended the author's attempts to carry it into practice, it is a book full of sound and acute observations upon art. It is difficult to believe, in perusing this and other writings which Hogarth has left, that he was the illiterate man some of his biographers have represented him.

In 1757 he visited France, but had only reached Calais when he was arrested and insulted, according to the then practice of "the politest nation in the world," for making use of his sketch-book in a fortified town. This adventure he has commemorated in his picture of "Calais Gate," one of the best of his works in point of colouring, though that is a quality in which he is seldom deficient. In the following year he painted his "Sigismunda," an undertaking by which he gained nothing but vexation. Hogarth was accustomed, and not without cause, to attribute the depressed state of art in England to the indiscriminate preference for everything foreign, and, being provoked at the price of four hundred pounds paid for the Sigismunda reputed to be by Correggio, and purchased as such at Sir Luke Schaub's sale,

* Now in the National Gallery.

he asserted in an evil hour that he would produce one as good if any one would encourage him by as good a price. He was taken at his word by Sir Richard (afterwards Lord) Grosvenor, who returned the picture upon the artist's hands accompanied by an ungenerous and vulgar affront. That Hogarth had failed is not to be denied, but the savage criticism of Walpole is altogether gratuitous; and the rival picture, which is in the collection at Clumber, is at best but the work of Furino, and may therefore justify the contempt of Hogarth for ignorant virtuosi, and the impudent tricks of picture-dealers.

The last year of the reign of George II. is remarkable for the first exhibition of pictures by British artists, the preliminary step to the foundation of the Royal Academy of Arts. Hogarth had presented to the Foundling Hospital three of his best works—the March to Finchley already mentioned; Moses brought before Pharaoh's Daughter, the most successful attempt he ever made out of his own style; and the noble whole-length portrait of the founder, Captain Coram. Hayman and other artists had followed his example by similar benefactions; and the public interest was so strongly excited by the collection thus formed of the works of living painters, that an association of artists, who were now in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of drawing from the life, conceived that such an exhibition might be made profitable. To this scheme was added a revival of a plan, which had been several times agitated, for the establishment of a Royal Academy, which, as might be expected from his known opinions, met with the most decided opposition from Hogarth. The latter part of the plan was therefore, from that and other causes, postponed; but the exhibition was opened in May, 1760, and the profits devoted to the relief of distressed artists and their families. Thus far Hogarth gave his cordial support to the association, and etched for them two keen vignettes emblematical of the misdirection of royal and public patronage, which adorn their catalogue for 1761.

Hogarth's works are numerous. The four Election scenes, the Enraged Musician, the Distressed Poet, and England and France, are among the principal of those not already noticed, which, through the medium of the graver, have given delight to thousands of all classes, from the palace to the cottage. In execution his engravings are somewhat coarse, and betray the marks of his early studies in the art; but in forcible effect and freedom of handling they are unrivalled. The greater part of his published works are by his own hand. Of his attempts in the epic style of painting a melancholy example may yet be seen in Lincoln's Inn Hall—Paul before Felix—and two others which he presented to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.*

Hogarth died in 1764. His last years were disturbed by a quarrel with the notorious John Wilkes and his ally, the poet Churchill. The pen on one side and the pencil on the other were mercilessly applied; and never did men of talent throw dirt more unskilfully.

The following just and eloquent character of this great man, as an artist, is from the pen of Mr. Allan Cunningham :*—"The character of William Hogarth, as an artist, is to be gathered from numerous works at once original and unrivalled. His fame has flown far and wide. His skill as an engraver spread his fame as a painter; and all who love the dramatic representation of actual life—all who have hearts to be gladdened by humour—all who are pleased with judicious and well-directed satire—all who are charmed with the ludicrous looks of popular folly—and all who can be moved with the pathos of human suffering, are admirers of Hogarth. That his works are unlike those of other men is his merit, and not his fault. He belonged to no school of art—he was the produce of no academy—no man, living or dead, had any share in forming his mind or in rendering his hand skilful. He was the spontaneous offspring of the graphic spirit of his country, as native to the heart of England as independence is; and he may be fairly called, in his own walk, the first-born of her spirit. He painted life as he saw it. He gives no visions of by-gone things—no splendid images of ancient manners: he regards neither the historian's page nor the poet's song; he was contented with the occurrences of the passing day, with the folly or sin of the hour; but to the garb or fashion of the moment he adds story and sentiment for all time."

As Sculpture had always languished in England even while painting had flourished under Vandyke and his successors, we shall not be surprised to find it, during the earlier part of the period under consideration, in a still worse state than the sister art; and, though the last thirty years produced some works of a superior order, yet we are indebted for them exclusively to foreigners, and have no pretension to any proficiency of our own. During the reign of William and Mary it is difficult to find even the name of a sculptor. John Bushnell, who executed the statues of the kings at Temple Bar, and Le Marchand, a native of Dieppe, who was much employed upon busts, seem to be the only artists in any credit. In the following reign the principal occupation as a sculptor was engrossed by Francis Bird, who had studied at Rome, and on his return distinguished himself by his monument to Dr. Busby in the south transept of Westminster Abbey, a work so superior to anything he ever afterwards produced, that, coupled with the evident relationship of the figure to the French school, it raises a suspicion that he may have obtained the aid of some assistant more able than himself. As a stone-carver he made himself useful to Sir Christopher Wren, and

* For the whole of the works of Hogarth, see Illustrations of Hogarth by John Ireland.

* Life of Hogarth.

executed the Conversion of St. Paul in the pediment of the church, the bas-reliefs under the portico, and the group in front—all despicable enough, though their offence is lessened by the situations in which they are placed. But his monuments challenge examination. That to Sir Cloudesly Shovel, at Westminster, approaches the *bathos* of art; and it would be difficult to point out anything much worse than the bronze statue of Henry VI. in the quadrangle of Eton College. If such be the demerits of the leading artist, for such he was, what must be the delinquencies of the rest? The walls of Westminster Abbey may answer; where the reader may turn his eyes upon the tomb of Dame Elizabeth Carteret in the north transept, as being more conspicuous, but perhaps not more barbarous, than others, for a specimen of taste, drawing, and execution which will not easily be paralleled in ancient, mediæval, or modern art. From this state of degradation our monumental style was rescued by the arrival of three foreigners —Rysbrack, Scheemakers, and Roubilliac—whose names are familiar in English art, and who fill the history of our sculpture during the present period after the year 1720.

These artists imported with them the style of sculpture which then flourished in France, and in which Coysevox, Bouchardon, and Le Moyne had followed Bernini, whose despotic influence over the arts has already been noticed. Bernini possessed a lively and fertile imagination. A certain ease in the conception and execution, an absence of study, and a want of correctness, are the characteristics of his style as a sculptor. His draperies are confused and fluttering, his expression savours of grimace, and his graces of affectation. He introduced trees and architecture in perspective into his bas-reliefs; and represented clouds and draperies floating in the air. He neglected the models bequeathed to us by the ancients, and became himself the model of more bad scholars than any artist on record. Such was the style which infected the sculpture of all Europe, and took firm root in England through the influence of these three artists. Hitherto the character of our grand sepulchral monuments had been principally architectural. That of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, at Westminster, is perhaps the last of those tasteless heaps of marble which came into fashion under James I., and is the joint production of Gibbs and Bird. On the first arrival of Rysbrack in England, being then a young man, he fell into the hands of Kent and Gibbs, who turned his talents to account by employing him as the *statuary* in monumental designs of which the architects took both the credit and the profit. But the sculptor soon learned his own value, and asserted the independence of his art, which he almost monopolised during several years, until his supremacy was interrupted by the arrival of Scheemakers and Roubilliac. Rysbrack's principal works are the monuments of Sir Isaac Newton and Lord Stanhope, done in conjunction with Kent,—that of Prior, which bears also the name of Gibbs, and of which the bust is the work of Coysevox,—and those of Admiral Vernon and Sir Godfrey Kneller, all at Westminster; the statues of George II. at Greenwich, and Dr. Radcliffe at Oxford. He also did several statues for Stourhead and Chiswick. His busts are numerous, and by far the best of his works, marked with great truth and character; and, as he was an accomplished workman, their execution has scarcely been excelled. His larger works are remarkable only for their insipidity.

Peter Scheemakers was a native of Antwerp, and greatly inferior to either of his contemporaries: he is, in fact, a mere workman; but through his association with Kent, from whose design, as already mentioned, he executed the statue of Shakspeare, he was thrust into considerable employment, and his works are much more numerous and important than his merit might warrant. His colleague, Laurent Delvaux, was perhaps the better artist of the two; but the name of Scheemakers obtained the notoriety. The monument of Dr. Chamberlain, at Westminster, is marked as their joint production, and it is certain that one of the accessory figures is in a taste much superior to anything in those of Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, Sir Charles Watson, or Sir Charles Wager, which Scheemakers claims for his own. He also executed the monument of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke at Wimpole.

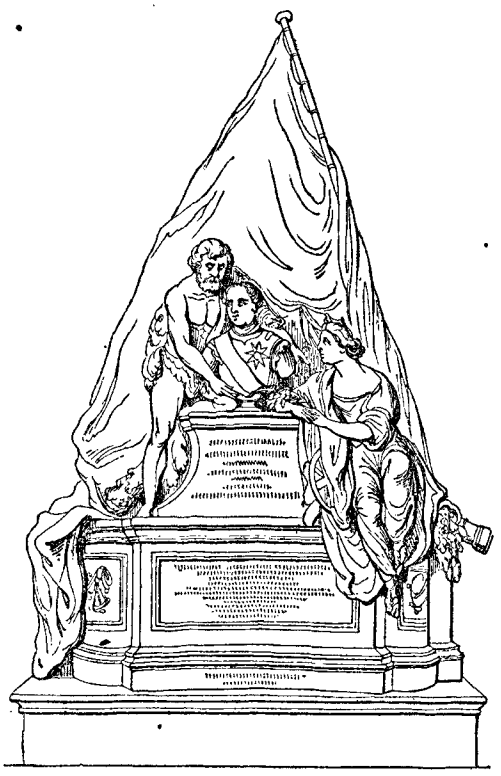
Louis Francis Roubilliac, a native of Lyons, is incomparably the best artist of this trio, and, indeed, one of the best the French school of this stamp ever produced. He was an enthusiast in his art, studied nature carefully, and worked his marble with unwearied diligence; and, what is not always the result, with success proportioned to his pains. The execution of his drapery is astonishing, but it has the fault of being too often taken from the most disagreeable examples in nature, the folds being either heavy or meagre, frequently without a determined general form, and hung on his figures with little meaning.* Such as it is, its exquisite finish will always deserve its share of praise. Roubilliac's best work is the figure of Eloquence in the monument of John Duke of Argyll, at Westminster: had he never executed any other, it would have ranked him very high in the art, though it may not be fully appreciated by those who consider a servile imitation of the antique as the first step towards excellence in sculpture. His statue of Sir Isaac Newton, at Cambridge, is scarcely equal to this, though it has contributed more to his fame. The well-known Nightingale monument displays his peculiar beauties and defects in a strong light. The design an imperfect metaphor—Death warded off by an arm of flesh. The execution of the skeleton, and the drapery in which it is enveloped, marvellous—the attitudes energetic, but theatrical—the expression just, but common and undignified. Roubilliac's other principal works are the monuments of Har-

* Flaxman.

grave, Fleming, Handel, and Warren, at Westminster; Bishop Hough's, at Worcester; the statue of Handel which he did for Vauxhall; and that of Shakspeare, executed for Garrick, and now in the hall of the British Museum. Roubilliac died in 1762: Rysbrack survived him until 1770.

The general style of composition in the monuments of this school is pyramidal, and this is generally assisted by an actual pyramid or some object of pyramidal figure which forms the background against the wall. In front a triple pile of pedestal supports a bust—or a principal figure reclines on a sarcophagus flanked by allegorical personages—or personifications of the virtues or moral attributes raise the bust of the deceased—or crown it—or display his medallion. Rysbrack seldom attempts more than one allegorical figure—Roubilliac groups two; weeping cherubs hang about the corners of the sarcophagi with a studied disregard of symmetry, and sometimes even a principal figure is thus perched. The object seems to be, mistaking the reverse of wrong for right, to contrast as strongly as possible with the stiff formality of older date. A bust, a cherub, and a pyramid on a shelf, are frequently the component parts of smaller designs of this class. It is remarkable how often the figure of the person commemorated is either omitted or kept subordinate. There is scarcely an example in these monuments of a principal figure upright and in repose. In Roubilliac's the figure of Handel is the only one which approaches to it; and there is one other at Westminster of this period, that of Secretary Craggs, by Guelfi, an Italian sculptor patronised by Lord Burlington.

It is not to be supposed that the influence of the leading artists should operate a sudden improvement on the popular taste in an art so much



MONUMENT OF SIR PETER WARREN, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

in request as sculpture, of a certain class, was at this period. Before the reforms of Kent were generally established, there was an extensive demand for statues to adorn our gardens and pleasure-grounds. The west end of Piccadilly was at this time a mart for the supply of these objects, and was lined with the yards and shops of *statuaries*. What was the sort of ware in which they dealt we may learn from Ralph, who wrote in 1731. "Among a hundred statues," says this critic, "you shall hardly see one even tolerable either in design or execution; nay, even the copies of the antique are so monstrously wretched that one can hardly guess at their originals. I will not lay the blame of this prostitution of so fine an art entirely on its professors,—no, I rather attribute it to the ignorance and folly of the buyers, who, being resolved to have statues in their gardens at all events, first make a wrong choice, and then resolve to purchase their follies as cheap as possible." Long after this period there continued to be a depôt at Hyde Park corner for leaden statues

of shepherds and shepherdesses, painted in colours, some of which may still be remembered lingering in the suburban gardens of the metropolis. Henry Cheere was the presiding genius of this school of art. Roubilliac worked under him on his first arrival in England; and it was on an order given to Cheere, in the way of *trade*, that his journeyman produced the statue of Handel, which first led him to fame. Charpentier was another dealer in these leaden figures, and was a pupil of Van Ost, the author of the equestrian statue of George I. in Leicester-square.

The art of engraving during the present period will not require any lengthened notice, for, although it produced some good and many useful engravers, yet there will be found few of any great eminence, and none of those remarkable productions which form epochs in art. In the early part of this period the new art of mezzotint principally occupied the attention of our own artists; and Henry Luttrell and Isaac Becket, who worked in conjunction, did much to improve it; but it was first brought to perfection by William Smith, the pupil of Becket. The excellent adaptation of this art to portrait did not escape Sir Godfrey Kneller. He took Smith into his own house for the purpose of employing him upon his works. It is not to be doubted that he improved himself greatly by the hints of that able artist; and his works, which are numerous, have seldom been equalled in tone and brilliancy. After Smith, Kneller employed John Simons, a native of Normandy. The two Fabers also distinguished themselves in mezzotint; the younger was second only to Smith. They are followed by Williams and Le Blon. The latter first tried the experiment of mezzotinting in colours. Edward Kirkall, known as an engraver of book-plates, also attempted to imitate coloured drawings by a mixture of etching, mezzotinting, and wood-blocks, which, like numerous other schemes for the same purpose, produced nothing of value.

In the reigns of Queen Anne and George I. France supplied us with several good engravers. Simon Gribelin, a native of Blois, engraved the first complete set of the Cartoons. Gribelin is a finished workman, but he failed in imparting to his engravings anything of the real character of the master. He was followed, in 1719, by Nicholas Dorigny, who also engraved the Cartoons, but with very little success. The Transfiguration is the best work of this artist. About this time a set of the Duke of Marlborough's battles was published, and it is remarkable that most of the artists employed upon them were French. The principal was Claude Dubosc, assisted by Du Guernier, Beauvais, and Baron. Dubosc also published a translation of Picart's Religious Ceremonies, in which he was assisted by Gravelot and Scotin. Gravelot was an excellent draughtsman, and more employed in that capacity than as an engraver. He furnished many of the monuments and antiquities engraved by Vertue. Baron, who was a thorough master of his burin, engraved many considerable pictures, and at a later period assisted Hogarth, with Ravenet and Sullivan.

John Kip, a Dutchman, who had arrived in England soon after the Revolution, is known by the series of the palaces and mansions of England which he engraved after the drawings of his countryman, Leonard Knyff. They would be little worthy of notice as works of art, but, like the etchings of Hollar, are valuable to posterity as representations of remarkable scenes no longer in existence. Van Gunst, though it does not appear that he ever visited England, must not be omitted, since he principally employed himself for this country upon the works of Vandyke, of which drawings were made for him by Houbraken. Of the two Van der Gutches, whose works are very numerous in all departments of the art, the younger distinguished himself as an engraver of anatomy. He also executed the plates from Sir James Thornhill's paintings in the cupola of St. Paul's. Hulsberg and Fourdrinière are well known for their share in the valuable architectural publications of this period, to some of which reference has been incidentally made; John Pine for book-plates, many of which are of great merit. He engraved the ceremonies of the Order of the Bath, and the tapestry of the House of Lords, which now survives only in his representation. Arthur Pond, though little distinguished as an artist, is to be honourably mentioned for the share he took in producing that splendid monument of engraving, the Illustrious Heads by Houbraken. Thomas Worlidge practised etching in a degree of perfection seldom attained. "Worlidge's Gems" are gems in themselves.

The last name to be recorded in this department of the fine arts is that of George Vertue, an artist of great talent and unwearied industry, but not more distinguished by his works as an engraver than by his researches as an antiquary. He zealously devoted himself to the occupation of rescuing from obscurity not only the objects which merited illustration through the medium of the graver, but the facts and records which relate to the history of the arts in his native country from the earliest period to his own time. The labours of a life thus employed furnished the ore, which, refined and moulded by Horace Walpole, shines forth in the "Anecdotes of Painting," a work of which the intrinsic value is in no degree deteriorated by the brilliancy with which it is invested. The laborious perseverance of the collector and the dazzling wit of the editor could scarcely perhaps have emanated from one mind:—their union has produced a work unrivalled for the combination of instruction and entertainment. The reader who turns back to these pages will see how much the history of the arts is indebted to George Vertue.

The coinage of Queen Anne must not be omitted among the notices of art. It was the work of Croker, an English medallist, second only to Simon; and, in this department at least, native

artists have done honour to the country. Croker also executed a series of medals on the glorious events of Queen Anne's reign. Of his coins the celebrated farthings are well known and of great scarcity, having been executed as pattern pieces and never issued. That with Peace in a chariot and the legend Pax missa per orbem, and those with Britannia under a porch are the finest and rarest.* The only coinage of George I. is by the same artist. During the remainder of that and the succeeding reign it continued in a tolerable state, though declining.

During the period between the Revolution and the accession of George III., MUSIC made vast strides in the British dominions, and the improvement was equally observable in the church, the chamber, and the theatre. For this we are partly indebted to Italy, which, from about the end of the seventeenth century, began to supply us with the compositions of her best masters, the study of which took some of the stiffness out of our English musicians, without impairing their native vigour: though to the powerful mind of our own highly-gifted countryman, Purcell,† much of our advance is to be ascribed. He at once, in his secular music, pushed aside the formality of the old school, and filled its place with easy graceful melody. But to the arrival in London of the greatest musical genius that has yet appeared—Handel—are mainly to be attributed those improvements in our taste and style so manifest from the time when his compositions began to be known and understood.

Music received but little encouragement from the court of William and Mary, during the greater part of whose joint reign the public mind was too much agitated by the consequences of the Revolution, and the intrigues more or less open and active of the Tory, or high-church, party, to bestow much attention on the peaceful arts. ‡ Nevertheless, nearly the whole of those works of Purcell to which he chiefly owes his fame, namely, his dramatic and other secular compositions, were created while the House of Orange swayed the British sceptre. Much of his music in *The Tempest*, *Dioclesian*, *King Arthur*, *Don Quixote*, *Bonduca*, &c.; many of his cantatas, and other pieces published in the Orpheus Britannicus, are still as fresh and pleasing as at the time of their birth, and indeed are now more generally and highly appreciated; the natural consequence of the increased prevalence of musical habits throughout the country.

Though, strictly speaking, we cannot ascribe to Purcell the first introduction of the English opera, yet we are indebted to him for having given such an interest to that kind of entertainment as led to its subsequent establishment. It is true that D'Avenant's *Circe*, composed by Banister, Shadwell's *Psyche*, set by Lock, and Dryden's *Albion and Albanius*, the music by Grabut, one of the second Charles's French favourites, were all produced before Purcell had begun to compose for the stage: but of the first not a single vestige have we been able to find; the second added nothing to Lock's reputation, and is only known to antiquaries; and the last, of which a printed copy is sometimes to be met with, failed at the very onset, having been at once treated with the most deserved contempt. *King Arthur*, therefore (composed in 1691), which is well known and highly esteemed by all real judges, and is yet, wholly or in part, occasionally performed, may be considered as the legitimate parent of the English opera. The lyric drama, however, in an English garb, made but slow progress, and nothing of the kind demanding our notice was produced till the year 1727, when Gay brought out his *Beggar's Opera*. It is difficult now to say which had most influence in the success of a work performed sixty-three nights consecutively—its subtle wit and concealed satire, the number of popular airs introduced in it, or the party-feeling raging at the time; but subsequently and at present the music is its chief attraction.* A void then of eleven years occurs. In 1738 appeared Milton's *Comus*, ingeniously adapted to the stage by the Rev. Dr. Dalton, with music by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Arne. This placed the composer's reputation on a firm basis. "He here introduced a style peculiarly his own, which, without pretending to the energy of Purcell or the dignity of Handel, was vigorous, gay, natural, and possessed such strong and distinctive features as formed an era in English music. There is a grace, a lucid sweetness, and an eloquence in its melodies, which captivate the ear, and at the same time satisfy the understanding."† We can only allude to Arne's *Artaxerxes*, as it was composed two years after the period to which we are confined; but we may observe that it more than fulfilled the expectations which his *Comus* had led the public to indulge.

Before the seventeenth century had drawn quite to a close, a taste for music had made considerable progress in the metropolis, and perhaps also in the provinces. Public concerts, vocal and instrumental, English and Italian, were frequently given in London, and seem to have been well attended, both as regards the quality and number of the auditors. Evelyn and Pepys, in their Me-

* These coins will be found at p. 727.

† See Vol. iii. 886.

‡ William, however, was not insensible to the influence of modulated sounds. While Prince of Orange—Sir John Hawkins tells us—and deeply engaged in reflections on the critical situation of his affairs, he had three choice musicians to play to him, whenever he was disposed to be melancholy or over thoughtful. The taste of his consort does not appear to have been very refined. When queen, she sent for Purcell and Mrs. Arabella Hunt, a famous singer of that day, that they might entertain her with some music. The lady sang several compositions by Purcell, who accompanied them on the harpsichord; but her majesty, becoming tired of these, called on Mrs. Hunt to sing the Scotch ballad, 'Cold and raw,' a command she immediately obeyed, accompanying herself on the lute, and not much to the gratification of the great English composer.—*Hawkins's Hist.* iv. 6.

* The celebrated Dr. Pepusch furnished the overture, selected and adapted the airs, and wrote accompaniments to them. To the latter some additions have since been made.

† Harmonicon, iii. 72, slightly altered.

moirs, mention, in warm terms of praise, several performers whom they had heard, publicly and privately; but it is at the same time evident that a disposition in the upper ranks to patronise foreigners, merely because they were foreigners, in preference to native musicians, gained ground. This predilection, however, was not allowed to influence our cathedral music; for fashion, powerful though it was, and always is, could not force aliens into the ecclesiastical establishments; our church music, therefore, regularly proceeded towards that degree of perfection which it attained in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Among those who, at the period we have now reached, had distinguished themselves by their compositions for the church, and are entitled to notice here, are—Jeremiah Clarke,* a sweet and pathetic composer; the Rev. Henry Aldrich, D.D., dean of Christ Church, whose scientific skill and superior judgment in music formed only a part of his almost universal knowledge; John Weldon;† the Rev. Robert Creighton, D.D., a canon of Salisbury;‡ William Croft, Mus. D.,§ whose two splendid volumes of thirty-one anthems, contain some compositions that have never been surpassed, and which in style unite the older and more modern schools, exhibiting the severe science of the former, and the melodious ease of the latter; Maurice Greene, Mus. D.,‖ author of forty admirable anthems, that are still in use in all our choirs, and will never fall into neglect so long as beautiful melody, most skilfully sustained by the richest harmony, shall find admirers; and William Boyce, Mus. D.,¶ one of the ornaments of his country, whose numerous anthems and services, his oratorio of *Solomon*, and many other compositions, more especially the grand anthem performed annually at the *Feast of the Sons of the Clergy*, are evidences of genius and ability of a very rare kind.

The introduction of the Italian opera into London tended much to meliorate the English taste in music. It obtained a settlement by slow degrees, entering first, in 1703, in the form of *intermezzi*, or Italian interludes made up of singing and dancing. It next appeared in a mixed state, the music Italian, the text translated. In 1707 an entire opera was produced, in which Urbani, a male *soprano*, and two foreign women, sang in Italian, while the other parts were sung to English words! In 1710, all prejudices against this exotic having been overcome, *Almahide*, wholly in Italian and performed by foreign singers only, was successfully brought out at the Queen's Theatre, in the Haymarket; and thenceforward the Italian opera firmly rooted itself in British ground. This immediately led to an event of the highest importance to the art—the arrival in London of George Frederick Handel, a young Saxon, then in his twenty-sixth year; and, as England became the country of his adoption—as he composed here all his great works without exception—here permanently resided nearly fifty years, amassed an independent fortune, breathed his last, and found a grave—we feel an equitable right to claim his works as British productions, and to consider him virtually, though not actually, as a countryman. Our title to his compositions is further strengthened by the fact, that, till a few years since, scarcely one of them had been performed out of the British isles, though all were written more than eighty, and some much more than a hundred, years ago.

The Italian theatre speedily was consigned to the able management of Handel, who there produced fifteen of his best operas; but he was too independent in spirit to be regulated by the folly, to yield to the caprice, or to tolerate the pride of a considerable portion of the nobility, who declared themselves his enemies; he consequently was obliged to withdraw from an enterprise in which he had damaged his health and sacrificed nearly the whole of his fortune. But "out of evil sometimes issues good," and the undaunted genius immediately commenced his greatest works, his oratorios, which were publicly performed under his own direction, and, though far from successful at first,* ultimately not only indemnified him for his former losses, but proved to him the source of considerable wealth, and immortalised his name.

"The oratorio, or sacred drama, was introduced into England in 1720, when Handel set *Esther*—Racine's tragedy abridged and altered by Mr. Humphreys—for the chapel of the Duke of Chandos (Pope's *Timon*) at Cannons. This, in 1731, was performed by the Children of the Chapel-Royal, at the house of their master, Bernard Gates. The next year it was publicly produced, by his majesty's command, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. The custom of performing oratorios

* Organist to Queen Anne, and of St. Paul's Cathedral. Clarke's mournful end was still more indicative than his music of a sensitive melancholy mind. Indulging a hopeless passion for a very beautiful lady of superior rank, life became burdensome, and he put a period to it in a moment of despair.—*Hawkins's Hist.* v. 58.

† Organist and composer to Queen Anne, George I., and George II.

‡ Son of that Bishop of Bath and Wells who accompanied Charles II. in his banishment.

§ Organist, composer, and master of the children, to Queen Anne and George I.

‖ Organist, composer, and master of the band, to George II., organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and professor of music to the University of Cambridge.

¶ Organist, composer, and master of the band, to George II. and George III.

* Incredible as it may appear, yet the fact seems to be undeniable, that *The Messiah*, that sublime emanation of genius, failed when, in 1741, it was performed in London for the first time: but in Dublin, to which city the almost despairing composer repaired with his matchless work, it received every proof of the highest admiration. Pope notices this in the Dunciad, where a representative of the Italian Opera thus instructs Dulness:—

> But soon, ah soon, rebellion will commence,
> If Music meanly borrows aid from sense:
> Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands,
> Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands:
> To stir, to rouse, to shake the soul he comes,
> And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums.
> Arrest him, empress, or you sleep no more:—
> She heard—and drove him to th' Hibernian shore.

The 'new arms' were the Oratorios. On the return of Handel to the British capital, the public, rebuked and corrected by the sister island, reversed their former decision, and, the composer then generously presenting his manuscript to the Foundling Hospital, *The Messiah* was performed annually for the benefit of that charity, and added to its funds the sum of 10,300*l.*

on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent is to be dated from 1737, from which time they were, with few intermissions, continued till very recently."*

An institution which much promoted the cause of music in England was founded, in 1710, under the title of The Academy of Ancient Music, the object of which was, 'the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony.' Among the founders were Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Pepusch, Mr. Galliard, a good composer and possessed of literary talents, and Mr. Gates of the Chapel-Royal, who were soon joined by Dr. Greene, together with other eminent professors. They collected a very valuable musical library, and had periodical performances at the great room in the Crown and Anchor Tavern; at which assisted, either by their talents or purses, nearly all the best musicians and amateurs in London. The Academy subsisted, and produced the most beneficial effects on the art, till about the year 1793, when more fashionable, though not more useful, concerts caused its dissolution. Other smaller societies, having the same views, arose during the early part of the eighteenth century, of which a rather more than ample account is given in Hawkins's History.

In 1741 John Immyns, an attorney by profession, was the means of establishing a club under the name of the Madrigal Society. At first it consisted chiefly of mechanics and small tradesmen, who met every Wednesday evening to practice those compositions for many voices called Madrigals, and to sing catches and glees. Immyns occasionally read them a lecture on some musical subject. The subscription was moderate and suited to the circumstances of the members. By degrees it assumed a somewhat higher character, but seems to have been exposed to many vicissitudes: it, however, triumphed over all difficulties, preserved a taste for an admirable species of music in which English composers have excelled in a remarkable degree,† and at the present moment (1840) is one of the most flourishing societies of vocal harmonists in Europe.

Though the English opera made but little progress, yet few dramas were produced without a ballad or two, furnished by the popular composers of the day. Among the contributors were Purcell, Eccles, Playford, Leveridge, Harry Carey, George Haydon, and Arne. In the middle of the seventeenth century public gardens were opened, and much resorted to by persons of condition. Of these the earliest and best was the Spring Garden, mentioned in very encomiastic terms by Addison, in the Spectator, No. 383, which certainly existed in 1661, for Evelyn, in his *Memoirs*, says, under the date of July 2nd in that year, "I went to see the new Spring Garden at Lambeth, a pretty contrived plantation." This, in 1730, in a much improved state, took the name of Vauxhall.‡ Music was there, as well as at other places of the kind, ostensibly the chief attraction, and certainly many of the most pleasing English songs that have been preserved were composed for that very charming and unique place of amusement; and not a few of the best native performers of the last century there first made themselves known. The success of Vauxhall led to the building of Ranelagh,* a vast Rotunda, which in 1742 was opened as a promenade under cover, and immediately patronised by the upper classes, who, during the spring season, for nearly fifty years, there assembled in crowds on the evenings of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in every week. A superior band attended, and, at first, music of a higher order was performed, including choruses from oratorios:† but, after a time, songs and other light compositions were found to be better suited to the taste of so fashionable a company. These, however, were, during many years, selected from the works of eminent composers, or written by such persons expressly for the place, and the performers, both vocal and instrumental, were of the best kind; so that Ranelagh (and also Vauxhall) may be considered as having contributed a fair proportion to the diffusion of musical taste in England.

At the close of the seventeenth century and commencement of the eighteenth, a fierce controversy was waged on the question of "the Lawfulness of Music in Churches." Much learning and no small portion of intolerance were displayed: the pens of skilful polemics were actively engaged in the dispute; but the public could detect no wickedness in harmony, though they were able to discover much mischief in the excesses of puritanical zeal; so the organists continued to play and the singers to chant, till at length they silenced their oppugners.

There were during this period some very able writers on the science of music. The Rev. Dr. Holder,‡ in his *Treatise on the Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony*, renders the philosophical theory of sound and the doctrine of intervals perfectly intelligible to the general reader, whom he enables easily to make himself master of these subjects without possessing any mathematical

* Penny Cyclopædia, ORATORIO.

† See vol. iii. p. 562.

‡ The *London Daily Post* of May 2, 1738, states that, on the preceding night, the spirited proprietor of the Gardens, Mr. Tyers, placed there a statue of Handel, executed by Roubilliac. This admirable piece of sculpture, with which few are unacquainted, was the source of the following lines, written at the time:—

> That Orpheus moved a grove, or rock, or stream,
> By music's power, will not a fiction seem;
> For here as great a miracle is shown—
> A Handel breathing, though transformed to stone.

In Manning and Bray's *Surrey* is the following remark on this statue:—"This is said to have been the first public display of that artist's abilities. The figure is small, owing to there not being a block of marble in England at that time sufficient to supply a figure as large as the life. It was carved in the present dwelling-house [*i.e.* at Vauxhall], where Mr. Handel sat to the artist; and so accurate was the resemblance, that a person who had never seen him before dicovered him one night whilst walking in the Garden." (iii. 491.)

* Erected on the ground which had been the garden of the Viscount Ranelagh who was one of the ministers of Charles II. The building was taken down many years ago, and the handsome gardens, adjoining those of Chelsea College, are now covered with houses.

† Dr. Burney, in Rees's Cyclop.

‡ William Holder, D.D. F.R.S., sub-dean of the Chapel Royal. He was also the composer of several of the anthems in the Tudway Collection in the British Museum.

knowledge whatever. This treatise was first published in 1694, but a corrected edition was printed in 1731.

A *Treatise on Music, Speculative, Practical, and Historical*, appeared in 1721, by Alexander Malcolm, A.M.,* which at the time it was written was by far the clearest and most instructive work on the subject that had ever issued from the press. The author evidently was a learned and scientific man, one who thought for himself, and more free from musical prejudices than most of those who preceded him in the same line.

Dr. Pepusch† published, in 1731, *A Treatise on Harmony*, which long continued to be the text-book of studious young musicians, and ought still to be read by them; for, though the author is on some points rather bigotted, and does not express himself in the clearest language, yet his theory and rules of composition are irreproachable, and his examples clear and well chosen.

The *Harmonics, or the Philosophy of Musical Sounds*, by the Rev. Dr. Smith,‡ is a profound work of high authority, and was long read as a class-book at Cambridge. But to understand it a preparatory course of mathematical studies is indispensable: indeed, to enter fully into the learned author's reasonings, a knowledge of the higher branches of mathematics is found so necessary that the readers of the work—at least the professional readers—are very few in number.

Charles Avison, organist of Newcastle-on-Tyne, gave to the world, in 1752, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, a critical work, written in an easy manner, displaying a full knowledge of the subject, and no small share of acumen. In this he is said to have been assisted by Dr. Brown,§ the celebrated author of *The Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*. He was a good practical musician, and published *Twenty-six Concertos* for a band, which were long admired, and possess much merit. His partiality for Marcello and Geminiani—the latter his master—betrayed him into the error of disparaging the incomparable Handel. This, and some other mistakes, drew upon him an attack—a somewhat illiberal one—by Dr. William Hayes.‖ Avison replied to this, and indiscreetly let his opponent know that he felt the pungency of his remarks. To the second edition of Avison's Essay is adjoined a learned and clever letter addressed to him, 'Concerning the Music of the Ancients,' by the Rev. Dr. Jortin.

A few far separated names, and a still smaller number of distinct facts, make up the history of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences in England to the date to which our previous notices have carried it—the latter part of the fifteenth century.* Nor from that date to the age of Bacon, or throughout the era of the Tudors, have we perhaps so many as a dozen English names of any note to show in this department. Yet before the end of the sixteenth century scientific speculation and experiment were busy in all the principal countries of continental Europe, and the first steps in the march of discovery had already been taken in various directions. In pure science, trigonometry, of which the foundations had been laid in the middle ages by the Arabian geometers, had been brought almost to the state in which it still remains by Purbach and his much more illustrious pupil John Müller (Regiomontanus); Müller had also created a new arithmetic by the invention of decimal fractions: algebra, known in its elements since the beginning of the thirteenth century, had been carried to the length of cubic equations by Ferreo, Tartalea, and Cardan, and of biquadratic by Cardan's pupil, Ludovico Ferrari, and had acquired all the generalization of expression it yet possesses in the hands first of Stifels, and soon after of Vieta. The true system of the universe had been revealed by Copernicus; and Tycho Brahe, although rejecting the hypothesis of his predecessor, as well as clinging to the old superstitions of astrology, had both wonderfully improved the instruments and the art of observation, and had greatly enlarged our knowledge of the heavens. The variation of the compass had been observed by Columbus; in mechanics, the theory of the inclined plane had been investigated by Cardan, the pulley had been explained by Ubaldi, and some cases of the composition of forces, and other propositions in statics, had been solved by Stevinus; in optics, the use of spectacles, which can be traced back to the early part of the fourteenth century, had been followed by the discovery of the crystalline lens of the eye by Maurolico, and the invention of the camera obscura by Baptista della Porta. The purely physical sciences had also made considerable advances. Mondino of Bologna, who has been called the father of modern anatomy, had set the example of the practice of dissection so early as the year 1315; and the knowledge of the structure of the human body, and of its functions, had been prosecuted since his time with great success both in Italy and France by Achillini, Berenger (Carpi), Jacques Dubois (Silvius), Charles Etienne (Stephanus), and especially by Vesalius, Fallopius, and Eustachius, whose celebrated Anatomical Tables, completed in 1552, were still the most perfect that had yet been produced when they were first published more than a century and a half after the author's death. In medicine, the Hippocratic method, revived by Nicolas Leonicenus before the end of the fifteenth century, had been cultivated and advanced by Cop, Ruel, Gonthier, Fuchs, and others; and con-

* Of this writer scarcely any information seems attainable. Dr. Burney says that "Chambers, in the first edition of his Cyclopædia, was indebted to Malcolm for most of his musical articles."

† John Christopher Pepusch, Mus. D., F.R.S., Organist of the Charter House, a Prussian by birth, who early settled in this country. His account of the *Genera of the Ancients, and of their musical scale*, is printed in the Philosophical Transactions for 1746.

‡ Robert Smith, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

§ Life of Brown, in Anderson's Poets, vol. x.

‖ The eminent Oxford Professor of Music, and composer of much fine church music, and many charming glees, &c.

* See vol. ii. p. 208.

siderable progress had even been made in emancipating the art from authority, and founding a new school on the basis of experience and common sense, or at least independent speculation, by Fernel, Argentier of Turin, and, above all, by the original and enterprising, though unregulated genius of Paracelsus. Conrad Gesner, Rondelet, and Aldrovandus, by the large additions they had made to the facts collected by Aristotle, Pliny, Ælian, and other ancient writers, and by their attempts at classification and system, had more than laid the foundations of modern zoology. In botany, Otto Brunfels of Strasburg had published his magnificent *Herbarum Eicones*, which has been regarded as leading the way in the restoration of the science; the route opened by him had been farther explored by Ruel and Fuchs, already mentioned (the latter the name commemorated in the well-known Fuchsia), by Matthioli, and others; Conrad Gesner had, about the middle of the sixteenth century, not only collected and arranged all the knowledge of his predecessors, but had given a new form to the science by his own discoveries; many accessions to his lists had been contributed by Dodoens (Dodonæus), Cæsalpinus, John and Caspar Bauhin, and especially by l'Ecluse (Clusius); and before the end of the century the first natural system of plants had been devised and published by Lobel. Finally, chemistry, in which numerous facts had been long ascertained by Roger Bacon, Geber and the other Arabian physicians, Raymond Lully and the other alchemists, had been cultivated in later times by Basil Valentine (the discoverer of antimony), George Agricola (who first mentions bismuth), and Paracelsus (in whose writings we find the first notice of zinc), and in the hands of Dornaeus, Crollius, and Bartholetus had begun to assume the rudiments of a scientific form; and the remarkable work of Agricola *De Re Metallica*, first published in 1546, followed as it was, before the end of the century, by the writings and researches of Ercher, Fachs, and Palissy (the great improver of the manufacture of enamelled pottery), may be said to have already established the science of mineralogy, and also to have furnished some indications of that of geology.

In England, meanwhile, much of this progress that had been made in other countries probably remained unknown. We have most to boast of in the physical sciences; medicine was both practised and taught on the revived principles of the ancient physicians, in the early part of the sixteenth century, by the learned Linacre, the translator of Galen, the founder of the medical lectureships at Oxford and Cambridge, and the first president of the College of Physicians, which was incorporated by Henry VIII. in 1518; some valuable works on botany and zoology were published in the latter half of the century by William Turner, particularly the earliest English Herbal, the first part of which appeared at London in 1551, the second and third at Cologne in 1562 and 1568;* the north and south poles of the magnet are described by Robert Norman, a writer on navigation, in 1581; and at the head of the modern sciences of navigation and electricity stands the name of Dr. William Gilbert, whose treatise *De Magnete* published in 1600, afforded one of the most remarkable specimens that had then appeared both of ingenious experimentin and of sound inductive reasoning. To Gilbert is assigned the invention of artificial magnets. In the pure sciences, and those more immediately dependent upon mathematics, we did very little during this period. Cuthbert Tonstall or Tunstall, Bishop of London, and afterwards of Durham, published a Latin Treatise on Arithmetic (De Arte Supputandi) at London, in 1522, which was frequently reprinted abroad in the course of the century. This performance so far from containing anything new, scarcely attempts even to explain the principles of the old rules and processes which it details and exemplifies; but it has the merit of a simplicity and a freedom from extraneous matter which were very rare in that age.† From what Tonstall says in the dedication of his book to his friend, Sir Thomas More, it would appear that, like almost every other nation in Europe, we were already possessed of arithmetical manuals in the vernacular tongue, though of a very low order. Of much greater importance were various works produced about the same date, or a little later, by William Recorde, the physician. "He was the first," says the authority to which we have just referred, "who wrote on arithmetic in English (that is, anything of a higher cast than the works mentioned by Tonstall); the first who wrote on geometry in English; the first who introduced algebra into England; the first who wrote on astronomy and the doctrine of the sphere in English; and, finally, the first Englishman (in all probability) who adopted the system of Copernicus."‡ Recorde's Ground of Arts, a treatise on arithmetic, first published in 1551, was many times reprinted, and kept its ground as a common schoolbook till the end of the seventeenth century. His Pathway to Knowledge, also first printed in 1551, is a treatise of practical geometry, but containing also an account of the theorems in the first four books of Euclid, though without the demonstrations. His Castle of Knowledge, published in 1556, is a treatise on astronomy, both theoretical and practical; and it is in this work that Recorde shows himself, in the words of the writer before us, "as much of a Copernican as any reasonable man could well be at the time; at least as much so (in profession) as was Copernicus himself, who makes no decided declaration of belief in his own system, but says, it

* Lobel, also, already mentioned, though a Fleming by birth, spent the latter years of his life in England, where James I. gave him the appointment of royal botanist.

† Notices of English Mathematical and Astronomical writers between the Norman Conquest and the year 1600, in Companion to the Almanac for 1837, p. 30.

‡ Ibid. An interesting account of Recorde's various works follows, pp. 30—37.

is by no means necessary that hypotheses should be true, or even probable,—it suffices that they make calculation and observation agree."* Recorde's Whetstone of Wit, first published in 1553, is a treatise of algebra, although the author does not use that name except in calling the application of indeterminate numbers to the solution of equations "the rule of Algeber." "In this treatise," says the writer of the Notices, "he appears to have compounded, for the first time, the rule for extracting the square roots of multi-nomial algebraical quantities, and also to have first used the sign =. In other respects he follows Scheubel, whom he cites, and Stifel, whom he does not cite. There is nothing on cubic equations, nor does he appear to have known anything of the Italian algebraists. . . . . Recorde was one of the first who had a distinct perception of the difference between an algebraical operation and its numerical interpretation, to the extent of seeing that the one is independent of the other; and also he appears to have broken out of the consideration of integer numbers, to a much greater extent than his contemporaries." In his perception of general results connected with the fundamental notation of algebra, this writer conceives Recorde to show himself superior even to Vieta himself, though of course immeasurably below the Italian in the invention of means of expression. "All his writings considered together," it is added, "Recorde was no common man. It is evident that he did not write very freely at first in English, but his style improves as he goes on. His writings continued to the end of the century to be those in common use on the subjects on which he wrote, though we must gather this more from the adoption of ideas and notation than from absolute citation."† Another English Copernican of this early date was John Field, the author of an Ephemeris for 1557, published in the preceding year. In the earliest English work on cosmography, nevertheless, "The Cosmographical Glass, compiled by William Cunningham," London, 1559, the system taught is that of Ptolemy, nor is the least hint of that of Copernicus to be found in the book.‡ In 1573 was published the first English translation of Euclid, professedly by the famous John Dee, the astrologer and *soi-disant* magician, but commonly believed to have been actually the performance of Sir Henry Billingsley, whom, however, the writer of the Notices before us supposes to have been a pupil of Dee, who only executed the more mechanical part of the undertaking, working under his master's general, if not special, instructions. The first Latin translation of the Elements of Euclid, that of Campanus, had appeared at Venice in 1482 (the original Greek not having been printed till 1530); and the only translations into any modern European tongues which preceded that of Dee were, that of Tartalea into Italian, Venice 1543; those of Scheubel of the 7th, 8th, and 9th books, and of Holtzmann of the preceding six, into German, Augsburg, 1562 and 1565; and that of Henrion into French, Paris, 1565 (as is supposed). Dee's translation appears either to have been made *from* the original, or at least to have been corrected by the Greek text. It "contains," says the writer before us, "the whole of the fifteen books commonly considered as making up the Elements of Euclid, and forms the first body of complete mathematical demonstration which appears in our language. For, though the works of Recorde were much less dogmatical than the elementary schoolbooks of the eighteenth, and (for the most part) of the present century, yet they partake of the character which they tended perhaps to perpetuate, and in many instances teach rules without demonstration, or with at most a rough kind of illustration. . . . . The appearance of Euclid in an English form probably saved the credit of the exact sciences, and in this point of view Dee and Billingsley have exercised a material and beneficial influence upon their favourite pursuits."* Of Dee's works the greater number still remain in manuscript; among those that have been published are a Latin treatise on Parallax, and a preface to Field's Ephemeris for 1557 (mentioned above) from which latter it appears that Dee also was a Copernican. Contemporary with this mathematician was Leonard Digges, who died in 1574, after having published various works, most of which were republished, with additions, by his son Leonard Digges, who lived till 1595. The writings of both father and son relate for the most part to mensuration and the art of war, and are characterised by the application of arithmetical geometry in these departments. One, a work of Thomas Digges, entitled *Alae sive Scalae Mathematicae*, 1573, being a tract upon parallaxes, undertaken at the suggestion of Lord Burleigh, in consequence of the appearance of the remarkable new star discovered the preceding year by Tycho Brahe in the constellation Cassiopeia, "is," says the author of the Notices, "the first work of an English writer in which we have noticed anything on spherical trigonometry, and the writings of Copernicus are more than once referred to as the source of this subject." From some passages, Thomas Digges appears, this writer thinks, "to have been a believer in the real motion of the earth, and not merely an admirer of the system of Copernicus as an explanatory hypothesis."† On the whole it may be said that nearly the whole history of the advancement of English mathematical science in the sixteenth century is connected with the names of Recorde, Dee, and Digges. If a judgment might be formed from some works published between 1580 and 1600, the author of the Notices is inclined to suppose that, instead of making any progress, science rather declined among us in that interval. "The writers," he observes, "seem to have abandoned what had been newly

* Companion to the Almanac for 1837, p. 36.
† Id. p. 37. ‡ Id. pp. 35 and 37.

* Companion to the Almanac for 1837, p. 39.
† Id. pp. 40, 41.

introduced, and to have betaken themselves to older authors and other notions." Among the productions in question are, the Mathematical Jewel, by John Blagrave, of Reading, 1585, a treatise on a new mathematical instrument, apparently a projection of the sphere, for the construction of problems in astronomy, which proceeds upon the Ptolemaic system of the world, and does not contain a hint of the Copernican, although Copernicus is several times alluded to as an observer; a work on the projection of the sphere, described as "very poor and insufficient," published in 1590, by Thomas Hood, the inventor of an astronomical instrument called Hood's Staff; M. Blundevile's Exercises, containing six treatises on arithmetic, cosmography, &c., 1594, in which is found a set of tables of sines, tangents, and seconds, being the first printed in England, but the author of which expressly denounces the Copernican system of the world as a "false supposition," although he admits that by help of it Copernicus had "made truer demonstrations of the motions and revolutions of the celestial spheres than ever were made before;" and various works by a Thomas Hill, one of which, The School of Skill, London, 1599, is described as "an account of the heavens and the surface of the earth, replete with those notions on astrology and physics which are not very common in the works of Recorde or Blundevile." * Hill notices the scheme of Pythagoras and Copernicus, by which, as he expresses it, they "took the earth from the middle of the world, and placed it in a peculiar orb." "But," he adds, "overpassing such reasons, lest by the newness of the arguments they may offend or trouble young students in the art, we therefore (by true knowledge of the wise) do attribute the middle seat of the world to the earth, and appoint it the centre of the whole."

But the daylight that had already arisen on the continent of Europe was soon to visit our island. The next age, in which Galileo, and Kepler, and Descartes, and Torricelli, and Pascal, and Huygens, revolutionised the entire structure and character of the mathematical and mathematico-physical sciences abroad, was ushered in among us by the bold speculations of Bacon and the brilliant inventions of Napier. Of what has been called the Baconian philosophy, and the amount of the effect it may be supposed to have had in impelling and directing the progress of science, we have already spoken.† The writings of Bacon probably did more service by exciting and diffusing the spirit of scientific observation and research, than by any new light they afforded for its guidance, which in truth was no more than it must have furnished to itself as soon as it was fairly awakened and engaged in operating. At all events, neither the pure sciences of figure and number, nor even those of the mixed sciences that have been chiefly advanced by the aid of mathematics and calculation, among which are astronomy, mechanics, and all the principal branches of what is commonly called natural philosophy, can well have received either impulse or direction from Bacon, who was not only entirely unacquainted with geometry and algebra, but evidently insensible even of their value or their use. Of those mathematical and analytical investigations which are the chief glory of the science of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is not the slightest anticipation in Bacon, nor any direction or suggestion by which they could have been at all promoted. Napier's great invention of logarithms, on the contrary, has from his own day to the present hour been one of the most active and efficient servants of all the sciences dependent upon calculation; nor could those of them in which the most splendid triumphs have been achieved have possibly been carried to the height they have reached without its assistance. The *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* was published by Napier at Edinburgh in a small quarto volume in the year 1614; and logarithms received their improved form, or that in which we now possess them, from their inventor and his friend Henry Briggs, in the same or the following year, although they were not partially published in that form till 1618, after the death of Napier, by Briggs, by whom the calculations had been performed. "Many inventions," says a late distinguished historian of science, "have been eclipsed or obscured by new discoveries, or they have been so altered by subsequent improvements that their original form can hardly be recognised, and, in some instances, has been entirely forgotten. This has almost always happened to the discoveries made at an early period in the progress of science, and before their principles were fully unfolded. It has been quite otherwise with the invention of logarithms, which came out of the hands of the author so perfect that it has never yet received but one material improvement—that which it derived, as has just been said, from the ingenuity of his friend in conjunction with his own. Subsequent improvements in science, instead of offering any thing that could supplant this invention, have only enlarged the circle to which its utility extended. Logarithms have been applied to numberless purposes which were not thought of at the time of their first construction. Even the sagacity of the author did not see the immense fertility of the principle he had discovered: he calculated his tables merely to facilitate arithmetical, and chiefly trigonometrical computation; and little imagined that he was at the same time constructing a scale whereon to measure the density of the strata of the atmosphere and the heights of mountains, that he was actually computing the areas and the lengths of innumerable curves, and was preparing for a calculus which was yet to be discovered many of the most refined and most valuable of its resources. Of Napier, therefore, if of any man, it may safely be pronounced, that his name will never

* Companion to the Almanac for 1837, p. 43.
† See vol. iii.

be eclipsed by any one more conspicuous, or his invention superseded by anything more valuable."* In the same volume with his logarithms Napier gave to the world the two very elegant and useful trigonometrical theorems known by his name.

Of the other English mathematicians of this age, Harriot, Briggs, and Horrocks may be mentioned as the most famous. Thomas Harriot, who died in 1621, is the author of a work on algebra (*Artis Analyticæ Praxis*), not published till ten years after his death, which makes an epoch in the history of that science, explaining in their full extent certain views first partially propounded by Vieta, and greatly simplifying some of the operations. To Harriot we also owe the convenient improvement of the substitution of the small for the capital letters which had been used up to this time. It appears, too, from his unpublished papers preserved at Petworth (formerly the seat of his patron the Earl of Northumberland), that he is entitled to a high place among the astronomers of his day, having, among other things, discovered the solar spots before any announcement of them was made by Galileo, and observed the satellites of Jupiter within a very few days after Galileo had first seen them.† Henry Briggs, besides the share he had, as mentioned above, in the improvement of logarithms, is entitled to the honour of having made a first step towards what is called the binomial theorem in algebra, finally discovered by Newton. He died in 1630. His *Trigonometria Britannica*, or tables of the logarithms of sines, &c. (in the preface to which is his distant view of the binomial theorem), was published in 1633, by his friend Henry Gellibrand, who had been for some time associated with him in the calculation of the logarithms. Samuel Horrocks, or Horrox, a native of Toxteth, near Liverpool, was an astronomer of remarkable genius, who died in 1641, at the early age of twenty-two. He was the first person who saw the planet Venus on the body of the sun: his account of this observation (made 24th November, 1639) was printed by Hevelius at the end of his *Mercurius in Sole Visus*, published at Dantzig in 1662. But Horrocks is principally famous in the history of astronomy as having anticipated, hypothetically, the view of the lunar motions which Newton afterwards showed to be a necessary consequence of the theory of gravitation. This discovery was given to the world by Dr. Wallis, in a collection of Horrocks's posthumous papers which he published at London in 1672. It had been originally communicated by Horrocks in a letter (which has also been preserved, and is to be found in some copies of Wallis's publication) to his friend William Crabtree, whose fate, as well as genius, was singularly similar to his own. Crabtree was a clothier at Broughton, near Manchester, and had made many valuable astronomical observations (a portion of which have been preserved and printed) when he was cut off only a few months after his friend Horrocks, and about the same early age. Another member of this remarkable cluster of friends, whom a common devotion to science united at a time when the fiercest political heats were occupying and distracting most of their countrymen, was William Gascoigne, of Middleton, in Yorkshire, who also died very young, having been killed, about two years after the decease of Horrocks and Crabtree, fighting on the royalist side, at the battle of Marston Moor. He appears to have first used two convex glasses in the telescope, and to have been the original inventor of the wire micrometer and of its application to the telescope, and also of the application of the telescope to the quadrant. A fourth of these associated cultivators of science in the north of England was William Milbourn, who was curate of Brancespeth, near Durham, and who is stated to have made his way by himself to certain of the algebraic discoveries first published in Harriot's work, and likewise to have, by his own observations, detected the errors in the astronomical tables of Lansberg, and verified those of Kepler. The names of several other astronomical observers of less eminent merit who existed at this time in England have also been preserved; among which may be particularised that of Jeremiah Shackerly, the author of a work entitled *Tabulæ Britannicæ*, published at London in 1653, which is stated to have been compiled mostly from papers left by Horrocks that were afterwards destroyed in the great fire of 1666.* Nor ought we to pass over the name of Edmund Gunter, the inventor of the useful wooden logarithmic scale still known by his name, and also of the sector and of the common surveyor's chain, and the author of several works, one of which, his *Canon Triangulorum*, first published at London in 1620, is the earliest printed table of logarithmic sines, &c., constructed on the improved or common system of logarithms. Briggs's tables, as has been stated above, were not printed till 1633. Gunter also appears to have been the author of the convenient terms cosine, cotangent, &c., for sine, tangent, &c., of the complement. "Whatever, in short," as has been observed, "could be done by a well-informed and ready-witted person to make the new theory of logarithms more immediately available in practice to those who were not skilful mathematicians, was done by Gunter."† He has moreover the credit of having been the first observer of the important fact of the variation of the compass itself varying. Another eminent English mathematician of this age was John Greaves, the author of the first good account of the Pyramids of Egypt, which he visited

* Playfair's Dissertation on the Progress of Mechanical and Physical Science (in Encyclopædia Britannica), p. 448.

† These facts, ascertained from the examination of Harriot's papers, then in possession of the Earl of Egremont, were first stated by Zach in the Astronomical Ephemeris of the Berlin Royal Society of Sciences for 1788.

* See a notice of these English astronomers of the earlier half of the seventeenth century, in an article on Horrocks in the Penny Cyclopædia, xii. 305.

† Penny Cyclopædia, xi. 497.

in 1638, and of various learned works relating to the Oriental astronomy and geography, and the weights and measures of the ancients. He died in 1652. Briggs, Gunter, Gellibrand, and Greaves were all at one time or other professors in the new establishment of Gresham College, London, which may be regarded as having considerably assisted the promotion of science in England in the early part of the seventeenth century. The founder, as is well known, was the eminent London merchant Sir Thomas Gresham, who died in 1579, and left his house in Bishopsgate-street for the proposed seminary, although the reserved interest of his widow prevented his intentions from being carried into effect till after her decease in 1596. The seven branches of learning and science for which professorships were instituted were divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, physic, and rhetoric; the first four under the patronage of the corporation of the City of London, the last three under that of the Mercers' Company. The chair of geometry, in which Briggs and Greaves had sate, was occupied in a later age by Barrow and Hooke; and that of astronomy, in which Gellibrand had succeeded Gunter, was afterwards filled by Wren. Another Gresham professorship that has to boast of at least two distinguished names in the seventeenth century is that of music, which was first held by the famous Dr. John Bull, and afterwards by Sir William Petty.

In the physical sciences, the event most glorious to England in this age is the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Dr. William Harvey. To our illustrious countryman at least is indisputably due the demonstration and complete establishment of this fact, or what alone in a scientific sense is to be called its discovery, even if we admit all the importance that ever has been or can be claimed for the conjectures and partial anticipations of preceding speculators. Even Aristotle speaks of the blood flowing from the heart to all parts of the body; and Galen infers, from the valves in the pulmonary artery, its true course in passing through that vessel. After the revival of anatomy, Mondino and his successor Berenger taught nearly the same doctrine with regard to the passage of the blood from the right side of the heart to the lungs. Much nearer approaches were made to Harvey's discovery in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The famous Michael Servetus (put to death at Geneva for his anti-trinitarian heresies), in a work printed in 1553, distinctly describes the passage of the blood from the right to the left side of the heart, telling us that it does not take place, as commonly supposed, through the middle partition of the heart (the *septum*, which in fact is impervious), but in a highly artificial manner through the lungs, where it is changed to a bright colour, adding that after it has thus been transferred from the arterial vein (that is, the pulmonary artery) to the venous artery (that is, the pulmonary vein), it is then diffused from the left ventricle of the heart throughout the arteries (or blood-vessels) of the whole body.* A few years after, in 1559, the pulmonary, or small circulation, as it is called, was again brought forward as an original discovery of his own by Realdus Columbus, in his work *De Re Anatomica*, published at Venice in that year. And in 1571 Cæsalpinus of Arezzo, in his *Quæstiones Peripateticæ*, also published at Venice, inferred from the swelling of veins *below* ligatures that the blood must flow *from* these vessels *to* the heart. So far had the investigation of the subject, or rather speculation respecting it, proceeded when it was taken up by Harvey. From Fabricius ab Aquapendente, under whom he studied at Padua about the year 1600, Harvey, then in his twenty second or twenty third year, learned the fact of the existence of valves in many of the veins, which were evidently so constructed as to prevent the flow of blood in these vessels *from* the heart, and at the same time not to impede its motion in the opposite direction. According to Harvey's own account, given in a conversation with Boyle, which the latter has reported in his Treatise on Final Causes, it was the existence of these valves in the veins that first suggested to him the idea of his general theory of the circulation. Having satisfied himself by much consideration of the subject, and by many dissections and other careful experiments both on dead and living bodies, that his views were at least in the highest degree probable, he is supposed to have first announced the doctrine of the complete circulation of the blood from the left ventricle of the heart through the whole system back to the right by means of the arteries and veins in his delivery of the Lumleian lectures on anatomy and surgery before the College of Physicians in 1615. But it was not till the year 1619 that he came before the world with the full demonstration of his theory in his treatise entitled 'Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus.' The best proof of the novelty of the views propounded in this work is furnished by the general incredulity with which they were received by the profession in every part of Europe. It is said that there was scarcely an instance known of the doctrine of the circulation being received on its first promulgation by any anatomist or medical man who had passed his fortieth year. It is probable, indeed, that even the small circulation, or the passage of the blood from the right to the left ventricle of the heart through the lungs, which was really all that had been hitherto discovered, was as yet but little known, or generally looked upon rather as at most an ingenious supposition than a well established fact. At all events there can be no doubt that, beyond this point, all was darkness and error—

* This remarkable passage is often erroneously quoted from the fifth book of Servetus's first publication, entitled *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, which was printed, probably at Basle, in 1531. It occurs, in fact, in the fifth book of the first part of quite another work, his *Christianismi Restitutio*, published at Vienne in 1553. Of this work only one copy is known to be in existence, which has been minutely described by De Bure, who calls it the rarest of all books. See his *Bibliographie Instructive*, i. 418—422, where the passage relating to the circulation of the blood is extracted at length. It is remarkable, however, that what is believed to be the original manuscript, in the author's own handwriting, of the First Part of the *Christianismi Restitutio* also still survives. See *De Bure*, i. 423, 424.

that, notwithstanding some vague, inaccurate generalizations that had been thrown out by Servetus, Columbus, and one or two other writers, the circulation of the blood through the whole course of the arteries and veins, so far from being believed in, had scarcely been heard of or dreamed of by anybody before it was demonstrated by Harvey. The notion, we may say, universally entertained still was, as in the earliest times, that the veins were merely sacks of stagnant or at least unprogressive blood, and the arteries nothing more than air-tubes. Harvey himself, in proceeding to propound his theory, expresses his apprehension lest the opposition of the views he is about to state to those hitherto entertained might make all men his enemies; and it appears that he encountered as much popular as professional opposition and odium by his book, which was looked upon as a daring attack at once upon antiquity, common sense, and nature herself. It was indeed the beginning and proclamation of a complete revolution in medical science. If the circulation of the blood was true, the greater part of all that had been hitherto taught and believed on the subjects of anatomy and physiology was false. As has been strikingly observed by a writer of our own day, "a person who tries to imagine what the science of medicine could have been while it took no account of this fact, on which, as a basis, all certain reasoning about the phenomena of life must rest, is prepared for what old medical books exhibit of the writhings of human reason in attempts to explain and to form theories while a fatal error was mixed with every supposition."*

Harvey, whose life was extended to the year 1658, contributed to the improvement of anatomical and physiological knowledge by various subsequent publications; and the progress of discovery in this department was also aided by others of our countrymen, particularly by Dr. Nathaniel Highmore (who has given his name to that cavity in the upper jaw called the *Antrum Highmorianum*), Dr. Francis Glisson (the discoverer of what is called the capsule of Glisson, lying between the liver and the stomach), Dr. Jolyffe, Dr. Thomas Wharton, and Drs. Thomas Willis and Richard Lower, celebrated as the first accurate anatomists of the brain and nerves. Some of the most important publications of the three last mentioned, however, were not produced till after the Restoration. In natural history little was done in England in the earlier half of the seventeenth century. The great authority in botany was still the "Herbal, or General History of Plants," of John Gerard, originally published in 1597, which was for the most part merely a hasty and inartificial compilation from Dodonæus, and nearly as destitute of scientific as of literary merit.

But even in the mathematico-physical sciences, and the other branches of what is commonly called natural philosophy, it is wonderful how little general effect appears to have been produced in this country either by the example or by the actual discoveries of Kepler, Galileo, Torricelli, Pascal, Des Cartes, and their associates and immediate successors abroad, and of Napier, Briggs, Horrocks, and the few others among ourselves whose names have a place in this period of the history of science beside those of their illustrious continental contemporaries;—how little of the general darkness they had dispersed—how little acceptance, or even attention, either their doctrines or the spirit of their philosophy seems to have met with from the common herd of our English speculators and professional men. Some notion of the barbarous state in which physical science still remained among us after the middle of the seventeenth century may be obtained from a curious volume entitled 'Archelogia Nova, or New Principles of Philosophy,' which was published in the year 1663 by a Dr. Gideon Harvey, who had held the high office of physician to the forces in Flanders, and may be therefore regarded as having stood nearly at the head of his profession. Besides an introduction on philosophy in general, Dr. Harvey's work treats of metaphysics and of natural theology, as well as of natural philosophy or physics; but the last mentioned subject occupies the greater portion of the book. The author makes an apology in his preface for some deficiency of polish in his style; the learned tongues, he would have us understand, apparently, had occupied his whole time to the exclusion of the vernacular: "it was never my fortune," he says, "to read two sheets of any English book in my life, or even to have had the view of so much as the title leaf of an English grammar." His English certainly is not always very classical; but the language of his explanations and reasonings would usually be intelligible enough if the matter were equally so. The work, as we have seen, professes to be a *new* system of philosophy; and it does contain, certainly, various new crotchets, but the author's views are founded, nevertheless, in the main upon the old Aristotelian and mediæval notions, and one of his principal aims throughout is to refute the recent innovators who in so many departments had been questioning or denying these long universally admitted *dicta*. Thus, in an early chapter, he falls with great violence upon Van Helmont for his dissent from the authority of Hippocrates, Galen, and Aristotle in various points of physical doctrine, and especially for his rejection of the four elements. Afterwards he attacks Des Cartes, whom he charges with no fewer than seventeen serious errors; amongst which are, "that the moon and the other planets borrow their light from the sun,"—"that the earth is nothing different from a planet, and consequently that the other planets are inhabitable,"—"that the moon is illuminated by the earth,"—and "that he assumes most of the erroneous opinions of Copernicus." Harvey, however, professes to be quite a common sense philosopher: "The only instruments," he says in his preface, "that I have employed in the sounding of

* Arnott's Elements of Physics, 4th edit. i. 519.

the natures of things are the external senses, assuming nothing, or concluding no inference, without their advice and undoubted assent, whether in metaphysics, theology, or natural philosophy. Those terms or notions that only give a confused testimony of their being to the understanding, escaping the evidence of external sense, we have declined, as rocks whereon any one might otherwise easily make shipwreck of his sensible knowledge." His practice, however, does not always exactly square with these professions. Take for example a portion of his demonstration of the existence of atoms, or, as he chooses to call them, *minimas*. "Is not time composed out of instants united, and motion out of spurts joined to one another? That there are instants and spurts the operations of angels do confirm to us." This is hardly keeping within the province of the senses. Nor is what follows in the most matter of fact style:—in grinding any substance, if you continue the operation beyond a certain point, "you shall sooner," says our author, "grind it into clods and bigger pieces than lesser; the reason is, because nature is irritated by the violence and heat of grinding to call the air to its assistance, which glueth its body again together."* The historical deduction of the created universe from the original chaos, and much argumentation that follows touching the essential qualities and forms of things, may be passed over. But we may abridge a speculation about the phenomena of drowning which occurs in one of the chapters. The true reason, we are told, had never before been laid down by any, why "a man yet living, or any other creature when alive, is much heavier than when he is dead." That such is the fact, in the first place, is assumed from a living man sinking at first when he falls into the water, and rising again to the top after he has been dead for some time. "The reason is," proceeds our philosopher, "because, through the great heat which was inherent in that man, the heavy and terrestrial parts were the more detained from the centre; they, again, being thus detained, moved stronger towards the centre, and therefore make the body heavier during their violent detention, through the great heat which was in the said man when alive; so that, through this great weight, the alive body sinks down to the bottom. Now, when a man is suffocated, and the heat squeezed out of him by the thick compressing parts of the water, then he is rendered less heavy, and immediately leaves the inferior parts of water, as being less weighty than the said profound parts." So that we see one principle of Dr. Gideon Harvey's philosophy is, that weight is partly occasioned by heat—that the same substance is heavier or lighter according as it is hotter or colder. The further explanation, in the like strain, of the reasons that nevertheless detain the body below for a considerable time after it may be supposed to have become as cold as the pressure of the water can well make it, need not be quoted at length:—

* Arch. Philos. Nova, Part ii. p. 29.

there still remain, it seems, certain "airy and fiery parts," after the vital flame has been extinguished, which it requires in most cases some days to overcome. A strong, compact, well-set man will be eight or nine days in ascending to the top, "because his heat was deeper, and in greater quantity impacted into his body;" and for the same reason it is affirmed such a man will sink sooner to the bottom, vanishing under water in the twinkling of an eye. "On the contrary," continues our author, "we hear how that weak and tender women have fallen into the river, and have swam upon the water until watermen have rowed to them, and have taken them up; and many weakly women, that were suspected to be witches, being cast into the water for a trial, have been wickedly and wrongfully adjudged to be witches because they were long in sinking; and, alas, it is natural: the reason was, because they were comparatively light; for their earthy parts were not so much detained, and consequently moved not so forcibly downwards." "No doubt," it is added, with *naïveté* enough, "but their coats conduced also somewhat to it." "Whence I collect," concludes the demonstration, "that an ordinary woman is almost one-third longer descending to the bottom than an ordinary man, because a man, from being a third stronger (because he is a third heavier through the force of the light elements—but I mean not through fat or corpulency) than a woman, is conjectured to have one-third more heat than a woman."* But if a woman has less heat than a man, she is, in the worthy doctor's opinion, still more decidedly his inferior in other respects, what heat she has, it should seem, being, after all, too much for the weakness of her general organization. "Women," he afterwards observes, "die faster, that is, thicker than men, and are more disposed to sickness than they, because their innate heat and air do effect greater alterations upon their bodies, as having but little earth or compressing density, in comparison to men, to resist the light elements and moderate their irruptions; and, therefore, women seldom reach to any equal or consistent temperature, but are always in changing, which in them after eighteen, twenty, or twenty-four years' expiration is particularly called *breaking*, because then they alter so fast that they swiftly put a period to their days; and that because their bodies being lax and porous, their innate heat shoots through in particles, and not in *minimas*, without which there can be no durable temperature. Were their bodies heavier and denser, the *minimas* of earth would divide their heat into *minimas*, and reduce it to a temperature. If, then, their innate heat doth constantly cohere in particles, and is never directed into *minimas*, it retaining in that case stronger force than otherwise it could do in *minimas*, it alterates their bodies continually, and so they never attain to any consistency of age. Many sexagenarian widowers, or men of threescore years of age, do alter less and

* Arch. Philos. Nova, Part ii. p. 106.

slower than most women do from their five-and-thirtieth year; wherefore they do rather covet a wife of twenty, because she will just last as long in her prime, or will be as fast in breaking, altering, and changing her temperament, form, and shape, in one year as the old man shall alter or change in three or four years; and so they [the old man and his young wife] grow deformed in equal time. Wherefore a man's consistent age may last out the beauties of two or three women, one after the other; and, because of this, some in their mirth have proclaimed a woman after her thirty-fifth year to be fitter for an hospital than to continue a wife. No wonder if a woman be more fierce, furious, and of a more rash, swift judgment than a man; for their spirits and heat, moving in great troops and confluences of particles, must needs move swift, which swiftness of motion is the cause of their sudden rages, nimble tongues, and rash wits, &c. &c."* But our fair readers have probably had enough of this. From many other curious things in the multifarious miscellany, which comprises chemistry, botany, mineralogy, and other subjects besides those now usually included under the name of natural philosophy, we will transcribe a few sentences from what is laid down in various places on the matters that had most engaged the attention of inquirers for more than a century preceding the time of this writer, and in the elucidation of which the greatest progress had been made by Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Des Cartes, and some of his own countrymen. The "old fancy of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristarchus, Seleucus, Niceta, and others," the making the earth revolve around the sun, which had been in modern times revived by Copernicus, we have already seen that our author treats as a very absurd notion. "The earth is," he says, "and must necessarily be, the centre of the world, or of all the other elements, within which it is contained like the yolk of an egg within the white and the shell. I prove the proposition: if the nature of earth be to move conically from the circumference to its own centre through a contiguous gravity, and the nature of air and fire be to be equally diffused from the centre through their levity, *ergo*, the earth must needs fall to the midst of them all, its parts tending circularly and conically to their centre. The earth being arrived to the centre, it resteth quiet and immovable."† As for the position that the sun is the centre of the system, besides that it is in manifest contradiction to the language of Scripture, it cannot be true, we are told, for this, among other reasons:—"The sun is accounted by most, and proved by us, to be a fiery body, or a flame, and therefore is incapable of attaining to rest in a restless region, which, if it did, its flame would soon diminish through the continual rushing by of the fiery element, tearing its flames into a thousand parts, whose effects would certainly prove destructive to the whole universe, but especially to all living creatures." "The moon," it is added, "is liker (if any) to be the centre, it consisting by far of more earth than the sun, as her minority in body, motion, and degree of brightness do testify."* Our author objects, moreover, to the motion assigned to the earth by the Copernican hypothesis on a variety of grounds. In particular, he argues, it is incredibly rapid for so large and heavy a body. Again, "were the earth a planet or star," he observes, "it is supposed it should cast a light, which is repugnant to its nature, through which, as I have showed before, she is rendered dark, and is the cause of all darkness. Were this absurdity admitted, all our knowledge which hitherto wise men have so laboured to accomplish would be in vain; for, as I said before, earth and earthy bodies must be light, fire, and fiery bodies must be heavy, and enjoy their rest; water and waterish bodies must be likewise heavy; the air and airy bodies must be weighty, and enjoy their rest; .... all dark colours must be supposed light; all astronomical appearances, shadows; sounds, tastes, scents, and all mixed bodies must then be understood to be contrary to what really they are." In fine, he concludes, after quoting some passages to show that Scripture likewise, as well as common sense, is plain against the earth's motion, "what need there more words to confute so absurd an opinion?"† In a subsequent chapter on the tides, he objects altogether to the imagination entertained by Des Cartes, of the sun and moon having anything to do with that phenomenon. "I deny," he says, in the first place, "his supposition of the earth's motion, as being fabulous, which we have confuted elsewhere. He might as well assert that there be as many Neptunes under water moving it circularly, as Aristotle stated intelligences to move the heavens; for even this he might excuse by saying it was but an assumption to prove a phenomenon of the water." "Can any one rationally or probably conceive," again he indignantly asks, "that the sun, much less the moon, being so remote, and whose forcible effects are so little felt by sublunary bodies, should be capable of driving, so deep, so large, and so heavy a body as the ocean, which is as powerful to resist through its extreme gravity as all the celestial bodies are potent to move through their extreme lightness? What, because the ocean and the moon move one way, therefore the one must either follow or move the other? What, can a passion so durable and constant, and so equal, depend upon a violent cause? ... Such fancies are ridiculous, and not to be proposed by any philosopher."‡ The reason why the greatest height of the waters happens at full moon he conceives simply to be "because the ocean began its course at that instant when the moon after her creation, being placed in opposition to the sun, began hers."§ His own explanation of the cause of the tides is, that they are occasioned in some way or other, which he takes great pains, but not to much pur-

* Arch. Philos. Nova, Part ii. p. 134. † Id. p. 206.

* Arch. Philos. Nova, Part ii. p. 208.
† Id., p. 209. ‡ Id. p. 303. § Id. p. 305.

pose, to investigate, by the force of their own gravity periodically drawing the waters of the ocean downward: "the waters," he says, "take the beginning of their motion underneath not far from the ground, where their being pressed by the great weight of many hundred fathoms of water lying upon them must needs cause a very swift course of waters removing underneath and withdrawing from that of the surface, which is prevented by a swift motion, because it sinks down to that place whence the subjected parts do withdraw themselves; which gives us a reason why the superficial parts of the sea do not flow by many degrees so swift as the subjected ones."* In another chapter he takes up the question of the relative magnitudes of the earth, the sun, and the other heavenly bodies; setting out by asserting that "the body of the sun is by far exceeded in mole and bigness by the weighty globe"† (that is, by this earth). But what he calls his proofs of this proposition need not be inflicted upon the reader.

Such were the notions in science which prevailed probably among the generality even of persons of education and reading in England at the date of the incorporation and first public establishment of the Royal Society. The origin of this institution is traced to about the year 1645, when, on the suggestion of Mr. Theodore Haak, a native of the Palatinate, a number of persons resident in London, who took an interest in what was called the new or experimental philosophy, began to meet together once a week, sometimes at the lodgings of one of their number, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, a physician, in Wood-street, who kept an operator in his house for grinding glasses for telescopes; sometimes at apartments in Cheapside, sometimes in Gresham College or its neighbourhood. Such is the account given by Dr. Birch, on the authority of Dr. John Wallis, the eminent mathematician, who was himself a member of the association thus formed.‡ Besides Wallis, Haak, and Goddard, it included Dr. Wilkins (afterwards bishop of Chester, and the author of several curious scientific projects and speculations), Dr. George Ent (the friend of Harvey, and defender of his great discovery), Dr. Glisson, already mentioned, Dr. Christopher Merret, who afterwards distinguished himself by his experimental investigations, Mr. Samuel Foster, professor of astronomy in Gresham College, and several others whose names have not been recorded. "Their business was," says Birch, "precluding affairs of state and questions of theology, to consider and discuss philosophical subjects, and whatever had any connexion with or relation to them—as physic, anatomy, geometry, astronomy, navigation, statics, magnetism, chemistry, mechanics, and natural experiments, with the state of these studies as then cultivated at home or abroad." In some letters written in 1646 and 1647 we find the Honourable Robert Boyle, then a very young man, making mention of what he calls "our new Philosophical or Invisible College," by which he is supposed to mean this association. Wilkins, Wallis, and Goddard were all withdrawn to Oxford by being appointed to offices in the university in the course of the years 1648, 1649, and 1651; and by their exertions a society similar to the London one was now established in that city, which was joined by Dr. Seth Ward, then Savilian professor of astronomy, afterwards successively bishop of Exeter and Salisbury, by Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dr. Thomas Willis, Dr. (afterwards Sir) William Petty (all physicians), and divers others. The Oxford society met at first in Dr. Petty's lodgings, in the house of an apothecary, whose boxes and phials furnished them with many of the chemical substances they wanted for inspection or experiment; after Petty went to Ireland in September, 1652, the meetings seem to have been discontinued for some years; but in February, 1658, we find Petty, in a letter from Dublin to Boyle, observing that he had not heard better news than that the club was restored at Oxford, and shortly before that date the members appear to have, in fact, begun to assemble again at Dr. Wilkins's apartments in Wadham College, whence, on the appointment of Wilkins, in September, 1659, to the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge, they transferred themselves to the lodgings of Mr. Boyle, who had come to Oxford in June, 1654, and continued to reside there till April, 1668. All this while the original London society is believed to have met once or twice a week for the greater part of the year without interruption, those of the members who had removed to Oxford rejoining it whenever they chanced to come up to town. In course of time many of the members of the Oxford club became resident in London; and it is certain that, by the year 1659, the meetings had come to be held pretty regularly in term time at Gresham College every week, either after the Wednesday's lecture on astronomy by Wren, or after the Thursday's on geometry by Mr. Lawrence Rooke, sometimes, perhaps, on both days. Among the members at this time are mentioned Lord Brouncker and John Evelyn. The confusion in which public affairs were involved in the latter part of the year 1659, when Gresham College was turned into a barrack for soldiers, dispersed the philosophers; but "their meetings," continues their historian, "were revived, and attended with a larger concourse of persons, eminent for their characters and learning, upon the Restoration, 1660; and, as appears from the journal book of the Royal Society, on the 28th of November that year, the Lord Viscount Brouncker, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Bruce, Sir Robert Moray, Sir Paul Neile, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Goddard, Dr. Petty, Mr. Balle, Mr. Rooke, Mr. Wren, and Mr. Hill, after the lecture of Mr. Wren, at Gresham Col-

* Arch. Philos. Nova, Part ii. p. 306. † Id. p. 417.

‡ History of the Royal Society of London, 1756; i. 1. Dr. Birch refers to Dr. Wallis's account of his own Life in the Preface to Hearne's edition of Langtoft's Chronicle, i. 161. What is here called an account of his life is a letter from Wallis to his friend Dr. Thomas Smith.

lege, withdrew for mutual conversation into Mr. Rooke's apartment, where, amongst other matters discoursed of, something was offered about a design of founding a college for the promoting of physico-mathematical experimental learning. And, because they had these frequent occasions of meeting with one another, it was proposed that some course might be thought of to improve this meeting to a more regular way of debating things; and that, according to the manner in other countries, where there were voluntary associations of men into academies for the advancement of various parts of learning, they might do something answerable here for the promoting of experimental philosophy."* It was thereupon agreed that the meetings should be continued at three o'clock in the afternoon on every Wednesday, in Mr. Rooke's chamber at Gresham College during term time, and at Mr. Balle's apartments in the Temple in the vacation. It was also arranged that every member of the society should pay ten shillings on his admission, and a shilling a week besides so long as he remained a member. At this meeting, which may be regarded as that at which the present Royal Society was actually founded, Dr. Wilkins presided. From the subsequent admissions it appears that only the twelve persons present on this occasion were considered as members; all others, even those who had attended the meetings kept before the Restoration, had to be regularly proposed and balloted for. A list, however, was now drawn out of "such persons as were known to those present, and judged by them willing and fit to be joined with them in their design, and who, if they should desire it, might be admitted before any others;" among whom we find the names of Lord Hatton, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brereton, who had been a member of the old club, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Evelyn, Mr. Slingsbey (another attendant at the meetings before the Restoration), Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Denham, Dr. Ward, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Glisson, Dr. Ent, Dr. Bate (author of the *Elenchus Motuum*), Dr. Willis, Dr. Cowley (the poet), Mr. Ashmole (founder of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford), Mr. Oldenburg (*long* secretary), &c. At the next meeting, on that day week, Sir Robert Moray informed the members, *from* the king, that his majesty had been made acquainted with their design, and that he highly approved of it, and would be ready to give it his encouragement. It appears to have been principally through Moray, who held the office of a sort of private secretary *to* Charles II., that the society acquired and was enabled to keep up its interest at court. Burnet, who knew him well, calls him "the first former of the Royal Society," and adds that "while he lived he was the life and soul of that body." "He was," says the bishop, "the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my whole life. He was a pious man, and in the midst of armies and courts he spent many hours a day in devotion, which was in a most elevating strain. He had gone through the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peiriski, as he is described by Gassendi."* On the 16th of January, 1661, we find the king sending the society two loadstones by Sir Robert Moray, with a message, "that he expected an account from the society of some of the most considerable experiments upon them."† Charles seems to have taken much interest in the society from the first; in the account of the meeting of the 4th of September this year, it is noted that "a proposition of Mr. Hobbes, for finding two mean proportionals between two straight lines given, was delivered in to the society by Sir Paul Neile from the king, indorsed with his majesty's own hand, and was ordered to be registered;"‡ and on the 16th of October Sir Robert Moray acquaints the society that he and Sir Paul Neile had kissed the king's hand in their name; on which he was desired to return their most humble thanks to his majesty "for the favour and honour done them, of offering himself to be entered one of their society."§ "When the society first addressed themselves to his majesty," Bishop Spratt tells us, "he was pleased to express much satisfaction that this enterprise was begun in his reign. He then represented to them the gravity and difficulty of their work; and assured them of all the kind influence of his power and prerogative. Since that he has frequently committed many things to their search; he has referred many foreign rarities to their inspection; he has recommended many domestic improvements to their care; he has demanded the result of their trials in many appearances of nature; he has been present, and assisted with his own hands, at the performing of many of their experiments, in his gardens, his parks, and on the river."‖ On the 15th of July, 1662, a charter was passed incorporating the society under the name of the Royal Society, and constituting William Lord Brouncker the first president; Moray, Boyle, Brereton, Digby, Neile, Slingsbey, Petty, Drs. Wallis, Timothy Clarke, Wilkins, and Ent, William Areskine, Esq., cup-bearer to his majesty, Drs. Goddard and Christopher Wren, William Balle, Esq., Matthew Wren, Esq., Evelyn, T. Henshaw, Esq., Dudley Palmer, Esq., and Oldenburg, the first council; Balle, the first treasurer; and Wilkins and Oldenburg *the first* secretaries. And some additional privileges were granted by a second charter which passed the privy seal on the 22nd of April, 1663.¶ From a list drawn up on the 21st of May, in that year, it appears that the number of members was then a hundred and fifteen.** Among them, besides the names that have

* Birch, i. 3.

* Own Time, i. 59.
† Birch, i. 10.
‡ Id. p. 42.
§ Id. p. 50.
‖ History of the Royal Society, Lond. 1667. p. 133.
¶ See the first Charter in Birch, i. 88—96; the second, 221—230.
** Birch, i. 239.

been already mentioned, are those of James Lord Annesley, John Aubrey, Esquire, (the author of the Miscellanies), George Duke of Buckingham, George Lord Berkeley, Robert Lord Bruce, Isaac Barrow, B.D., Walter Lord Cavendish, Dr. Walter Charleton, John Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Henry Marquis of Dorchester, William Earl of Devonshire, John Dryden, Esquire, (the poet), John Graunt, Esquire, (author of the Observations upon the Bills of Mortality), Mr. Robert Hooke, (already a very active member, although the only one whose name stands thus undecorated by any designation either civil or academic), Alexander Earl of Kincardine, John Lord Lucas, John Viscount Massareene, James Earl of Northampton, Dr. Walter Pope (author of the well known song called the Old Man's Wish, and other pieces of verse), Edward Earl of Sandwich, Thomas Spratt, M. A. (afterwards Bishop of Rochester), Edmund Waller, Esquire (the poet). The Royal Society, we thus perceive, besides the array of titled names which it doubtless owed in part to the patronage of the court, had at this time to boast of a considerable sprinkling of the cultivators of poetry and general literature among its men of science and experimentalists.* It had however been specially

SEAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

constituted for the promotion of natural or physical science: *Regalis Societas Londini pro scientia natuarli promovenda*, or the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge, is the full title by which it is described in the second royal charter, and in the English oath therein directed to be taken by the president.*

We have a curious account of the Royal Society at this early date from Louis XIV.'s historiographer, M. Samuel Sorbiere, who came over to this country in 1663, and after his return to France published a narrative of his adventures.† Sorbiere's book is on the whole a somewhat coxcombical performance, and, of course, in a hastily written description of a foreign country, in which he spent only a few months, he has made several mistakes as to matters of fact; but he may be trusted at least for the outside appearances of things which he saw with his own eyes, and which he evidently does not intend to misrepresent. One of his principal objects in visiting England, he states, was to renew his acquaintance with some old friends, and to be introduced to other learned persons here. One of those whom he had formerly known was Mr. Hobbes, whom, he tells us, he found much the same man as he had seen him fourteen years before, "and even," he adds, "in the same posture in his chamber as he was wont to be every afternoon, wherein he betook himself to his studies after he had been walking about all the morning. This he did for his health, of which he ought to have the greatest regard, he being at this time seventy-eight years of age. Besides which he plays so long at tennis once a week till he is quite tired. I found very little alteration in his face, and none at all in the vigour of his mind, strength of memory, and cheerfulness of spirit; all which he perfectly retained." ‡ Hobbes, who in fact was at this time no more than seventy-five, and who lived and wrote for sixteen or seventeen years longer, had already involved himself in his famous mathematical controversy with Dr. Wallis and the new society, which speedily became so angry and scurrilous on both sides—especially on that of Hobbes, who was in the wrong; but it does not appear either that Sorbiere was prepossessed against the society, or they against him in the first instance, by his connexion with their great assailant. Perhaps, however, the circumstance was remembered afterwards, when some of the more zealous members found themselves dissatisfied with the Frenchman's published narrative, and Spratt, already the appointed historian of the society, and vain of his reputation as the finest or smartest writer of the day, undertook the task of exposing its blunders and calumnies.§ The society elected Sorbiere a member while he was in England; and he on his part speaks with great respect both of the society as a body, and of those of its members whom he has occasion to mention. Of Sir Robert

* On the 7th of December, 1664, "it being suggested that there were several persons of the society whose genius was very proper and inclined to improve the English tongue, and particularly for philosophical purposes, it was voted that there be a committee for improving the English language, and that they meet at Sir Peter Wyche's lodgings in Gray's Inn once or twice a month, and give an account of their proceedings to the society when called upon." A committee of twenty-one members was accordingly appointed for this purpose: among them were Dryden, Evelyn, Spratt, and Waller.—*Birch*, i. 499, 500.

* In the first Charter it is called simply the Royal Society (Regalis Societas); but its object is there still farther limited to mere experimental science—"ad rerum naturalium artiumque utilium scientias experimentorum fide ulterius promovendas."

† Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre, 1664: translated under the title of A Voyage to England, containing many things relating to the state of learning, religion, and other curiosities of that kingdom, 1709.

‡ English Translation, p. 27.

§ Observations on M. de Sorbiere's Voyage into England; written to Dr. Wren, professor of astronomy in Oxford. 1708 (first printed in 1665).

Moray, he says, "It was a wonderful or rather a very edifying thing, to find a person employed in matters of state, and of such excellent merit, and one who had been engaged a great part of his life in warlike commands and the affairs of the cabinet, apply himself in making machines in St. James's Park and adjusting telescopes. All this we have seen him do with great application. . . . I made him frequent visits, very much to my satisfaction, having never had the honour to see him but I learned something of him." He adds, "He was so kind as to introduce me to Prince Rupert, who is of the same frank temper, kind, modest, very curious, and takes no state upon him. . . Sir Robert Moray brought me likewise into the king's presence, who is a lover of the curiosities of art and nature. He took the pains to bring me into the Royal Society, and had the goodness, almost every time that I attended there, to seat me next himself, that so he might interpret to me whatever was said in English."* An account is afterwards given of the origin of the Royal Society, in which we are told that during the late civil war "persons of quality, having no court to make, applied themselves to their studies; some turning their heads to chemistry, others to mechanism, mathematics, or natural philosophy." "Those same persons," proceeds our author, "who had found their account in their respective studies, would not, after the king's return . . . be guilty if so much ingratitude as to leave them and take upon them an idle court life; but they chose rather to intersperse these sorts of entertainments with their other diversions; and so the Lords Digby, Boyle, Brouncker, Moray, Devonshire, Worcester, and divers others (for the English nobility are all of them learned and polite), built elaboratories, made machines, opened mines, and made use of an hundred sorts of artists to find out some new invention or other. The king himself is not devoid of this curiosity; nay, he has caused a famous chymist to be brought over from Paris, for whom he has built a very fine elaboratory in St. James's Park. But his majesty more particularly takes great delight in finding out useful experiments in navigation, wherein he has immense knowledge."† He then notices with great admiration Boyle's pneumatic engine, or air-pump, and other inventions of some of the members of the Royal Society. He states, by mistake, that the society had already begun a library adjoining to the gallery through which they passed from their hall of meeting in Gresham College: "they have as yet no library," Spratt observes, "but only a repository for their instruments and rarities."‡ Spratt is scandalised at the triviality of the description given of the meetings of the society; but the "mean circumstances," the enumeration of which he denounces as unworthy of so noble a theme, are interesting enough at this distance of time. First is noticed the usher or beadle, "who goes before the president with a mace, which he lays down on the table when the society have taken their places:" this is the gilt silver mace the society still possess, the gift of their first royal patron. "The room where the society meets," the account goes on, "is large and wainscotted; there is a large table before the chimney, with seven or eight chairs covered with green cloth about it, and two rows of wooden and matted benches to lean on, the first being higher than the other, in form like an amphitheatre. The president and council are elective; they mind no precedency in the society, but the president sits at the middle of the table in an elbow chair, with his back to the chimney. The secretary sits at the end of the table on his left hand, and they have each of them pen, ink, and paper, before them. I saw nobody sit on the chairs; I think they are reserved for persons of great quality, or those who have occasion to draw near to the president. All the other members take their places as they think fit, and without any ceremony; and, if any one comes in after the society is fixed, nobody stirs, but he takes a place presently where he can find it, that so no interruption may be given to him that speaks. The president has a little wooden mace in his hand, with which he strikes the table when he would command silence; they address their discourse to him bareheaded till he makes a sign for them to put on their hats; and there is a relation given in a few words of what is thought proper to be said concerning the experiments proposed by the secretary. There is nobody here eager to speak, that makes a long harangue, or intent upon saying all he knows; he is never interrupted that speaks, and differences of opinion cause no manner of resentment, nor as much as a disobliging way of speech; there is nothing seemed to me to be more civil, respectful, and better managed than this meeting; and, if there are any private discourses held between any while a member is speaking, they only whisper, and the least sign from the president causes a sudden stop, though they have not told their mind out. I took special notice of this conduct in a body consisting of so many persons, and of such different nations. . . . In short, it cannot be discerned that any authority prevails here; and, whereas those who are mere mathematicians favour Descartes more than Gassendus, the *literati*, on the other side, are more inclined to the latter. But both of them have hitherto demeaned themselves with so much moderation that no different hypotheses or principles have been a means to break in upon the good harmony of the society."* Spratt takes fire at this statement about the authority of Descartes with the mathematicians and of Gassendi with the men of general learning: "neither of these two men," he says, "bear any sway amongst them; they are never named there as dictators over men's reasons; nor is there any extraordinary reference to their judgments."†

The Royal Society began to publish the most important of the papers communicated to it, under the

* English Translation, p. 31. † Id., p. 33.
‡ Observations, p. 166.

* English Translation, p. 38. † Observations, p. 165.

title of the Philosophical Transactions, in March, 1665; and the work has been continued from that date to the present day, with the exception of the four years from January 1679 to January 1683 (for which space the deficiency is partly supplied by Hooke's volume of Philosophical Collections), of the three years and a month from December 1687 to January 1691, and of various shorter intervals, amounting in all to nearly a-year and a half more, previous to October, 1695. From this work, or either of its abridgments—the first begun by Mr. Lowthorp and brought down by a succession of continuators to the middle of last century; the second, and best, by the late Dr. Charles Hutton and assistants, extending to the year 1800—and from the histories of Bishop Spratt and Dr. Birch, the former, however, coming down only to the year 1667, in which it was published—may be learned the general character of the inquiries with which the Royal Society occupied itself in the earlier stage of its existence, and which, we may hence infer, formed the kind of science at that time chiefly cultivated in this country. It will be found that mathematical and analytical investigations then bore an extremely small proportion to the bulk of the business at the society's meetings; which indeed did not consist much of mere speculation of any kind, but rather of exhibitions and experiments, of details as to the useful arts, accounts of new inventions, communications of remarkable facts, phenomena, and incidents in natural history, chemistry, medicine, and anatomy,—of a great deal, indeed, that would now probably be accounted to belong only to the curiosities or popular pastimes of science. A list drawn up 30th March, 1664, presents the members as then distributed into the following seven committees (besides an eighth for correspondence): 1. Mechanical, to consider and improve all mechanical inventions; 2. Astronomical and optical; 3. Anatomical; 4. Chemical; 5. Georgical; 6. For histories of trades; 7. For collecting all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed, and all experiments made and recorded.* Here we have no mention at all of either mathematical or algebraical science; the cultivation of these branches separately, or for their own sake, does not seem to have then been considered as coming within the design of the society. Nor were they extensively applied even in mechanical, astronomical, and optical investigations. If we take up the first volume of Hutton's abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, which comprises the first seven volumes of the original publication, extending over seven years, from 1665 to 1672 inclusive, we shall find that of about 450 communications (besides nearly 200 reviews of books), only nine come under the heads of algebra and geometry, or pure science; that of about 140 relating to mechanical philosophy, and arranged under the heads of dynamics, astronomy, chronology, navigation, gunnery, hydraulics, pneumatics, optics, electricity, magnetism, pyrotechny, thermometry, &c., nine in every ten are mere accounts of observations and experiments, or explanations and hypotheses in which there is little or no mathematics; and that the remaining 300, or two-thirds of the whole, belong to the departments of natural history (divided into zoology, botany, mineralogy, geography, and hydrology), of chemical philosophy (divided into chemistry, meteorology, and geology), of physiology (divided into physiology of animals, physiology of plants, medicine, surgery, and anatomy), and of the arts (divided into mechanical, chemical, and the fine arts).* So that at this time only about one paper in fifty was purely mathematical or analytical, and only one in three on subjects to which the science of lines and quantities was applicable—for chemistry was not yet in a condition to be treated otherwise than tentatively, and, if mathematical reasoning had been attempted in medicine, the attempt was a failure and a folly.

The history of the Royal Society, however, is very nearly the whole history of English science, both physical and mathematical, from the date of its institution to the end of the present period. Almost all the scientific discoveries and improvements that originated in this country during that century were made by its members, and a large proportion of them are recorded and were first published in its transactions. But the Royal Society, it is to be remembered, was, after all still more an effect than a cause, still more an indication than a power; and, although it no doubt gave an impulse to the progress of science by the communication and union which it helped to maintain among the labourers in that field, by some advantages which it derived from its position, and by the spirit which it excited and diffused, the advance which was made under its auspices, or partly by force of its example, would probably have been accomplished little less rapidly without its assistance; for the time was come, and the men with it, who assuredly would not have been hindered from doing their work, although such an institution had never been called into existence. But it was part of the work they were sent to do to establish such an institution, which, although not the tree on which science grows, is both a convenient and ornamental shelter for the gathered fruit, and may be made serviceable for various subsidiary purposes which even philosophers are entitled to hold in some regard in a refined and luxurious age.

One invention, dating after the Restoration, of which much has been said in recent times, is assigned to an individual whose name does not occur in the roll of the members of the Royal Society—the first steam-engine, which is commonly believed to have been both described and constructed by the Marquess of Worcester—the same whose negotiations with the Irish Catholics, when he was Earl of Glamorgan, make so remarkable a

* Birch, i. 406, 407.

* In Hutton's table of contents a few papers are repeated under different heads, but this cannot much affect the calculation.

passage in the history of the contest between Charles I. and the parliament. The Marquess of Worcester's famous publication entitled "A Century of the names and scantlings of such inventions as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected (my former notes being lost), &c.," was first printed in 1663. "It is a very small piece," says Walpole, "containing a dedication to Charles II.; another to both Houses of Parliament, in which he affirms having in the presence of Charles I. performed many of the feats mentioned in his book; a table of contents; and the work itself, which is but a table of contents neither, being a list of a hundred projects, most of them impossibilities, but all of which he affirms having discovered the art of performing. Some of the easiest seem to be, how to write with a single line; with a point; how to use all the senses indifferently for each other, as, to talk by colours, and to read by the taste; to make an unsinkable ship; how to do and to prevent the same thing; how to sail against wind and tide; how to form an universal character; how to converse by jangling bells out of tune; how to take towns or prevent their being taken; how to write in the dark; how to cheat with dice; and, in short, how to fly."* "Of all these wonderful inventions," adds Walpole, "the last but one seems the only one of which his lordship has left the secret;" but the wit, who characterises the whole production as "an amazing piece of folly," has missed the most interesting of all the marquess's projects, the sixty-eighth in the list, which he entitles "An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire," and which appears from his description to have been, in fact, a species of steam-engine. His language implies, too, that the idea had been actually carried into effect: he speaks of having made use of a cannon for his boiler; and he says, "I have seen the water run like a constant fountain-stream forty feet high; one vessel of water rarefied by fire driveth up forty of cold water." And Sorbiere, when here in 1663, saw the engine at work—although the superficial, chattering Frenchman has described it, and probably understood it, so imperfectly as to have taken no note even of the nature of the power by which it was made to act:—"One of the most curious things I had a mind to see," he writes, "was a water-engine invented by the Marquess of Worcester, of which he had made an experiment. I went on purpose to see it at Fox Hall (Vauxhall), on the other side of the Thames, a little above Lambeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace, standing in sight of London. One man, by the help of this machine, raised four large buckets full of water in an instant forty feet high, and that through a pipe of about eight inches long; which invention will be of greater use to the public than that very ingenious machine already made use of, and raised upon wooden work above Somerset House, that supplies part of the town with water, but with great difficulty, and in less quantity than could be wished."* Forty years before the publication of the Century of Inventions, it is to be observed, a French engineer, Solomon de Caus, in a volume published at Paris entitled "Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes," had not only called attention to the power of steam produced in a close vessel, but had proposed a mode of raising water by means of such a force, the principle of which, as far as can be collected, appears to have been the same with that of the Marquess of Worcester's contrivance. It is possible that the marquess may have taken the idea from this book, which would be the more likely to attract attention in England from the circumstance of De Caus having come over to this country in 1612 in the train of the Elector Palatine, and resided here for some years; but still the English nobleman remains, as far as is known, the first person who ever actually constructed a steam-engine. Twenty years later, as appears from the author's manuscript now in the British Museum, the same idea that had been already published by De Caus, and realised by the Marquess of Worcester, was proposed as his own by Sir Samuel Morland in a work on machines for raising water, written in French, and addressed to Louis XIV.;† although the passage was omitted from the book when it was soon afterwards sent to the press. About 1690, Denis Papin, a native of France, but then and for a great part of his life resident in this country, discovered and applied the two important improvements of making the expansive force of the steam act by means of a piston and of producing a reaction of the piston through the condensation of the steam by means of cold; he is also the inventor of the safety-valve, which, however, he only applied in the cooking apparatus called his digester, where steam was employed merely to produce heat, not in any machine where that agent was the moving power. In 1698 Captain Savery contrived the first steam-engine which can be said to have been found practically useful; he employed the principle of the condensation of the steam by cold, not to permit the relapse of a piston, as Papin had done, but to effect the elevation of the water directly by allowing it to ascend into the vacuum so produced. From this date steam may be considered to have ranked as an important working power in this country, although Savery's engine was never applied to any other purpose except the raising of water, which, too, it could only effect from a very inconsiderable depth, the vacuum, by means of which it principally operated, ceasing to act as soon as the column of water came to balance an atmospheric column of the same base, in other words, as soon as the water had ascended through the vacuum to the height of about thirty-two feet. About 1711 a much more effective engine was invented by Thomas Newcomen, an ironmonger of Dartmouth, assisted by John Colley, a glazier of the same place, upon Papin's principle,

* Royal and Noble Authors.

* Journey to England, p. 29.

† Recueil de Machines pour l'Elévation des Eaux, &c.

of making the vacuum produced by the condensation of the steam serve for allowing the descent of a piston under its own gravitation and the pressure of the atmosphere. Newcomen's, or the atmospheric engine, as it has been called, soon came to be extensively employed, especially in the mining districts, where water had often to be raised from great depths. Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers, a clergyman of the church of England, but of French birth and extraction, in the year 1718 improved Savery's engine (which from its cheapness has for some purposes continued in use to our own day) by substituting the injection of a small current of cold water into the receiver for the old method of dashing the water over the outside of the vessel to effect the concentration of the steam; and this same improvement—re-discovered, it is said, by himself—was also soon after applied by Newcomen to his engine. About the same time Mr. Beighton contrived to make the machine itself open and shut the cocks by which it received its alternate supplies of steam and water; and here the improvement of the steam-engine stopped for the present period.

At the head of the cultivators of experimental science in England in the latter part of the seventeenth century stands the Honourable Robert Boyle, seventh and youngest son of Richard first Earl of Cork, commonly called the Great Earl. He was born in 1627, and lived till 1691. Boyle was an unwearied observer and collector of facts, and also a voluminous speculator, in physical science; but his actual discoveries do not amount to much. He made considerable improvements on the air-pump, originally invented a few years before by Otto von Guericke of Magdeburg, and indeed it may be said to have been in his hands that it first became an instrument available for the purposes of science. The few additions which Boyle made to our knowledge of general principles, or what are called the laws of nature, were almost confined to the one department of pneumatics; he is commonly held to have discovered or established the absorbing power of the atmosphere and the propagation of sound by the air; he proved that element to possess much more both of expansibility and of compressibility than had been previously suspected; he made some progress towards ascertaining the weight of atmospheric air; and he showed more clearly than had been done before his time its indispensableness to the sustentation both of combustion and of animal life. He may be regarded, therefore, along with Torricelli, Pascal, and Guericke, as one of the fathers of pneumatic science—in so far at least as it is concerned with the mechanical properties of the atmosphere. Boyle also ascertained many particular facts, and arrived at some general, though rather vague, conclusions, in chemistry, in the course of his multifarious experiments; the practice of applying one chemical agent as a test for detecting the presence of another was first adopted by him; and he exposed the falsehood of the notion then commonly entertained, that whatever could not be destroyed or changed by fire was to be ranked among the elementary constituents of the natural world. In chemical pneumatics, however, little progress was made either by Boyle, or for many years after his day. He conjectured, indeed, that only a portion of the atmosphere was employed in sustaining combustion and animal life; and his fellow-labourer Hooke divined that the element in question is the same with that contained in nitre (namely, what is now called oxigen), and that in combustion it combined with the burning body. But neither of these sagacious conclusions was yet experimentally established.

Robert Hooke, born in 1635, was, till his death in 1702, one of the most devoted cultivators of science in this age. Besides his skill and sagacity as a chemist, he had a remarkable quickness and fertility of mechanical invention, and his speculations ranged over the whole field of natural history and natural philosophy, from the minutest disclosures of the microscope to beyond the farthest sweep of the telescope. His jealous and rapacious temper, and sordid personal habits, which made him an object of general dislike in his own day, have probably somewhat stinted the acknowledgment paid to his merits both by his contemporaries and by posterity; and in fact, of numerous inventions and discoveries to which he himself laid claim, there is scarcely one to which his right has been universally admitted. It is generally allowed, however, that we are indebted to him for the improvement of the pendulum as a measure of time, and for some valuable innovations in the construction of pendulum watches, in particular the application of a spiral spring to regulate the balance. But in his own notion Hooke was the true author of several of the discoveries which have immortalised the greatest of his contemporaries. He disputed partly the originality, partly the truth, of Newton's theory of light; and he even asserted, when the Principia came out, that there was little or nothing there announced on the force and action of gravitation that he had not himself anticipated. He had, indeed, some years before, in a paper printed in the Philosophical Transactions, sketched a hypothesis of the movements of the earth and the other planets on the assumption of the principle of universal gravitation;* but this was a very different thing from the demonstration of the system of the world by Newton on the establishment and accurate measurement of that force. Newton himself eventually admitted that his proposition of the gravitation of the planets being as the inverse square of the distance had been previously deduced from Kepler's discovery of their eliptical orbits by Hooke, as well as by Wren and Halley; but this concession is supposed to have been made rather for the sake of peace than from conviction.

The first president of the Royal Society, William Brouncker, Lord Viscount Brouncker (of the king-

* Phil. Trans., No. 101 (for April 1674).

dom of Ireland), who was born in 1620 and died in 1684, was an able mathematician, and is known as the author of the first series invented for the quadrature of the hyperbola, and also as the first writer who noticed what are called continued fractions in arithmetic. Dr. John Wallis (b. 1616, d. 1703) is the author of many works of great learning, ingenuity, and profoundness on algebra, geometry, and mechanical philosophy. Among the practical subjects to which he devoted himself were the deciphering of secret writing, and the teaching of persons born deaf to speak. "I was informed," says Sorbiere, "that Dr. Wallis had brought a person that was born deaf and dumb to read at Oxford, by teaching him several inflexions fitted to the organs of his voice, to make it articulate."* The French traveller afterwards went to Oxford, and saw and conversed with Wallis (who held the office of Savilian professor of geometry in the university), although he complains that the professor and all the other learned Englishmen he met with spoke Latin, which was his medium of communication with them, with such an accent and way of pronunciation that they were very hard to be understood.† However, he adds that he was much edified, notwithstanding, by Wallis's conversation; and was mightily pleased both with the experiments he saw made by him in teaching the deaf to read, and with the model of a floor he had invented "that could bear a great weight, and make a very large hall, though it consisted only of several short pieces of timber joined together, without any mortices, nails, and pins, or any other support than what they gave one another; for the weight they bear closes them so together as if they were but one board, and the floor all of a piece." He gives a diagram of this ingenious floor; "and indeed," he continues, "I made Mr. Hobbes himself even admire it, though he is at no good terms with Dr. Wallis, and has no reason to love him."‡ We have already mentioned the hot war, about what might seem the least heating of all subjects, that was carried on for some years between Wallis and Hobbes. A curious account is afterwards given of Wallis's personal appearance:—"The doctor," says our traveller, "has less in him of the gallant man than Mr. Hobbes; and, if you should see him with his university cap on his head, as if he had a *porte-feuille* on, covered with black cloth and sewed to his calot, you would be as much inclined to laugh at this diverting sight as you would be ready to entertain the excellency and civility of my friend [Hobbes] with esteem and affection." And then the coxcomb adds—"What I have said concerning Dr. Wallis is not intended in the least to derogate from the praises due to one of the greatest mathematicians in the world; and who, being yet no more than forty years of age [he was forty-seven], may advance his studies much farther, and become polite, if purified by the air of the court at London; for I must tell you, sir, that that of the university stands in need of it, and that those who are not purified otherways have naturally strong breaths that are noxious in conversation."* It may be doubtful whether these last expressions are to be understood literally, or in some metaphorical sense; for it is not obvious how the air of a court, though it may polish a man's address, is actually to sweeten a bad breath. Dr. Wallis, besides his publication of the papers of Horrocks already noticed, edited several of the works of Archimedes, Ptolemy, and other ancient mathematicians; and he is also the author of a grammar of the English tongue, written in Latin, which abounds in curious and valuable matter.

Another ingenious, though somewhat fanciful mathematician of this day, was Dr. John Wilkins, who was made Bishop of Chester some years after the Restoration, although during the interregnum he had married a sister of Oliver Cromwell, as Archbishop Tillotson had a niece in the reign of Charles I. Dr. Wilkins is chiefly remembered for his "Discovery of a New World," published in 1638, in which he attempts to prove the practicability of a passage to the moon; and his "Essay towards a Real Character," being a scheme of a universal language, which he gave to the world thirty years later. He is also the author of various theological works. Of the high mathematical merits of Dr. Isaac Barrow and Sir Christopher Wren, who have both earned their chief renown in other departments, we have already spoken elsewhere.† Barrow's Lectiones Opticæ, published in 1669, and his Lectiones Geometricæ, 1670, contain his principal contributions to mathematical science. The former advanced the science of optics to the point at which it was taken up by Newton: the latter promulgated a partial anticipation of Newton's differential calculus—what is known by the name of the method of tangents,—and was the simplest and most elegant form to which the principle of fluxions had been reduced previous to the system of Leibnitz. Barrow's Mathematicæ Lectiones, not published till after his death, which took place in 1677, at the early age of forty-seven, are also celebrated for their learning and profoundness. Wren's most important paper in the Philosophical Transactions is one on the laws of the collision of bodies, read before the Royal Society in December, 1668.‡ It is remarkable that this subject, which had been recommended by the society to the attention of its members, was at the same time completely elucidated by three individuals working without communication with each other:—by Wren in this paper; by Wallis in another, read the preceding month; and by the celebrated Huygens (who had been elected

* Journey to England, p. 28.

† In this matter, "we do," says Spratt, in his answer, "as all our neighbours besides: we speak the ancient Latin after the same way that we pronounce our mother tongue; so the Germans do, so the Italians, so the French," p. 159.

‡ Journey to England, p. 39.

* Journey to England, p. 41.

† See Vol. iii. p. 881; and ante, p. 736.

‡ In No. 43, p. 867.

a fellow of the society soon after its establishment), in a third read in January, 1669.

A greater glory is shed over this than over any other age in the history of the higher sciences by the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, the most penetrating and comprehensive intellect which has ever been exerted in that field of speculation. The era of Newton extends to the year 1727, when he died at the age of eighty-five. What he did for science almost justifies the poetical comparison of his appearance among men to the first dispersion of the primeval darkness at the creation of the material world: "God said, Let Newton be, and there was light." While yet in earliest manhood, he had not only outstripped and left far behind him the ablest mathematicians and analytic investigators of the day, but had discovered, it may be said, the whole of his new system of the world, except only that he had not verified some parts of it by the requisite calculations. The year 1664, when he was only twenty-two, is assigned as the date of his discovery of the Binomial Theorem; the year 1665 as that of his invention of fluxions; the year 1666 as that in which he demonstrated the law of gravitation in regard to the movement of the planets around the sun, and was only prevented from extending it to the movement of the moon around the earth, and to that of bodies falling towards the earth, by the apparent refutation of his hypothesis when attempted to be so applied which was occasioned by the erroneous estimate then received of the earth's diameter. He did not attempt to wrest the supposed facts so as to suit his theory; on the contrary, with a singular superiority to the seductions of mere plausibility, he said nothing of his theory to any one, and seems even to have thought no more of it for sixteen years, till, having heard by chance at a meeting of the Royal Society in 1682, of Picard's measurement of an arc of the meridian executed three years before, he thence deduced the true length of the earth's diameter, resumed and finished his long abandoned calculation—not without such emotion as compelled him to call in the assistance of a friend as he discerned the approaching confirmation of what he had formerly anticipated—and the following year transmitted to the Royal Society what afterwards formed the leading propositions of the Principia. That work, containing the complete exposition of the new theory of the universe, was published at London, at the expense of the Royal Society, in 1687. Meanwhile, about the year 1669, he had made his other great discovery of the non-homogeneity of light, and the differing refrangibility of the rays of which it is composed; by these fundamental facts revolutionising the whole science of optics. His Treatise on Optics, in which these discoveries and their consequences were developed, was first published in 1704; and along with it a Latin tract, entitled "De Quadratura Curvarum," containing an exposition of the method of fluxions; of which, however, the Principia had already shown him to be in complete possession twenty years before, and which he had made use of in a paper written, according to his own account, in 1666, and undoubtedly communicated to Dr. Barrow, and by him to Mr. Collins, in 1669. This paper, entitled "Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas," was published in 1711. The question of the invention of the fluxionary or differential calculus, as is well known, gave occasion to a warm and protracted dispute between the partisans of Newton and those of his illustrious continental contemporary, Leibnitz; but it is now admitted on all hands that, whatever claim Leibnitz also may have to be accounted its independent inventor (and there can scarcely be a doubt that he has a good claim to be so accounted), the honour of the prior invention belongs to Newton.

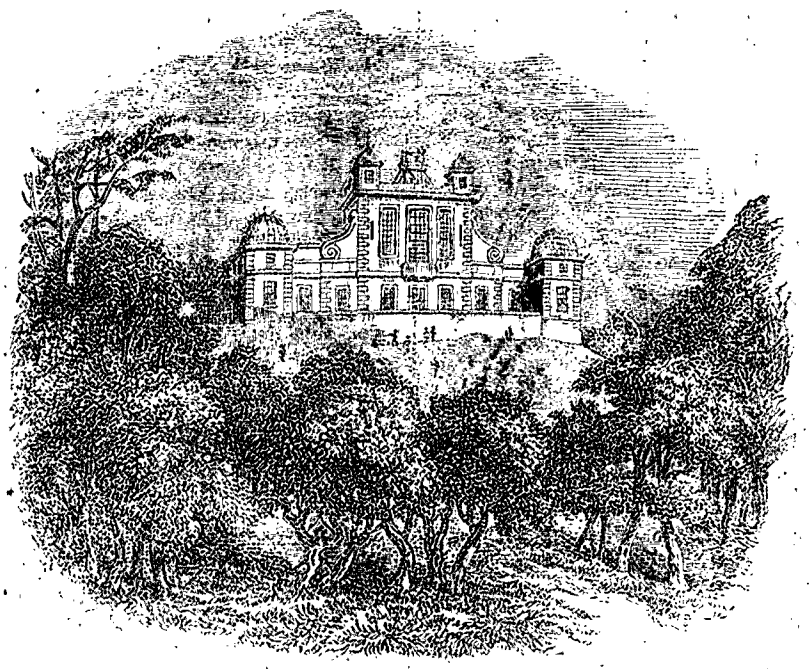
We must dismiss some other distinguished names with a very brief mention. James Gregory, who died in 1675 at the age of only thirty-six, after having been successively Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrew's and Edinburgh, had in his short life accomplished more than any of his contemporaries except Newton. He is popularly remembered chiefly as the inventor of the first reflecting telescope; but his geometrical and analytical inventions and discoveries were also numerous, and some of them of the highest order of merit. His nephew, David Gregory, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, and afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, was also an able mathematician, and published some valuable works on geometry, optics, and astronomy. The Newtonian theory of universal gravitation is said to have been taught by him at Edinburgh before it was introduced into any other European university. It is remarkable that when this David Gregory died, in 1708, he and two of his brothers held professorships in three British universities—himself at Oxford, James at Edinburgh, and Charles at St. Andrew's. The last-mentioned, too, was succeeded, upon his resignation in 1639, by his son, named David. John Collins (b. 1624, d. 1683) is the author of several practical works and of a good many papers in the Philosophical Transactions; but he was most useful in promoting the publication of the works of others: it is said that Wallis's History of Algebra, Barrow's Optical and Geometrical Lectures, and various other publications owed their seeing the light principally to his instigation and encouragement. He also kept up an extensive epistolary intercourse with the other scientific men of the day: it was principally from the letters and papers he left behind him that the Commercium Epistolicum, or volume of correspondence on the invention of fluxions, published in 1712, was made up. "Many of the discoveries in physical knowledge," says Dr. Hutton, "owe their chief improvement to him; for, while he excited some to disclose every new and useful invention, he employed others in improving them. Sometimes he was peculiarly useful by showing where the defect lay in any branch of science, and pointing out the difficulties attending the inquiry;

at other times explaining their advantages, and keeping up a spirit and energy for improvement. In short, Mr. Collins was like the register of all the new acquisitions made in the mathematical sciences; the magazine to which the curious had frequent recourse; which acquired him the appellation of the English Mersenne."* Roger Cotes died in 1716, at the age of thirty-four, after having, in the estimation of his contemporaries, given promise of becoming one of the greatest mathematicians that had ever existed: Newton himself is reported to have said, "If Cotes had lived we should have known something." Cotes's mathematical papers were published, in 1722, under the title of "Harmonia Mensurarum," by his cousin Dr. Robert Smith (author of a work on optics), and his Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Lectures in 1738 by the same editor. Of all the publications that appeared in the early stages of the fluxionary calculus, Professor Playfair conceives that none is more entitled to notice than the "Harmonia Mensurarum" of Cotes. In this work, he observes, a method of reducing the areas of curves, in cases not admitting of an accurate comparison with rectilinear spaces, to those of the circle and hyperbola, which Newton had exemplified in his Quadratura Curvarum, was extended by Cotes, who also "gave the rules for finding the fluents of fractional expressions, whether rational or irrational, greatly generalised and highly improved by means of a property of the circle discovered by himself, and justly reckoned among the most remarkable propositions in geometry."† Another eminent authority describes the "Harmonia" as "the earliest work in which decided progress was made in the application of logarithms, and of the properties of the circle, to the calculus of fluents."‡ Cotes superintended the printing of the second edition of Newton's Principia, published in 1713, and prefixed to it a preface which immediately acquired for him a wide scientific reputation. The last of these early English cultivators of the new calculus whom we shall mention is Dr. Brook Taylor, a geometrician and analyst of great profoundness and originality, whose Methodus Incrementorum, published in 1715, is characterised by Playfair as having "added a new branch to the analysis of variable quantity." "A single analytical formula," Playfair adds, "in the Method of Increments, has conferred a celebrity on its author which the most voluminous works have not often been able to bestow. It is known by the name of Taylor's Theorem, and expresses the value of any function of a variable quantity in terms of the successive orders of increments, whether finite or infinitely small. If any one proposition can be said to comprehend in it a whole science, it is this: for from it almost every truth and every method of the new analysis may be deduced. It is difficult to say whether the theorem does most credit to the genius of the author, or the power of the language which is capable of concentrating such a vast body of knowledge in a single expression."* Taylor's Theorem has since its first announcement been, in the language of the late Professor Leslie, "successively modified, transformed, and extended by Maclaurin, Lagrange, and Laplace, whose names are attached to their respective formulæ."†

The example and discoveries of Newton, and especially the publication of the Principia, had before the end of the seventeenth century given a new direction and character to scientific speculation, and even to what was generally understood by the term science, in England. The day of little more than mere virtuosoship, in which the Royal Society had taken its rise and commenced its operations, had given place to that of pure science in its highest forms and most lofty and extensive applications. Next to the development and application of the fluxionary calculus, the field in which, as might have been expected, the impulse given by Newton produced the most brilliant results, was that of astronomy. The Royal Observatory at Greenwich was founded by Charles II., for the benefit of astronomy and navigation, in 1676; and the appointment of Astronomer Royal (or Astronomical Observator, in the official style) bestowed upon John Flamsteed, then about thirty years of age, and already distinguished as a cultivator of astronomical science. Flamsteed held this office till his death in 1719; and during that space of time made and published a voluminous series of observations, from the commencement of which his late biographer, Mr. Baily, dates the commencement of modern astronomy. "Nor," observes another writer, to whose masterly contributions to the history of the mathematical sciences we have been repeatedly indebted in the preceding pages, "can such chronology be disputed, if we consider that we now return to Flamsteed's observations as the earliest with which it is desirable to compare those of our day, and also that Flamsteed's Catalogue is the first which attained a precision comparable to that of later times."‡ What is here alluded to is a catalogue of above 3300 stars, "whose places," as has been remarked, "were more accurate than any determined in the next fifty years, and whose selection and nomenclature have served as basis to every catalogue since that time."§ A portion of this Catalogue was first published without Flamsteed's consent in 1712, by a committee appointed by the government, of which Newton, Wren, and Gregory were members, and under the immediate superintendence of Halley, by whose name the work, entitled "Historiæ Cœlestis Libri Duo," is commonly known. Flamsteed considered himself, and ap-

* Abridg. of Phil. Trans., i. 338.
† Dissertation on Progress of Math. and Phys. Science, p. 531.
‡ Article on Cotes in Penny Cyclopædia, viii. 87.

* Dissertation, p. 532.
† Dissertation on the Progress of the Math. and Phys. Sciences in the Eighteenth Century, in Encyclopædia Britannica, p. 599.
‡ Article on Flamsteed, in Penny Cyclopædia, x. 296.
§ Article on Greenwich Observatory, in Penny Cyclopædia, xi. 441.



THE ROYAL OBSERVATORY, GREENWICH.

parently with good reason, to have been very ill-used in this transaction ;* and, having at last succeeded in recovering from the government all the copies of Halley's book that remained unsold, he committed them to the flames, with the exception of a portion of the sheets, out of which he formed part of the first volume of a new work, with the title of the "Historia Cœlestis Britannica," the printing of which, however (in three volumes folio), was not completed till 1725, six years after the author's death. It was carried through the press by his widow, with the aid of his assistants Mr. Crosthwait and Mr. Abraham Sharp, the latter of whom had attained great distinction as an accurate observer. This work is characterised by the writer of the article on Flamsteed in the Penny Cyclopædia as occupying the same place in practical astronomy which the Principia of Newton holds in the theoretical part. It was to Flamsteed that Newton (who afterwards quarrelled with his old friend, and abused him in no measured terms, on the misunderstanding that arose about the first publication of his catalogue) was indebted for all the observations of the moon which he made use of in the illustration and verification of his lunar theory. "The first edition of Newton's Principia," to quote again the publication just referred to, "had appeared shortly before Flamsteed had supplied himself with his best instruments; and at Newton's request many of Flamsteed's observations of the moon, reduced as well as was then practicable, were communicated to him to aid in perfecting the theory deduced from the principle of universal gravitation. The time at which these observations were made was in fact a most critical one —when the most accurate observations that had been made were needed for the support of the most extensive philosophical theory that man had invented."*

The successor of Flamsteed, as astronomer-royal, was Edmund Halley, who was then in his sixty-fourth year, and who held the appointment till his death in 1742, at the age of eighty-six. "Among the Englishmen of his day," says the writer of his life in the Penny Cyclopædia, "Halley stands second only to Newton, and probably for many years after the publication of the Principia, he was the only one who both could and would rightly appreciate the character and coming utility of that memorable work. His own attention was too much divided to permit of his being the mathematician which he might have been; but nevertheless his papers on pure mathematics show a genius of the same order of power, though of much less fertility, with that of John Bernouilli."† Besides numerous papers in the Philosophical Transactions, Halley is the author of a Catalogue of the Southern Stars (Catalogus Stellarum Australium, sive Supplementum Catalogi Tychonici) published in 1679, being the result of his observations made at St. Helena, where he had resided the two preceding

* See the particulars as for the first time brought to light by Mr. Francis Baily in his new edition of "The British Catalogue of Stars, corrected and enlarged," with an account of the life of Flamsteed prefixed. Lond. 1835.

* Article on Greenwich Observatory, in Penny Cyclopædia, xi. 441.
† Penny Cyclopædia, xii. 21.

years; and of editions of the treatise of Apollonius De Rationis Sectione (from the Arabic), and of the same ancient geometrician's Conic Sections (partly from the Arabic), the former of which was published at Oxford in 1706, the latter in 1710. Halley did not himself understand Arabic, but he was able both to restore what was lost in these works, and in many cases to suggest the true meaning and emendation of the text where it was corrupted, merely by his geometrical ingenuity and profound knowledge of their subjects. Besides other astronomical labours, Halley is famous for having been the first person to predict the return of a comet, that known by his name, which he first saw at Paris in December 1680, and which actually reappeared, as he had calculated that it would, in 1758 and 1835. He also suggested the observation of the transit of Venus with the view of determining the sun's parallax, which was accomplished at St. Helena, by Dr. Maskelyne, in 1761. Out of the province of astronomy he contributed to the progress of science by his construction of the first tables of mortality (from observations made at Breslau), by his improvements in the diving-bell, and by his speculations on the variation of the compass, the theory of the trade winds, and other subjects.

The third astronomer royal was James Bradley —"the first, perhaps, of all astronomers," as he is called by the writer of his life in the Penny Cyclopædia, "in the union of theoretical sagacity with practical excellence." Bradley, who was born in 1693, had already in 1728 made his great discovery of the aberration of light, or the apparent alteration in the place of a star arising in part from the motion of light, in part from the change of position in the spectator occasioned by the motion of the earth; "the greatest discovery," says the writer just quoted, "of a man who has, more than any other, contributed to render *a single observation* of a star correct enough for the purposes of astronomy," and "the first positively direct and unanswerable proof of the earth's motion."* Bradley, whom Newton had declared the best astronomer in Europe, held the office of astronomer royal from 1742 till his death in 1762. Besides an immense mass of observations of unprecedented accuracy (which have been published by the University of Oxford in two volumes, 1798—1805), he made in 1747 his second great discovery of the nutation of the earth's axis, that is, of the fact that the curve in which the pole of the equator moves round the pole of the ecliptic is not that of a plain but of a waving or tremulous circle, somewhat like the rim of a milled coin. One of the subjects that occupied the attention of this last of the astronomers royal of the present period was the introduction of the new style which was effected by act of parliament in 1751. "Bradley," says his biographer in the Penny Cyclopædia, "appears to have had some share in drawing up the necessary tables, as well as in aiding Lord Macclesfield, his early friend, and the seconder of the measure in the House of Lords, and Mr. Pelham, then minister, with his advice on the subject. But this procured him some unpopularity, for the common people of all ranks imagined that the alteration was equivalent to robbing them of eleven days of their natural lives, and called Bradley's subsequent illness and decline a judgment of heaven." "This," adds the learned writer, "was, as far as we know, the last expiring manifestation of a belief in the wickedness of altering the time of religious anniversaries, which had disturbed the world more or less, and at different periods, for fourteen hundred years."* But, if the people believed that the change of style had actually shortened their lives, they had more serious cause for alarm than the zealots of orthodoxy in former times, who made themselves unhappy about the notion of merely celebrating Easter on the wrong day.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, we ought not to omit to mention, was invented the ingenious and valuable instrument called Hadley's Quadrant (since improved into a sextant, and still more recently into an entire circle), either by John Hadley, who was a fellow of the Royal Society, and who gave an account of it in the Philosophical Transactions for 1731, or by Thomas Godfrey, a glazier in Philadelphia, who is generally believed to have been in possession of it a year before the date of Hadley's communication. But it appears that a similar instrument had been described to Dr. Halley by Newton, some time before his death in 1727. And the close of the period under review is also marked in the history of optics and astronomical observation by the important correction of the Newtonian views as to the dispersion of refracted light, of which the honour belongs to John Dollond, and by the invention of the Achromatic Telescope, with which that sagacious and philosophical experimentalist followed up his discovery. Dollond's account of his "Experiments concerning the different refrangibility of light" appeared in the Philosophical Transactions in 1758; and his achromatic object-glass was contrived the same year.

Of a few other distinguished British mathematicians belonging to the later portion of the present period the most eminent was Colin Maclaurin, the successor of James Gregory in the mathematical chair at Edinburgh, who was born in 1698, and died in 1746. Maclaurin's principal works are his Geometria Organica (a treatise on curves), published in 1720; his admirable Treatise on Fluxions, 1742; and his Treatise on Algebra, 1748. Another very able performance printed after his death, is his Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, which also appeared at London in 1748. All Maclaurin's works are distinguished by profoundness and solidity united with elegance, and often by originality in the method of exposition, or novelty in the application

* Penny Cyclopædia, v. 320.

‡ Penny Cyclopædia, v. 321.

of principles. His countryman and contemporary, Dr. Robert Simpson, professor of mathematics at Glasgow (b. 1687, d. 1768), was also a most learned and able geometrician: he is the author of a restoration of the "Loci" of Apollonius, and of an English translation of Euclid, which continued down to our own day in common use as an elementary book both in Scotland and England. Along with these may be mentioned James Stirling, the author of a Latin treatise published in 1717, on what are called lines of the third order, and a treatise on fluxions, entitled Methodus Differentialis, 1730. William Emerson, a mathematician and mechanist of great talent, is the author of a series of works, on fluxions, trigonometry, mechanics, navigation, algebra, optics, astronomy, geography, dialing, &c., which, however, were only in part published within the present period—for his death did not take place till 1782, when he had reached his eighty-first year. His manner of writing is singularly uncouth; but his works often exhibit much scientific elegance, as well as considerable invention. Another author of a remarkable series of mathematical works, of this date, is the self-taught genius, Thomas Simpson, who was born at Market Bosworth, in the humblest rank of life, in 1710, worked at his trade of a weaver till he was seven-and-twenty, and then suddenly came forth as one of the most acute and well-furnished mathematical writers of the day. A Treatise on Fluxions, another on the Nature and Laws of Chance, a quarto volume of Essays on subjects in speculative and mixed mathematics, a work on the doctrine of Annuities and Reversion, a second volume of Mathematical Dissertations, a treatise on Algebra, another on Elementary Geometry, another on Trigonometry, plane and spherical, a new work on the doctrine and application of Fluxions, a volume of Exercises for young proficients in Mathematics, and a volume of Miscellaneous Tracts, were all produced by Simpson in the twenty years between 1737 and 1757. And he also furnished several papers to the Philosophical Transactions, and edited for some years the mathematical annual called The Ladies' Diary. He died in 1761. In the same year with Simpson was born in Banffshire, in Scotland, James Ferguson, who was the son of a day-labourer, and who taught himself the elements of mechanics and astronomy while employed as a farmer's boy in tending sheep. Ferguson published his first performance, his Dissertation on the Phenomena of the Harvest Moon, in 1747; his Astronomy in 1756; his Lectures on Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics, in 1760; and two or three other works between that date and his death in 1776. "Ferguson," it has been observed, "has contributed more than perhaps any other man in this country to the extension of physical science among all classes of society, but especially among that largest class whose circumstances preclude them from a regular course of scientific instruction. Perspicuity in the selection and arrangement of his facts, and in the display of the truths deduced from them, was his characteristic both as a lecturer and a writer."*

Another department of natural philosophy in which some splendid results were obtained by English experimenters before the close of the present period was that of electricity. Francis Hawksbee, who was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society in 1705, published several papers in the Transactions between that year and 1711, giving an account of a series of experiments, partly performed with a glass globe, in the course of which he noticed a number of facts connected with electrical attraction and repulsion, and in particular detected for the first time the remarkable phenomenon of the production of light by friction. A few years later the subject was taken up by Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charter House, who, with the aid of a very poor apparatus, made out a catalogue, which he published in 1720, of bodies which show electricity on being rubbed, and in 1732 discovered the conducting property inherent in bodies that are not electrical. The two opposite kinds, or exhibitions, of electricity (which he called the vitreous and the resinous) were discovered by Dufay, keeper of the King's Garden at Paris, before 1739; and he also showed that bodies similarly electrified repel, and those dissimilarly electrified attract, each other. The mode of accumulating the electric power by what is called the Leyden phial, or jar, was discovered by Cuneus and Lallemand in 1745. This experiment immediately attracted universal attention: Nollet in France, and Watson in England, in particular, applied themselves to find out the explanation of it; and the latter is asserted to have first conceived the hypothesis of the redundancy of the electricity on the one side of the jar and its deficiency on the other. The same view occurred to the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, in America, who expounded it in a series of letters written to his friend Collinson, in London, in the course of the year 1747, in which he described the overcharged side of the jar as in a state of positive, and the undercharged of negative, electricity, and showed how all the known phenomena of electric action were to be accounted for on this hypothesis of only one kind of electric matter, or power, in opposite states. Franklin seems to have known little or nothing of what had been done by his predecessors either in France or England; of the theories, at least, either of Dufay or Watson, he appears never to have heard. Although not the first in the field, his penetrating and inventive genius immediately raised him to the first place among the cultivators of the new science. He soon improved the Leyden jar into the much more powerful apparatus of the electrical battery. Some of his earliest experiments had taught him the superior efficiency of sharp points both in attracting and giving out the electric matter; from the year 1749 he had inferred from a great number

* Penny Cyclopædia, x. 234.

of facts which he had observed and collected the probable identity of electricity and lightning; and at last, in June 1752, he established that truth by the decisive experiment of actually drawing down the electric matter from the clouds. This was followed by his invention of lightning-conductors, of which, however, none were erected in England till the year 1762.

The thermometer was invented at Florence soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, and by the assistance of that instrument, as manufactured by Fahrenheit and Reaumur, a considerable number of facts relating to the laws of heat had been gradually collected before the middle of the eighteenth. "The most judicious writer," says Professor Leslie, "that had yet appeared on the subject of heat, was Dr. Martine, of St. Andrew's, who studied medicine on the continent, and, like the accomplished physicians of that period, cultivated learning and general science. His acute Essays, published in the years 1739 and 1740, not only corrected the different thermometric scales, but enriched philosophy by several well devised and original experiments. Unfortunately the career of this promising genius was very short. Having in the pursuit of his profession accompanied Admiral Vernon in the fatal expedition against Carthagena, he perished by a malignant fever."* Mr. Leslie adds that, if Martine's investigations had been steadily prosecuted, they must have led to interesting results. About the year 1750 Dr. Cullen had his attention accidentally drawn to some facts connected with the curious subject of the production of cold by evaporation; but he did not pursue the inquiry. The investigations of his pupil, the celebrated Dr. Joseph Black, which resulted in his great discovery of what he called latent heat, were not completed till after the expiration of the present period.

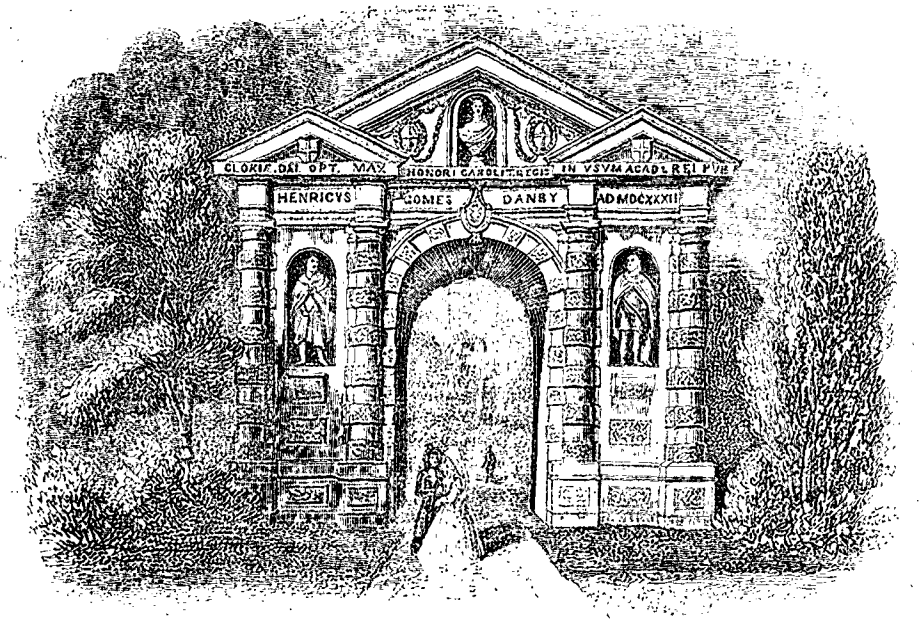
In general chemistry the experiments begun by Boyle and Hooke had been followed up by their contemporaary Dr. John Mayow, a physician of Oxford, whose tracts, written in Latin, on nitre and other connected subjects, were published in 1674. They announced many new and important facts illustrative of the phenomena of respiration and combustion. About the beginning of the next century the first general theory of combustion was given to the world by the German chemist Stahl —that which, under the name of the Stahlian or Phlogistic theory (from his imaginary *phlogiston*, or principle of inflammability), continued to be generally received down to the era of Black, Cavendish, and Priestly. Some considerable additions were made to our knowledge of aëriform bodies by Dr. Stephen Hales about a quarter of a century after this. But the most important chemical discovery that belongs to the present period is that of the new air discovered by Black in the commencement of his career, and announced in his "Experiments on Magnesia, Quicklime, and other Alkaline Substances," published in 1755. Fixed air, or, as it is now called, carbonic acid, had indeed been long before recognised as something distinct from common air by Van Helmont; but his notice of it appears to have been quite forgotton, when it was again detected by Black, who also first examined it with any degree of care, and ascertained its most remarkable properties.

In the English medical science of the latter part of the seventeenth century the most distinguished name is that of Dr. Thomas Sydenham (b. 1624, d. 1689). Discarding mere theory, Sydenham applied himself to the careful observation of nature and facts; and his practice and writings are considered as marking an era in the history of the healing art. After his time little innovation was made among British practitioners, either in the treatment or doctrine of diseases, till the era of Cullen and Brown, which properly did not commence till after the date to which our present survey is limited. Anatomical science from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century was principally advanced by Malpighi, Steno, Ruysch, Duverney, Morgagni, Albinus, Haller, and other Italian, French, and German physicians; but some new facts were also contributed by Humphrey Ridley, the author of a work on the Brain, published in 1695; by William Cowper, whose Anatomical Tables, published in 1698, however, are asserted to have been stolen from the Dutch anatomist Bidloo; by the eldest Alexander Monro, the author of the Osteology, first published in 1726, and the founder of the medical school of Edinburgh; and by the celebrated William Cheselden, author of the Osteography, published in 1733, and of various other works, and the most expert English operator of his day. To these names ought to be added that of Stephen Hales, already mentioned, whose "Vegetable Statics," published in 1727, and "Haemastatics," published in 1733, carried both vegetable and animal physiology considerably farther than any preceding work either English or foreign. Something was also done in the new sciences (if they were yet entitled to be so called) of zoology and comparative anatomy, by Nehemiah Grew, Edward Tyson, Samuel Collins, and other early members of the Royal Society. Grew is likewise one of the fathers of modern botany; but that science was indebted for altogether a new form to the famous John Ray, whose various works were published between 1670 and his death, in 1705. "Botany," says a late writer, in noticing the merits of Ray, "he found was fast settling back into the chaos of the middle ages, partly beneath the weight of undigested materials, but more from the want of some fixed principles by which the knowledge of the day should be methodised. Profiting by the discoveries of Grew and the other vegetable anatomists, to which he added a great store of original observations, he, in his "Historia Plantarum," the first volume of which appeared in 1686, embodied in one connected series all the facts that had been collected concerning the structure and functions of

* Dissertation Fourth, in Encyc. Brit., p. 642.

plants:—to these he added an exposition of what he considered the philosophy of classification, as indicated partly by human reason, and partly by experience; and from the whole he deduced a classification which is unquestionably the basis of that which, under the name of the system of Jussieu, is everywhere recognised at the present day."* Ray's views, however, were encountered even in his own day by the artificial system of the French botanist Tournefort; and before the close of the present period the science was again revolutionised by the genius of the great Linnæus. The Botanical, or Physic Garden, as it was called, at Oxford, we may here mention, had been founded and endowed by Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, in 1632. Ornithology and ichthyology may almost be said to owe their beginning, at least in this coun-

* Penny Cyclopædia, v. 248.



BOTANICAL GARDEN AT OXFORD.

try, to Ray's friend, Francis Willughby. Willughby died, at the age of thirty-seven, in 1672, but his works on these subjects—his "Ornithologiæ Libri Tres," and his "Historia Piscium,"—were some years after published under the superintendence of Ray; indeed, of the latter, which did not appear till 1686, Ray was half the author as well as the editor. A similar service was performed to conchology by the magnificent "Historia Conchyliorum" of Dr. Martin Lister, the first part of which appeared in 1685, the fifth and last in 1693. Finally, in geology, while some progress was made in the collecting and even in the arranging of facts by Ray, Dr. John Woodward, and others, and a few elementary general principles or natural laws of the science were beginning to be perceived, a host of speculators, headed by the eloquent Thomas Burnet and the eccentric William Whiston, both men of genius and learning, but of more fancy than either judgment or knowledge of the subjects which in this instance they undertook to discuss, had already in the last years of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century produced many theories of the earth, which explained not only its structure, but its origin and its destiny—in other words, its whole history, past, present, and future, as well as such a task could be accomplished by the imagination working without materials, and without the aid of any other faculty.

The Revolution, brought on by some of the same causes that had given birth to the Commonwealth, and restoring something of the same spirit and condition of things, came like another nightfall upon our higher Literature, extinguishing whatever was poetical in the land still more completely than even that previous triumph of the popular principle. Up to this date English literature had grown and flourished chiefly in the sunshine of court protection and favour; the public appreciation and sympathy were not yet sufficiently extended to afford it the necessary warmth and shelter. Consequently its spirit and affections were in the main courtly; it drooped and withered when the encouragement of the court was withdrawn, from the deprivation both of its customary support and sustenance and of its chief inspiration—of that in which it lived and moved and had its whole being. And, if the decay of this

kind of light at the Revolution was still more complete than that which followed upon the setting up of the Commonwealth, the difference seems to have been mainly owing to there having been less of it to destroy at the one epoch that at the other. It might have been expected, perhaps, that triumphant puritanism and republicanism would have been both more conservative and more productive of the poetical spirit than mere Whiggism and Church-of-Englandism when they got into the ascendant; but in point of fact it does not appear to have so turned out: of the few poets and other writers of an imaginative or original cast of mind that belong to the space between the abolition of the monarchy and the Restoration, Milton is almost the only republican name;* and even of his poetry the spirit can hardly be said to be either republican or puritanical. But the impulse given by the great poets of the age of Elizabeth and James was yet operating, without the interruption of any foreign influence, upon the language and the national mind; and, doubtless, whatever we may think of the literary tendencies of puritanism and republicanism, the nurture both for head and heart furnished by the ten years of high deeds, and higher speculations and hopes, that ushered in the Commonwealth, must have been of a far other kind than any that was to be got out of the thirty years, or thereby, of laxity, frivolity, denationalization, and insincerity of all sorts, down the comparatively smooth stream of which men slid, without effort and without thought, to the Revolution. No wonder that some powerful minds were trained by the former, and almost none by the latter.

With the exception of some two or three names, none of them of the highest class, to be presently mentioned, almost the only writers that shed any lustre on the first reign after the Revolution are those of a few of the survivors of the preceding period. Dryden, fallen on what to him were evil days and evil tongues, and forced in his old age to write for bread with less rest for his wearied head and hand than they had ever had before, now produced some of his most laborious and also some of his happiest works—his translation of Virgil, among others, his Fables, and his Alexander's Feast. Lee, the dramatic poet, discharged from Bedlam, finished two more tragedies, his Princess of Cleve and his Massacre of Paris, before "returning one night from the Bear and Harrow, in Butcher-row, through Clare-market, to his lodgings in Duke-street, overladen with wine, he fell down on the ground as some say, according to others on a bulk, and was killed or stifled in the snow," some time in the year 1691 or 1692.† The comic Etheridge also outlived the deposition of his patron James II., but is not known to have written anything after that event; he followed James to France, and is reported to have died characteristically at Ratisbon a year or two after: "having treated some company with a liberal entertainment at his house there, where he had taken his glass too freely, and being, through his great complaisance, too forward in waiting on his guests at their departure, flushed as he was, he tumbled down stairs and broke his neck, and so fell a martyr to jollity and civility."* Wycherley, who, at the date of the Revolution, was under fifty, lived to become the correspondent of Pope, and even saw out the reign of Anne; but he produced nothing in that of William, although he published a volume of poems in 1704, and left some other trifles behind him, which were printed long afterwards by Theobald. Southern, indeed, who survived till 1746, continued to write and publish till within twenty years of his death; his two best dramas, his Fatal Marriage and his Oroonoko, were both produced in the reign of William. Southern was fortunate in a genius not above the appreciation of the age he lived in: "Dryden once took occasion to ask him how much he got by one of his plays; to which he answered that he was really ashamed to inform him. But, Mr. Dryden being a little importunate to know, he plainly told him that by his last play he cleared seven hundred pounds, which appeared astonishing to Dryden, as he himself had never been able to acquire more than one hundred by his most successful pieces."† Southern, who, although no great poet, was not, we may gather from this anecdote, without some conscience and modesty, had worse writers than himself to keep him in countenance by their preposterous prosperity, in this lucky time for mediocrity and dulness:—Shadwell was King William's first poet-laureate, and Nahum Tate his next. Tate, indeed, and his friend Dr. Nicholas Brady were among the most flourishing authors and greatest public favourites of this reign; it was now that they perpetrated in concert their version, or perversion, of the Psalms, with which we are still afflicted. Brady also published a play, and, at a later date, some volumes of sermons and a translation of the Æneid, which, fortunately not having been imposed or recommended by authority, are all among the most forgotten of books. Elkanah Settle, too, was provided for as city poet. Among writers of another class, perhaps the most eminent, who, having been distinguished before the Revolution, survived and continued to write after that event, was Sir William Temple. His Miscellanies, by which he is principally known, though partly composed before, were not published till then. John Evelyn, who, however, although a very miscellaneous as well as voluminous writer, ha hardly left any work that is held in esteem for either style or thought, or for anything save what it may contain of positive information or mere matter of fact, also published one or two books in the reign of William, which he saw to an end, for he died, at the age of eighty-five, in 1706. Bishop Stillingfleet, who had been known as an author since before the Restoration, for his Irenicum appeared in 1659, when he was

* See Vol. iii. p. 872.
† MS. Note by Oldys, quoted in Biog. Dram.

* Biog. Dram. on authority of Biog. Britan.
† Id.

only in his twenty-fourth year, and who had kept the press in employment by a rapid succession of publications during the next five-and-twenty years, resumed his pen after the Revolution, which raised him to the bench, to engage in a controversy with Locke about some of the principles of his famous Essay; but, whether it was that years had abated his powers, or that he had a worse cause to defend, or merely that the public taste was changed, he gained much less applause for his dialectic skill on this than on most former occasions. Stillingfleet lived to the year 1699. Two other eminent theological writers of this reign, Cumberland and Bull, who both eventually became bishops, had also first acquired distinction in the preceding period. Cumberland's principal work is his Latin treatise De Legibus Naturæ, an attack of considerable acuteness on the philosophy of Hobbes; Bull, who is also the author of some sermons in English, is most celebrated for his Harmonia Apostolica, directed against Calvinism, 1669; his Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, 1685; and his Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, 1694; all in Latin. John Norris, also, one of the last of the school of English Platonists which may be considered as having been founded in the latter part of the seventeenth century by Cudworth and Henry More, had, we believe, become first known as a writer some years before the Revolution; but the greater number of his publications first appeared in the reign of William, and he may be reckoned one of the best writers properly or principally belonging to that reign. Yet he is not for a moment to be compared for learning, compass of thought, or power and skill of expression, to either Cudworth or More. Norris's principal work is his Essay on the Ideal World, published in two parts in 1701 and 1702. He is also the author of a volume of religious poetry, of rather a feeble character, which has been often reprinted. Bishop Spratt, though a clergyman, and a writer both of prose and verse, cannot be called a divine; he had in earlier life the reputation of being the finest writer of the day, but, although he lived till very nearly the end of the reign of Anne, he published nothing, we believe, after the Revolution, nor indeed for a good many years before it. His style, which was so much admired in his own age, is a Frenchified English, with an air of ease and occasionally of vivacity, but without any true grace or expressiveness. Good old Richard Baxter, who had been filling the world with books for half a century, just lived to see the Revolution. He died, at the age of seventy-six, in the beginning of December, 1691. And in the end of the same month died, a somewhat younger man, Robert Boyle, another of the most voluminous writers of the preceding period, and famous also for his services in the cause of religion, as well as of science. In the preceding May, at a still less advanced age, had died the most eminent Scotch writer of the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, Sir George Mackenzie, formerly lord-advocate, both under Charles II. and his successor; the author of the "Institutions of the Laws of Scotland," and many other professional, historical, and antiquarian works, but the master also of a flowing pen in moral speculation, the belles lettres, and even in the department of fancy and fiction—as may be gathered from the titles of his Aretina or the Serious Romance, 1660; Religio Stoici, or the Virtuoso, 1663; Solitude preferred to Public Employment, 1665; Moral Gallantry, 1667. Mackenzie may be regarded as the first successor of his countryman, Drummond of Hawthornden, in the cultivation of an English style; he was the correspondent of Dryden and other distinguished English writers of his day; but he has no pretensions of his own to any high rank either for the graces of expression or the value of his matter. Whatever may have been his professional learning, too, his historical disquisitions are as jejune and uncritical as his attempts at fine writing are, with all their elaboration, at once pedantic and clownish. He has nothing either of the poetry or the elegance of Drummond.

The most active and conspicuous undoubtedly of the prose writers, who, having acquired distinction in the preceding period, continued to prosecute the business of authorship after the Revolution, was the celebrated Dr. Gilbert Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury. Of 145 distinct publications (many of them, however, only single sermons and other short pamphlets), which are enumerated as having proceeded from his incessant pen between 1669 and his death, at the age of seventy-two, in 1715 (including, indeed, his History of his Own Time, and his Thoughts on Education, which did not appear till after his death), we find that 71 (namely, 21 historical works and 50 sermons and tracts) belong to the period before the Revolution; 36 (namely, 5 historical works and 31 sermons and tracts) to the reign of William; and the remaining 38 (namely, one historical work and 37 pamphlets) to a later date.* Many of what we have called historical works, however, are mere pamphlets: in fact Burnet's literary performances of any considerable extent are only three in number:—his Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton, published, in one volume folio, in 1676; his History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 3 volumes folio, 1679, 1681, and 1714; and his History of his Own Time, in two volumes folio, published after his death in 1723 and 1734. There is enough of literary labour, as well as of historical value, in these works to preserve to the author a very honourable name; each of them contains much matter now nowhere else to be found, and they must always continue to rank among the original sources of our national history, both ecclesiastical and civil. In regard to their execution, too, it must be admitted that the style is at least straight-forward and unaffected, and generally as unambiguous as it is unambitious; the

* We have, for convenience of classification, reckoned each of th three vols. of the History of the Reformation a distinct publication.

facts are clearly enough arranged; and the story is told not only intelligibly, but for the most part in rather a lively and interesting way. On the other hand, to any high station as a writer Burnet can make no claim; he is an industrious collector of intelligence, and a loquacious and moderately lively gossip; but of eloquence, or grace, or refinement of any sort, he is as destitute as he is (and that is altogether) of imagination, and wit, and humour, and subtlety, and depth and weight of thought, and whatever other qualities give anything either of life or lustre to what a man utters out of his own head or heart. We read him for the sake of his facts only; he troubles us with but few reflections, but of that no reader will complain. He does not see far into any thing, nor indeed, properly speaking, into it at all; for that matter, he is little more, to adopt a modern term, than a penny-a-liner on a large scale, and best performs his task when he does not attempt to be anything else. Nor is he a neat-handed workman even of that class; in his History of his Own Time, in particular, his style, with no strength, or flavour, or natural charm of any kind, to redeem its rudeness, is the most slovenly undress in which a writer ever wrapt up what he had to communicate to the public. Its only merit, as we have observed, is that it is without any air of pretension, and that it is evidently as extemporaneous and careless as it is unelevated, shapeless, and ungrammatical. Among the most important and best known of Burnet's other works are, that entitled "Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester," 1680: his Life of Bishop Bedel, 1685; his Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, 1685; and his Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, 1699.

In the same year with Bishop Burnet, but at a more advanced age, died Dr. Thomas Burnet, the learned and eloquent author of the Telluris Sacra Theoria, first published in Latin in 1680, and afterwards translated into English by the author; of the Archæologia Philosophica, published in 1692; and of two or three other treatises, also in Latin, which did not appear till after his death. The author of the Sacred Theory of the Earth, a man of genius and imagination as well as of consummate scholarship, is a very different species of writer from his mitred namesake: his English style is singularly flowing and harmonious, as well as perspicuous and animated, and rises on fit occasions to much majesty and impressiveness. It has been already intimated that his system of geology has no scientific value whatever; indeed, it must be considered as a mere romance, although, from the earnestness of the author's manner and his constant citation of texts of scripture in support of his positions, as well as from more than one answer which he afterwards published to the attacks made upon his book, it is evident that he by no means intended it to be so received.

Along with these names may be mentioned that of Archbishop Tillotson, who was a very popular preacher among the Presbyterians before the Restoration, and began publishing sermons so early as in the year 1661, while he still belonged to that sect. He died in 1694 in his sixty-fourth year. Tillotson's Sermons, still familiarly known by reputation, long continued to be the most generally esteemed collection of such compositions in the language; but are probably now very little read. They are substantial performances, such as make the reader feel, when he has got through one of them, that he has accomplished something of a feat; and, being withal as free from pedantry and every other kind of eccentricity or extravagance as from flimsiness, and exceedingly sober in their strain of doctrine, with a certain blunt cordiality in the expression and manner, they were in all respects very happily addressed to the ordinary peculiarities of the national mind and character. But, having once fallen into neglect, Tillotson's writings have no qualities that will ever revive attention to them. There is much more of a true vitality in the sermons of Dr. Robert South, whose career of authorship commenced in the time of the Protectorate, though his life was extended till after the accession of George I. He died in 1716 at the age of eighty-three. South's sermons, the first of which date even before the earliest of Tillotson's, and the last after Tillotson's latest, are very well characterised by Mr. Hallam:—"They were," he observes, "much celebrated at the time, and retain a portion of their renown. This is by no means surprising. South had great qualifications for that popularity which attends the pulpit, and his manner was at that time original. Not diffuse, not learned, not formal in argument like Barrow, with a more natural structure of sentences, a more pointed, though by no means a more fair and satisfactory turn of reasoning, with a style clear and English, free from all pedantry, but abounding with those colloquial novelties of idiom, which, though now become vulgar and offensive, the age of Charles II. affected, sparing no personal or temporary sarcasm, but, if he seems for a moment to tread on the verge of buffoonery, recovering himself by some stroke of vigorous sense and language; such was the worthy Dr. South, whom the courtiers delighted to hear. His sermons want all that is called unction, and sometimes even earnestness; but there is a masculine spirit about them, which, combined with their peculiar characteristics, would naturally fill the churches where he might be heard."* Both South and Tillotson are considered to belong as divines to the Arminian, or, as it was then commonly called, the Latitudinarian school—as well as Cudworth, More, and Stillingfleet.

The only considerable literary name that can be said to belong exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the reign of King William, is that of Locke. John Locke, born in 1632, although his "Adversariorum Methodus, or New Method of a Common-Place-Book," had appeared in French, in

* Lit. of Europe, iv. 177.

Leclerc's Bibliothèque for 1686, and an abridgment of his celebrated Essay, and his first Letter on Toleration, both also in French, in the same publication for 1687 and 1688, had published nothing in English, or with his name, till he produced in 1690 the work which has ever since made him one of the best known of English writers, both in his own and in other countries, his "Essay concerning Human Understanding." This was followed by his Second Letter on Toleration, and his two Treatises on Government, in the same year; his Considerations on Lowering the Interest of Money in 1691; his Third Letter on Toleration in 1692; his Thoughts concerning Education in 1693; his Reasonableness of Christianity in 1695; and various controversial tracts in reply to his assailants, Dr. Edwards and Bishop Stillingfleet, between that date and his death in 1704. After his death appeared his Conduct of the Understanding, and several theological treatises, the composition of which had been the employment of the last years of his industrious and productive old age. Locke's famous Essay was the first work, perhaps in any language, which professedly or systematically attempted to popularise metaphysical philosophy. The author's persuasion evidently is, that there is nothing more difficult to comprehend, or at least more incomprehensible, about the operations of the human mind than there is in the movements of an eight-day clock. What he especially sets himself to run down and do away with from the beginning to the end of his book, is the notion that there is any mystery in any part of the subject he has undertaken to expound which his pen cannot make clear to the most ordinary capacity that will lend him half an hour's fair attention. Locke was a man of great moral worth, of the highest integrity, disinterested, just, tolerant, and humane, as well as of extraordinary penetration and capacity; moreover, he was probably as free from anything like self-conceit, or the over-estimation either of his own virtues or his own talents, as people of good sense usually are; and he had undoubtedly a great respect for the deity as the First Magistrate of the universe; yet, to a mind differently constituted from his, and which, instead of seeing a mystery in nothing, sees a mystery in all things, there is, it must be confessed, something so offensive in the whole tone and manner of his speculations, that his real merits perhaps will scarcely be rated by such a mind so high as they deserve. It seems all like a man, if not trying to deceive others, at least so perseveringly shutting his eyes upon, and turning away his head from, every real difficulty, that he may be almost said to be wilfully deceiving himself; merely skimming the surface of his subject while he assumes the air of exploring it to the bottom; repelling objections, sometimes by dexterously thrusting them aside, mostly by not noticing them at all; in other words, a piece of mere clever and plausible, but hollow and insincere conjuring; a vain show of wisdom, having in it almost as little of the real as of the reverential. No awe, no wonder, no self-distrust—no sense of anything above—we might almost say beside, or out of—the intellect of the speculator. Malebranche saw all things in God; Locke saw all things in himself. Nay, he went all but the length of seeing the whole universe in his five corporeal senses; and the majority of his disciples in more recent times have boldly leaped across the slight barrier which kept their master back from that great discovery. But, while there will continue to be in many minds this dissent from the general spirit of Locke's philosophy, and also from the general tenor of his conclusions, the Essay on Human Understanding will, nevertheless, always be recognised as not only an illustrious monument of the penetration, ingenuity, and other high mental powers and resources of its author, but as a fundamental book in modern metaphysics. It is, as has been remarked, the first comprehensive survey that had been attempted of the whole mind and its faculties; and the very conception of such a design argued an intellect of no common reach, originality, and boldness. It will remain also of very considerable value as an extensive register of facts, and a storehouse of acute and often suggestive observations on psychological phenomena, whatever may be the fate of the views propounded in it as a metaphysical system. Further, it is not to be denied that this work has exercised a powerful influence upon the course of philosophical inquiry and opinion ever since its appearance. At first in particular it did good service in putting finally to the rout some fantastic notions and methods that still lingered in the schools; it was the loudest and most comprehensive proclamation that had yet been made of the liberation of philosophy from the dominion of authority; but Locke's was a mind stronger and better furnished for the work of pulling down than of building up; he had enough of clear-sightedness and independence of mental character for the one; whatever endowments of a different kind he possessed, he had too little imagination, or creative power, for the other. Besides, the very passionless character of his mind would have unfitted him for going far into the philosophy of our complex nature, in which the passions are the revealers and teachers of all the deepest truths, and alone afford us any intimation of many things which, even with the aid of their lurid light, we discern but as fearful and unfathomable mysteries. What would Shakspeare's understanding of the philosophy of human nature have been, if he had had no more imagination and passion in his own nature than Locke?

We have already in a preceding chapter noticed Locke's contributions to the infant science of political economy; and also the more remarkable publication in the same department of his contemporary, Sir Dudley North.* A more voluminous writer on such subjects in this and the next reign was Dr. Charles Davenant (son of Sir William

* See ante, p. 725.

Davenant, the poet), whose works, however, are more valuable for the mere facts they record than for any light they throw on the principles of economical science. Davenant was a laborious examiner of documents and accounts, and a sensible but withal rather a dull man. We have had occasion to quote several passages from his various publications in the account of the progress of commerce during the present period, on which subject they are among our most trustworthy sources of information.

In taking leave of the seventeenth century we ought not to omit noticing the memorable contest of wit and learning which arose in the reign of William, out of the publication of an edition of the Greek Epistles attributed to Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum, in Sicily, by the Honourable Charles Boyle (afterwards Earl of Orrery). In the preface to his book, which was published in the beginning of the year 1695, Boyle, who was then an undergraduate of Christ's Church, Oxford, animadverted with some severity upon a piece of discourtesy which he conceived he had met with from Dr. Bentley, then keeper of the King's Library, in regard to the loan of a manuscript of the Epistles there preserved. After an interval of two years Bentley published, in an appendix to the second edition of his friend William Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, an elaborate exposition of his reasons for holding the compositions printed by Boyle, and ranked by him with the most precious remains of the remotest antiquity, to be a comparatively modern forgery; and at the same time took an opportunity both of replying to the charge brought against him by Boyle (from which he appears to have vindicated himself), and of criticising the late edition of the Epistles with great severity, and with all the power of his vast erudition and unrivalled acumen. This, the first edition of Bentley's celebrated Dissertation on Phalaris, is now, in truth, universally considered to have established the spuriousness of the Epistles conclusively and unanswerably. An answer, however, was produced to it in the following year (1698), under the title of "Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined;" to which Boyle's name was prefixed, but which is believed to have been chiefly the composition of his tutor, the celebrated Dr. Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, whose very considerable attainments in classical scholarship were enlivened and decorated by the finest spirit of wit and humour. Some others of the most distinguished among the Oxford men also contributed their blows or missiles; so that the cause of the old Sicilian tyrant against the denier and derider of his literary pretensions may be said to have been taken up and defended by the whole force and fury of the university. The laugh was turned for the moment against Bentley by this attack, which was for the most part a fierce personal invective; but he set at least the original question at rest, and effectually put down the pretensions of his assailants to cope with him in the field of learning and criticism, by a second and enlarged edition of his Dissertation, which he brought forth after about another year's interval. To this a reply was threatened, but none was ever made. Bentley's performance was in every way a masterpiece. "Professedly controversial," observes a late writer, "it embodies a mass of accurate information relative to historical facts, antiquities, chronology, and philology, such as we may safely say has rarely been collected in the same space; and the reader cannot fail to admire the ingenuity with which things apparently trifling, or foreign to the point in question, are made effective in illustrating or proving the author's views. Nothing shows so well how thoroughly digested and familiar was the vast stock of reading which Bentley possessed. The banter and ridicule of his opponents are returned with interest, and the reader is reconciled to what might seem to savour too much of arrogance and the bitterness of controversy by a sense of the strong provocation given to the author."* We may add a few words from Mr. Hallam's notice of this controversy:—"It was the first great literary war that had been waged in England; and, like that of Troy, it has still the prerogative of being remembered after the Epistles of Phalaris are as much buried as the walls of Troy itself. Both combatants were skilful in wielding the sword: the arms of Boyle, in Swift's language, were given him by all the gods;† but his antagonist stood forward in no such figurative strength, master of a learning to which nothing parallel had been known in England, and that directed by an understanding prompt, discriminating, not idly sceptical, but still farther removed from trust in authority, sagacious in perceiving corruptions of language, and ingenious, at the least, in removing them, with a style rapid, concise, amusing, and superior to Boyle in that which he had most to boast, a sarcastic wit."‡ What is here alluded to is one of the earliest performances of one of the greatest geniuses of the next age—the Battle of the Books, published anonymously, and never acknowledged, but never doubted to be the production of the afterwards renowned Jonathan Swift. It did not, however, appear till the year 1704. In fact the dispute about the authenticity of the Epistles of Phalaris had formed all along only a branch of a larger controversy, which was kept up for some years after the question of Phalaris had been set

* Article on Bentley, in Penny Cyclopædia, iv. 250.

† Upon this assertion of Swift's, Boyle's son, John Earl of Orrery, remarks with a filial or family partiality that is excusable enough:—"I shall not dispute about the gift of the armour; but thus far I will venture to observe, that the gods never bestowed celestial armour, except upon heroes whose courage and superior strength distinguished them from the rest of mankind; whose merits and abilities were already conspicuous; and who could wield, though young, the sword of Mars, and adorn it with all the virtues of Minerva." *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift*, 5th edition, p. 228. Charles Boyle was in truth a person of respectable talent; but, although in after life he wrote a comedy (As You Find It), and some other trifles, his wit did not appear to have ripened with his years, and nothing that he produced ever excited any attention except his college publication in the Phalaris controversy.

‡ Lit. of Eu. iv. 114.

at rest and abandoned on all hands. It was Swift's relation and patron, Sir William Temple, who had first called attention to the Epistles by a passage in one of his Essays, in which he endeavoured to maintain the superiority of the ancients over the moderns in all kinds of learning and knowledge, the physical and experimental sciences themselves not excepted. It was in answer to Temple's Essay, which was itself a reply to Perrault's "Parallèle des Anciens et Modernes," published at Paris in 1687, that Wotton wrote his "Reflections," the first edition of which appeared in 1694, and expressed therein an opinion unfavourable to the antiquity of the Epistles, which Temple had both eulogised in warm terms, and cited as of unquestionable authenticity. This argument between Temple as the champion-general of the ancients, and Wotton of the moderns, which produced a great many more publications from both, and from their respective partisans, is the main subject of the Battle of the Books, which was probably the last blow struck in the pen and ink war, and at any rate is the last that is now remembered.

The Tale of a Tub and the Battle of the Books, published together, were the first announcement of the greatest master of satire at once comic and caustic that has yet appeared in our language. Swift, born in Ireland in 1667, had already, in the last years of the preceding reign, made himself known by two volumes of Letters selected from the papers of his friend Temple, and also by a political pamphlet in favour of the ministry of the day, which attracted little notice, and gave as little promise of his future eminence as a writer. To politics as well as satire, however, he adhered throughout his career—often blending the two, but producing scarcely anything, if we may not except some of his effusions in verse, that was not either satirical or political. His course of authorship as a political writer may be considered properly to begin with his "Letter concerning the Sacramental Test," and another high Tory and high church tract, which he published in 1708; in which same year he also came forward with his ironical "Argument for the Abolition of Christianity," and in his humorous "Predictions" first assumed his *nom de guerre* of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esquire, afterwards made so famous by other *jeux d'esprit* in the same style, and by its adoption soon after by the wits of the Tatler. Of his other most notable performances, his Conduct of the Allies was published in 1712; his Public Spirit of the Whigs in 1714; his Drapier's Letters in 1724; his immortal Gulliver's Travels in 1727; and his Polite Conversation, which had been written many years before, in 1738. His poem of Cadenus and Vanessa, besides, had appeared, without his consent, in 1723, soon after the death of Miss Hester Van Homrigh, its heroine. The History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne (if his), the Directions for Servants, many of his verses and other shorter pieces, and his Diary written to Stella (Miss Johnson, to whom he was afterwards married), were none of them printed till after, some of them not till long after, his death, which took place in 1745.

"O thou!" exclaims his friend Pope,

> —— "whatever title please thine ear,
> Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!
> Whether thou choose Cervantes' serious air,
> Or laugh and shake in Rabelais' easy chair,
> Or praise the court, or magnify mankind,
> Or thy grieved country's copper chains unbind,—"

lines that describe comprehensively enough the celebrated dean's genius and writings—what he did and what he was. And the first remark to be made about Swift is, that into everything that came from his pen he put a strong infusion o himself; that in his writings we read the man—not merely his intellectual ability, but his moral nature, his passions, his principles, his prejudices, his humours, his whole temper and individuality. The common herd of writers have no individuality at all; those of the very highest class can assume at will any other individuality as perfectly as their own—they have no exclusiveness. Next under this highest class stand those whose individuality is at once their strength and their weakness;—their strength, in as much as it distinguishes them from and lifts them far above the multitude of writers of mere talent or expository skill; their weakness and bondage, in that it will not be thrown off, and that it withholds them from ever going out of themselves, and rising from the merely characteristic, striking, or picturesque either to the dramatic or to the beautiful, of both of which equally the spirit is unegotistic and universal. To this class, which is not the highest, but the next to it, Swift belongs. The class, however, like both that which is above and that which is below it, is one of wide comprehension, and includes many degrees of power, and even many diversities of gifts. Swift was neither a Cervantes nor a Rabelais; but yet, with something that was peculiar to himself, he combined considerable portions of both. He had more of Cervantes than Rabelais had, and more of Rabelais than was given to Cervantes. He wants altogether the refinement, the humanity, the pathos, the noble elevation of the Spaniard,—all that irradiates and beautifies his satire and drollery as the blue sky does the earth it bends over;—as little has our English wit and humourist, with all his ingenuity and fertility, either the grotesque invention or the gay, luxuriant fancy of the historian of the Doings and Sayings of the Giant Gargantua, in whose singular work the brightest sunshine often plays with so strange an effect on floods of the foulest mire. But, on the other hand, he has a severity, an earnestness, a *sæva indignatio*, that are all his own, and that certainly have never been blended in any other writer with so keen a perception of the ludicrous and so much general comic power. The breath of his loud, cordial, heart-shaking laughter is at the same time withering and consuming as fire. Other masters of the same art are satisfied if they can only make their readers laugh; this is their

main, often their sole aim, in the exercise of their skill, whether upon things or upon persons: with Swift, to excite the emotion of the ludicrous is only a subordinate purpose,—a means employed for effecting quite another and a much higher end; if he labours to make anything ridiculous, it is because he hates it, and would have it trodden into the earth or extirpated. No sneaking kindness for the victim of his raillery is ever to be detected in his laughter; he is not a mere admirer of the comic picturesque, who will sometimes rack or gibbet an unhappy individual for the sake of the fantastic grimaces he may make, or the capers he may cut in the air; he has the true spirit of an executioner, and only loves his joke as sauce and seasoning to more serious work. Few men have been more perversely prejudiced and self-willed than Swift, and therefore of absolute truth his works may probably contain less than many others not so earnestly written; but of what was truth to the mind of the writer, of what he actually believed and desired, no works contain more. Here, again, Swift is in the middle class of writers; far above those whose whole truth is truth of expression—that is, correspondence between the words and the thoughts (possibly without any between the thoughts and the writer's belief); but below those who both write what they think, and whose thoughts are valuable for their intrinsic beauty or profoundness. Yet in setting honestly and effectively before us even his own passions and prejudices a writer also tells us the truth—the truth, at least, respecting himself, if not respecting anything else. This much does Swift always; and this is his great distinction among the masters of wit and humour;—the merriest of his jests is an utterance of some real feeling of his heart at the moment as much as the fiercest of his invectives. Alas! with all his jesting and merriment, he did not know what it was to have a mind at ease, or free from the burden and torment of dark, devouring passions, till, in his own words, the cruel indignation that tore continually at his heart was laid at rest in the grave. In truth, the insanity which ultimately fell down upon and laid prostrate his fine faculties had cast something of its black shadow athwart their vision from the first,—as he himself probably felt or suspected when he determined to bequeath his fortune to build an hospital in his native country for persons afflicted with that calamity; and sad enough, we may be sure, he was at heart, when he gaily wrote that he did so merely

> To show, by one satiric touch,
> No nation wanted it so much.*

Yet the madness, or predisposition to madness, was also part and parcel of the man, and possibly an element of his genius,—which might have had less earnestness and force, as well as less activity, productiveness, and originality, if it had not been excited and impelled by that perilous fervour. Nay, something of their power and peculiar character Swift's writings may owe to the exertions called forth in curbing and keeping down the demon, which, like a proud steed under a stout rider, would have mastered him if he had not mastered it, and, although support and strength to him so long as it was held in subjection, would, dominant over him, have rent him in pieces, as in the end it did. Few, perhaps, could have maintained the struggle so toughly and so long. But Swift was undoubtedly the most masculine English intellect of his age, the most earnest thinker of a time in which there was less among us of either earnest or deep thinking than in any other era of our literature. There was an earnestness, if we may so speak, even in his jesting, evincing itself in a richness and originality, as well as in a causticity, reached by no one of his brother wits."

Of these by far the most memorable was Alexander Pope. If Swift was at the head of the prose-writers of that day, still more incontestably was Pope the first of its writers in verse, with no other either equal or second to him. Born a few months before the Revolution, he came forth as a poet by the publication of his Pastorals in Tonson's Miscellany in 1709, when he was yet only in his twenty-first year; and they had been written five years before. Nor were they the earliest of his performances; his Ode on Solitude, his verses upon Silence, his translations of the First Book of the Thebais and of Ovid's Epistle from Sappho to Phaon, and his much more remarkable paraphrases of Chaucer's January and May, and the Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale, all preceded the composition of the Pastorals. His Essay on Criticism (written in 1709) was published in 1711; the Messiah the same year (in the Spectator); the Rape of the Lock in 1712; the Temple of Fame (written two years before) the same year; his Windsor Forest (which he had commenced at sixteen) in 1713; the first four books of his translation of the Iliad in 1715; his Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard (written some years before) we believe in 1717, when he published a collected edition of his poems; the remaining portions of the Iliad at different times, the last in 1720; his translation of the Odyssey (in concert with Fenton and Broome) in 1725; the first three books of the Dunciad in 1728; his Epistle on Taste in 1731; his Essay on Man in 1733 and 1734; his Imitations of Horace, various other satirical pieces, the Prologue and Epilogue to the Satires, his Moral Epistles, and his modernised version of Donne's Satires between 1730 and 1740; and the fourth book of the Dunciad in 1742. Besides all this verse, collections of his Letters were published first surreptitiously by Curl, and then by himself in 1737; and, among other publications in prose, his clever *jeu d'esprit* entitled a Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis appeared in 1713; his

* "I have often," says Lord Orrery, "heard him lament the state of childhood and idiotism to which some of the greatest men of this nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned, as examples within his own time, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Somers; and, when he cited these melancholy instances, it was always with a heavy sigh, and with gestures that showed great uneasiness, as if he felt an impulse of what was to happen to him before he died."—*Remarks*, p. 188.

Preface to Shakspeare, with his edition of the works of that poet, in 1721; his Treatise of the Bathos, or Art of Sinking in Poetry, and his Memoirs of P.P., Clerk of This Parish (in ridicule of Burnet's History of his Own Time), in 1727. He died in May, 1744, about a year and a half before his friend Swift, who, more than twenty years his senior, had naturally anticipated that he should be the first to depart, and that, as he cynically, and yet touchingly too, expressed it, while Arbuthnot grieved for him a day, and Gay a week, he should be lamented a whole month by "poor Pope,"—whom, of all those he best knew, he seems to have the most loved.

Pope, with talent enough for anything, might deserve to be ranked among the most distinguished prose-writers of his time, if he were not its greatest poet; but it is in the latter character that he falls to be noticed in the history of our literature. And what a broad and bright region would be cut off from our poetry if he had never lived! If we even confine ourselves to his own works, without regarding the numerous subsequent writers who have in the greater part formed themselves upon him as an example and model, and may be said to constitute the school of which he was the founder, how rich an inheritance of brilliant and melodious fancies do we not owe to him! For what would any of us resign the Rape of the Lock, or the Epistle of Eloisa, or the Essay on Man, or the Moral Essays, or the Satires, or the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, or the Dunciad? That we have nothing in the same style in the language to be set beside or weighed against any one of these performances will probably be admitted by all; and, if we could say no more, this would be to assign to Pope a rank in our poetic literature which certainly not so many as half a dozen other names are entitled to share with his. Down to his own day at least, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, and Dryden alone had any pretensions to be placed before him or by his side. It is unnecessary to dilate upon what has been sufficiently pointed out by all the critics, and is too obvious to be overlooked, the general resemblance of his poetry, in both its form and spirit, to that of Dryden rather than to that of our elder great writers. He belongs to the classical school as opposed to the romantic, to that in which a French rather than to that in which an Italian inspiration may be detected. Whether this is to be attributed principally to his constitutional temperament and the native character of his imagination, or to the influences of the age in which he lived and wrote, we shall not stop to inquire. It is enough that such is the fact. But, though he may be regarded as in the main the pupil and legitimate successor of Dryden, the amount of what he learned or borrowed from that master was by no means so considerable as to prevent his manner from having a great deal in it that is distinctive and original. If Dryden has more impetuosity and a freer flow, Pope has far more delicacy, and, on fit occasions, far more tenderness and true passion. Dryden has written nothing in the same style with the Rape of the Lock on the one hand, or with the Epistle to Abelard and the Elegy on the Death of an Unfortunate Lady on the other. Indeed, these two styles may be said to have been both, in so far as the English tongue is concerned, invented by Pope. In what preceding writer had he an example of either? Nay, did either the French or the Italian language furnish him with anything to copy from nearly so brilliant and felicitous as his own performances? In the sharper or more severe species of satire, again, while in some things he is inferior to Dryden, in others he excels him. It must be admitted that Dryden's is the nobler, the more generous scorn; it is passionate, while Pope's is frequently only peevish: the one is vehement, the other venomous. But, although Pope does not wield the ponderous, fervid scourge with which his predecessor tears and mangles the luckless object of his indignation or derision, he knows how, with a lighter touch, to inflict a torture quite as maddening at the moment, and perhaps more difficult to heal. Neither has anything of the easy elegance, the simple natural grace, the most exquisite artifice imitating the absence of all art, of Horace; but the care, and dexterity, and superior refinement of Pope, his neatness, and concentration, and point, supply a better substitute for these charms than the ruder strength, the more turbulent passion, of Dryden. If Dryden, too, has more natural fire and force, and rises in his greater passages to a stormy grandeur to which the other does not venture to commit himself, Pope in some degree compensates for that by a dignity, a quiet, sometimes pathetic, majesty, which we find nowhere in Dryden's poetry. Dryden has translated the Æneid, and Pope the Iliad; but the two tasks would apparently have been better distributed if Dryden had chanced to have taken up Homer, and left Virgil to Pope. Pope's Iliad, in truth, whatever may be its merits of another kind, is, in spirit and style, about the most unhomeric performance in the whole compass of our poetry, as Pope had, of all our great poets, the most unhomeric genius. He was emphatically the poet of the highly artificial age in which he lived; and his excellence lay in, or at least was fostered and perfected by, the accordance of all his tastes and talents, of his whole moral and intellectual constitution, with the spirit of that condition of things. Not touches of natural emotion, but the titillation of wit and fancy,—not tones of natural music, but the tone of good society, make up the charm of his poetry; which however is, for correctness, polish, pungency, and brilliance, all that the happiest genius for that style and the most consummate art could make it. Pope, no doubt, wrote with a care and elaboration that were unknown to Dryden; against whom, indeed, it is a reproach made by his pupil, that, copious as he was, he

> —— wanted or forgot
> The last and greatest art—the art to blot.

And so perhaps, although the expression is a strong and a startling one, may the said art, not without some reason, be called in reference to the particular species of poetry which Dryden and Pope cultivated, dependent as that is for its success in pleasing us almost as much upon the absence of faults as upon the presence of beauties. Such partial obscuration or distortion of the imagery as we excuse, or even admire, in the expanded mirror of a lake reflecting the woods and hills and overhanging sky, when its waters are ruffled or swayed by the fitful breeze, would be intolerable in a looking-glass, were it otherwise the most splendid article of the sort that upholstery ever furnished.

Next to the prose of Swift and the poetry of Pope, perhaps the portion of the literature of the beginning of the last century that was both most influential at the time, and still lives most in the popular remembrance, is that connected with the names of Addison and Steele. These two writers were the chief boast of the Whig party, as Swift and Pope were of the Tories. Addison's poem, "The Campaign," on the victory of Blenheim, his imposing but frigid tragedy of Cato, and some other dramatic productions, besides various other writings in prose, have given him a reputation in many departments of literature; and Steele also holds a respectable rank among our comic dramatists as the author of the Tender Husband and the Conscious Lovers; but it is as the first, and on the whole the best, of our English Essayists, the principal authors (in every sense) of the Tatler, the Spectator, and the Guardian, that these two writers have sent down their names with most honour to posterity, and have especially earned the love and gratitude of their countrymen. Steele was in his thirty-ninth and his friend Addison in his thirty-eighth year when the Tatler was started by the former in April, 1709. The paper, published thrice a week, had gone on for about six weeks before Addison took any part in it, but from that time he became, next to Steele, the chief contributor to it, till it was dropped in January, 1711. "I have only one gentleman," says Steele in his Preface to the collected papers, "who will be nameless, to thank for any frequent assistance to me, which indeed it would have been barbarous in him to have denied to one with whom he has lived in an intimacy from childhood, considering the great ease with which he is able to dispatch the most entertaining pieces of this nature." The person alluded to is Addison. "This good office," Steele generously adds, "he performed with such force of genius, humour, wit, and learning, that I fared like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid: I was undone by my auxiliary; when I had once called him in I could not subsist without dependence on him." By far the greater part of the Tatler, however, is Steele's. Of 271 papers of which it consists, above 200 are attributed either entirely or in the greater part to him, while those believed to have been written by Addison are only about fifty. Among the other contributors Swift is the most frequent. The Spectator was begun within two months after the discontinuance of the Tatler, and was carried on at the rate of six papers a week till the 6th of December, 1712, on which day Number 555 was published. In these first seven volumes of the Spectator Addison's papers are probably more numerous than Steele's; and between them they wrote perhaps four-fifths of the whole work. The Guardian was commenced on the 12th of March, 1713, and, being also published six times a week, had extended to 175 Numbers when it was brought to a close on the 1st of October in the same year. There is only one paper by Addison in the first volume of the Guardian, but to the second he was rather a more frequent contributor than Steele. This was the last work in which the two friends joined; for Addison, we believe, wrote nothing in the Englishman, the fifty-seven numbers of which were published, at the rate of three a week, between the 6th of October, 1713, and the 15th of February following; nor Steele any of the papers, eighty in number, forming the eighth volume of the Spectator, of which the first was published on the 18th of June, 1714, the last on the 20th of December in the same year, the rate of publication being also three times a week. Of these additional Spectators twenty-four are attributed to Addison. The friendship of nearly half a century which had united these two admirable writers was rent asunder by political differences some years before the death of Addison, in 1719: Steele survived till 1729.

Invented or introduced among us as the periodical essay may be said to have been by Steele and Addison, it is a species of writing, as already observed, in which perhaps they have never been surpassed, or on the whole equalled, by any one of their many followers. More elaboration and depth, and also more brilliancy, we may have had in some recent attempts of the same kind; but hardly so much genuine liveliness, ease, and cordiality, anything so thoroughly agreeable, so skilfully adapted to interest without demanding more attention than is naturally and spontaneously given to it. Perhaps so large an admixture of the speculative and didactic was never made so easy of apprehension and so entertaining, so like in the reading to the merely narrative. But, besides this constant atmosphere of the pleasurable arising simply from the lightness, variety, and urbanity of these delightful papers, the delicate imagination and exquisite humour of Addison, and the vivacity, warmheartedness, and altogether generous nature of Steele, give a charm to the best of them, which is to be enjoyed, not described. We not only admire the writers, but soon come to love them, and to regard both them and the several fictitious personages that move about in the other little world they have created for us as among our best and best known friends.

Along with Pope, as we have seen, Swift numbers among those who would most mourn his

death, Gay and Arbuthnot. He survived them both, Gay having died, in his forty-fourth year, in 1732, and Arbuthnot at a much more advanced age in 1735. John Gay, the author of a considerable quantity of verse and of above a dozen dramatic pieces, is now chiefly remembered for his Beggar's Opera, his Fables, his mock-heroic poem of Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London, and some of his ballads. He has no pretensions to any elevation of genius, but there is an agreeable ease, nature, and sprightliness in everything he has written; and the happiest of his performances are animated by an archness, and light but spirited raillery, in which he has not often been excelled. His celebrated English opera, as it was the first attempt of the kind, still remains the only one that has been eminently successful. Now, indeed, that much of the wit has lost its point and application to existing characters and circumstances, the dialogue of the play, apart from the music, may be admitted to owe its popularity in some degree to its traditionary fame; but still what is temporary in it is intermixed with a sufficiently diffused, though not very deep, vein of general satire, to allow the whole to retain considerable piquancy. Even at first the Beggar's Opera was probably indebted for the greater portion of its success to the music, and that is so happily selected that it continues still as fresh and as delightful as ever. Dr. John Arbuthnot, a native of Scotland, besides various professional works of much ability, is generally regarded as the author of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, printed in the works of Pope and Swift, and said to have been intended as the commencement of a general satire on the abuses of learning, of which, however, nothing more was ever written except Pope's treatise already mentioned on the Bathos, and one or two shorter fragments. The celebrated political satire, entitled The History of John Bull, which has been the model of various subsequent imitations, but of none in which the fiction is at once so apposite and so ludicrous, is also attributed to Arbuthnot. Pope's highly wrought and noble Prologue to his Satires, which is addressed to Arbuthnot, or rather in which the latter figures as the poet's interlocutor, will for ever preserve both the memory of their friendship, and also some traits of the character and manner of the learned, witty, and kind-hearted physician. The commencement of the reign of the Whigs at the accession of the House of Hanover, which deprived Arbuthnot of his appointment of one of the physicians extraordinary—leaving him, however, in the poet's words,

> social, cheerful, and serene,
> And just as rich as when he served a queen—

was more fatal to the fortunes of another of Pope's Tory or Jacobite friends, Francis Atterbury, the celebrated Bishop of Rochester, already mentioned as the principal author of the reply to Bentley's Dissertation on Phalaris. Atterbury also took a distinguished part in the professional controversies of his day, and his sermons and letters and one or two short poetical pieces of his are well known; but his fervid character probably flashed out in conversation in a way of which we do not gather any notion from his writings. Atterbury, as the reader knows, was deprived and outlawed in 1722; and he died abroad in 1731 in his sixty-ninth year.

Matthew Prior is another distinguished name in the band of the Tory writers of this age, and he was also an associate of Pope and Swift, although we hear less of him in their epistolary correspondence than of most of their other friends. Yet perhaps no one of the minor wits and poets of the time has continued to enjoy higher or more general favour with posterity. Much that he wrote, indeed, is now forgotten; but some of the best of his comic tales in verse will live as long as the language, which contains nothing that surpasses them in the union of ease and fluency with sprightliness and point, and in all that makes up the spirit of humorous and graceful narrative. They are our happiest examples of a style that has been cultivated with more frequent success by French writers than by our own. Prior, who was born in 1664, commenced poet before the Revolution, by the publication in 1688 of his City Mouse and Country Mouse, written in concert with Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, in ridicule of Dryden's Hind and Panther; and he continued a Whig nearly to the end of the reign of William; but he then joined the most extreme section of the Tories, and acted cordially with that party down to his death in 1721.

The mention of Prior naturally suggests that of his friend and patron, and also the friend of Swift and Pope—Henry St. John, better known by his title of the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, although his era comes down to a much later date, for he was not born till 1678, and he lived to 1751. Bolingbroke wrote no poetry, but his collected prose works fill five quarto volumes (without including his letters), and would thus entitle him by their quantity alone to be ranked as one of the most considerable writers of his time; of which we have abundant testimony that he was one of the most brilliant orators and talkers, and in every species of mere cleverness one of the most distinguished figures. His writings, being principally on subjects of temporary politics, have lost much of their interest; but a few of them, especially his Letters on the Study and Use of History, his Idea of a Patriot King, and his account and defence of his own conduct in his famous Letter to Sir William Wyndham, will still reward perusal even for the sake of their matter, while in style and manner almost everything he has left is of very remarkable merit. Bolingbroke's style, as has been observed, "was a happy medium between that of the scholar and that of the man of society—or rather it was a happy combination of the best qualities of both, heightening the ease, freedom, fluency, and liveli-

ness of elegant conversation with many of the deeper and richer tones of the eloquence of formal orations and of books. The example he thus set has probably had a very considerable effect in moulding the style of popular writing since his time:"*

In one of the passages in which he commemorates the friendship of Swift, Atterbury, and Bolingbroke, Pope records also the encouragement his earliest performances in rhyme received from a poet and man of wit of the opposite party, "well-natured Garth."† Sir Samuel Garth, who was an eminent physician and a zealous Whig, is the author of various poetical pieces published in the reigns of William and Anne, of which the one of greatest pretension is that entitled The Dispensary, a mock epic, in six short cantos, on the quarrels of his professional brethren, which appeared in 1699. The wit of this slight performance has possibly somewhat evaporated with age, but it does not seem to have been at any time very pungent. A much more voluminous, and also more ambitious, Whig poet of this Augustan age, as it is sometimes called, of our literature, was another physician, Sir Richard Blackmore. Blackmore made his debut as a poet so early as the year 1696, by the publication of his Prince Arthur, which was followed by a succession of other epics, or long poems of a serious kind, each in six, ten, or twelve books, under the names of King Arthur, King Alfred, Eliza, the Redeemer, the Creation, &c., besides a Paraphrase of the Book of Job, a new version of the Psalms, a Satire on Wit, and various shorter effusions both in verse and prose. The indefatigable rhymester—"the everlasting Blackmore," as Pope calls him—died at last in 1729. Nothing can be conceived exceeding in absurdity this incessant discharge of epics; but Blackmore, whom Dryden charged with writing "to the rumbling of his coach's wheels," may be pronounced, without any undue severity, to have been not more a fool than a blockhead. His Creation, indeed, has been praised both by Addison and Johnson; but the politics of the author may be supposed to have blinded or mollified the one critic, and his piety the other; at least the only thing an ordinary reader will be apt to discover in this his *chef d'œuvre*, that is not the flattest common-place, is an occasional outbreak of the most ludicrous extravagance and bombast. Altogether this knight, droning away at his epics for above a quarter of a century, is as absurd a phenomenon as is presented to us in the history of literature. Pope has done him no more than justice in assigning him the first place among the contending "brayers" at the immortal games instituted by the goddess of the Dunciad:

> But far o'er all, sonorous Blackmore's strain;
> Walls, steeples, skies, bray back to him again.
> In Tot'ham fields the brethren, with amaze,
> Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze;
> Long Chancery-lane retentive rolls the sound,
> And courts to courts return it round and round;
> Thames wafts it thence to Rufus' roaring hall,
> And Hungerford re-echoes bawl for bawl.
> All hail him victor in both gifts of song,
> Who sings so loudly and who sings so long.

The Whigs, however, had to boast of none great writer of prose fiction, if, indeed, one who, although taking a frequent and warm part in the discussion of political subjects, really stood aloof from and above all parties, and may be said to have been in enlargement of view far in advance of all the public men of his time, can be properly claimed by any party. Nor does Daniel Defoe seem to have been recognised as one of themselves by the Whigs of his own day. He stood up, indeed, from first to last, for the principles of the Revolution against those of the Jacobites; but in the alternating struggle between the Whig and Tory parties for the possession of office he took little or no concern; he served and opposed administrations of either colour without reference to anything but their measures: thus we find him in 1706 assisting Godolphin and his colleagues to compass the union with Scotland; and in 1713 exerting himself with equal zeal in supporting Harley and Bolingbroke in the attempt to carry through their commercial treaty with France. He is believed to have first addressed himself to his countrymen through the press in 1683, when he was only in his twenty-third year. From this time for a space of above thirty years he may be said never to have laid down his pen as a political writer: his publications in prose and verse, which are far too numerous to be here particularised, embracing nearly every subject which either the progress of events made of prominent importance during that time, or which was of eminent popular or social interest, independently of times and circumstances. Many of these productions, written for a temporary purpose, or on the spur of some particular occasion, still retain a considerable value even for their matter, either as directories of conduct or accounts of matters of fact; some, indeed, such as his History of the Union, are the works of highest authority we possess respecting the transactions to which they relate; all of them bear the traces of a sincere, earnest, manly character, and of an understanding unusually active, penetrating, and well-informed. Evidence enough there often is, no doubt, of haste and precipitation, but it is always the haste of a full mind; the subject may be rapidly and somewhat rudely sketched out, and the matter not always very artificially disposed, or set forth to the most advantage; but Defoe never wrote for the mere sake of writing, or unless when he really had something to state which he conceived it important that the public should know. He was too thoroughly honest for that. Defoe's course and character as a political writer bear a considerable resemblance in some leading points to those of one of the most remarkable men of our own day, the late William Cobbett, who, however, had certainly much more passion and wilfulness than Defoe, whatever we may think of his claims to as much principle. But Defoe's political

* Article on Bolingbroke in Penny Cyclopædia, v. 78.
† See Prologue to the Satires, 135, &c.

writings make the smallest part of his literary renown. At the age of fifty-eight—an age when other writers, without the tenth part of his amount of performance to boast of, have usually thought themselves entitled to close their labours—he commenced a new life of authorship with all the spirit and hopeful alacrity of five-and-twenty. A succession of works of fiction, destined, some of them, to take and keep the highest rank in that department of our literature, and to become popular books in every language of Europe, now proceeded from his pen with a rapidity evincing the easiest flow as well as the greatest fertility of imagination. Robinson Crusoe appeared in 1719; the Dumb Philosopher, the same year; Captain Singleton, in 1720; Duncan Campbell, the same year; Moll Flanders, in 1721; Colonel Jacque, in 1722; the Journal of the Plague, and probably, also, the Memoirs of a Cavalier (to which there is no date), the same year; the Fortunate Mistress, or Roxana, in 1724; the New Voyage Round the World, in 1725; and the Memoirs of Captain Carleton in 1728. But these effusions of his inventive faculty seem to have been, after all, little more than the amusements of his leisure. In the course of the twelve years from 1719 to his death in 1731, besides his novels he produced about twenty miscellaneous works, many of them of considerable extent. It may be pretty safely affirmed that no one who has written so much has written so well. No writer of fictitious narrative has ever excelled him in at least one prime excellence—the air of reality which he throws over the creations of his fancy; an effect proceeding from the strength of conception with which he enters into the scenes, adventures, and characters he undertakes to describe, and his perfect reliance upon his power of interesting the reader by the plainest possible manner of relating things essentially interesting. Truth and nature are never either heightened by flowers of speech in Defoe, or smothered under that sort of adornment. In some of his political writings there are not wanting passages of considerable height of style, in which, excited by a fit occasion, he employs to good purpose the artifices of rhetorical embellishment and modulation; but in his works of imagination the almost constant characteristic of his style is a simplicity and plainness, which, if there be any affectation about it at all, is chargeable only with that of a homeliness sometimes approaching to rusticity. Yet it is full of idiomatic nerve, too, and in a high degree graphic and expressive; and even its occasional slovenliness, whether the result of carelessness or design, aids the illusion by which the fiction is made to read so like a matter of fact. The truthful air of Defoe's fictions, we may just remark, is of quite a different character from that of Swift's, in which, although there is also much of the same vivid conception, and therefore minutely accurate delineation, of every person and thing introduced, a discerning reader will always perceive a smile lurking beneath the author's assumed gravity, telling him intelligibly enough that the whole is a joke. It is said, indeed, that, as the Journal of the Plague is quoted as an authentic narrative by Dr. Mead, and as Lord Chatham was, in all simplicity, in the habit of recommending the Memoirs of a Cavalier to his friends as the best account of the Civil Wars, and as those of Captain Carleton were read even by Samuel Johnson without a suspicion of their being other than a true history, so some Irish bishop was found with faith enough to believe in Gulliver's Travels, although not a little amazed by some things stated in the book. But this must have been a bishop of a very rare order of intellect.

To this age, too, belong three of the greatest of our comic dramatists. Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar were born in the order in which we have named them, and also, we believe, successively presented themselves before the public as writers for the stage in the same order, although they reversed it in making their exits from the stage of life,—Farquhar dying in 1707 at the age of twenty-nine, Vanbrugh in 1726 at that of fifty-four, Congreve not till 1729 in his fifty-ninth or sixtieth year. Congreve's first play, the Old Bachelor, was brought out in 1693, the author having already, two or three years before, made himself known in the literary world by a novel called "The Incognita, or Love and Duty Reconciled." The Old Bachelor was followed by The Double Dealer in 1694, and by Love for Love in 1695; the tragedy of the Mourning Bride was produced in 1697; and the comedy of The Way of the World, in 1700; a masquerade and an opera, both of slight importance, were the only dramatic pieces he wrote during the rest of his life. The comedy of Congreve has not much character, still less humour, and no nature at all; but blazes and crackles with wit and repartee, for the most part of an unusually pure and brilliant species,—not quaint, forced, and awkward, like what we find in some other attempts, in our dramatic literature and elsewhere, at the same kind of display, but apparently as easy and spontaneous as it is pointed, polished, and exact. His plots are also constructed with much artifice. Sir John Vanbrugh is the author of ten or twelve comedies, of which the first, The Relapse, was produced in 1697, and of which The Provoked Wife, The Confederacy, and The Journey to London (which last, left unfinished by the author, was completed by Colley Cibber), are those of greatest merit. The wit of Vanbrugh flows rather than flashes; but its copious stream may vie in its own way with the dazzling fire-shower of Congreve's; and his characters have much more of real flesh and blood in their composition, coarse and vicious as almost all the more powerfully drawn among them are. George Farquhar, the author of the Constant Couple and the Beaux' Stratagem, and of five or six other comedies, was a native of Ireland, in which country Congreve also spent his childhood and boyhood.

Farquhar's first play, his Love in a Bottle, was brought out with great success at Drury Lane in 1698; the Beaux' Stratagem, his last, was in the midst of its run when the illness during which it had been written terminated in the poor author's early death. The thoughtless and volatile, but goodnatured and generous, character of Farquhar is reflected in his comedies, which, with less sparkle, have more natural life and airiness, and are animated by a finer spirit of whim, than those of either Vanbrugh or Congreve. His morality, like theirs, is abundantly free and easy; but there is much more heart about his profligacy than in theirs, as well as much less grossness or hardness. To these names may be added that of Colley Cibber, who has, however, scarcely any pretensions to be ranked as one of our classic dramatists, although, of about two dozen comedies, tragedies, and other pieces of which he is the author, his Careless Husband and one or two others may be admitted to be lively and agreeable. Cibber, who was born in 1671, produced his first play, the comedy of Love's Last Shift, in 1696, and was still an occasional writer for the stage after the commencement of the reign of George II.; one of his productions, indeed, his tragedy entitled Papal Tyranny, was brought out so late as the year 1745, when he himself performed one of the principal characters; and he lived till 1757. His well-known account of his own life, or his Apology for his Life, as he modestly or affectedly calls it, is an amusing piece of something higher than gossip; the sketches he gives of the various celebrated actors of his time are many of them executed, not perhaps with the deepest insight, but yet with much graphic skill in so far as regards those mere superficial characteristics that meet the ordinary eye. The chief tragic writer of this age was Nicholas Rowe, the author of the Fair Penitent and Jane Shore, of five other tragedies, one comedy, and a translation in rhyme of Lucan's Pharsalia. Rowe, who was born in 1673, and died in 1718, was esteemed in his own day a great master of the pathetic, but is now regarded as little more than a smooth and occasionally sounding versifier.

Many other minor writers both of verse and of prose we must pass over altogether; but two poetical names still remain too eminent to be omitted. Dr. Edward Young, the celebrated author of the Night Thoughts, was born in 1681 and lived till 1765, but his works were all written and published within the present period. He may be shortly characterised as, at least in manner, a sort of successor, under the reign of Pope and the new style established by him and Dryden, of the Donnes and the Cowleys of a former age. He had nothing, however, of Donne's subtle fancy, and as little of the gaiety and playfulness that occasionally break out among the quibbles and contortions of Cowley. On the other hand he has much more passion and pathos than Cowley, and, with less elegance, perhaps makes a nearer approach in some of his greatest passages to the true sublime. But his style is radically an affected and false one; and of what force it seems to possess the greater part is the result, not of any real principle of life within it, but of mere strutting and straining. Nothing can be more unlike the poetry of the Night Thoughts than that of the Seasons. If Young is all art and effort, Thomson is all negligence and nature; so negligent, indeed, that he pours forth his unpremeditated song apparently without the thought ever occurring to him that he could improve it by any study or elaboration, any more than if he were some winged warbler of the woodlands, seeking and caring for no other listener except the universal air which the strain made vocal. As he is the poet of nature, so his poetry has all the intermingled rudeness and luxuriance of its theme. There is no writer who has drunk in more of the inmost soul of his subject. If it be the object of descriptive poetry to present us with pictures and visions the effect of which shall vie with that of the originals from which they are drawn, then Thomson is the greatest of all descriptive poets; for there is no other who surrounds us with so much of the truth of Nature, or makes us feel so intimately the actual presence and companionship of all her hues and fragrances. His spring blossoms and gives forth its beauty like a daisied meadow; and his summer landscapes have all the sultry warmth and green luxuriance of June; and his harvest fields and his orchards "hang the heavy head" as if their fruitage were indeed embrowning in the sun; and we see and hear the driving of his winter snows, as if the air around us were in confusion with their uproar. The beauty and purity of imagination, also, diffused over the melodious stanzas of the Castle of Indolence, make that poem one of the gems of the language. Thomson died in 1748, in his forty-eighth year. His countryman and contemporary, Allan Ramsay, the author of the Gentle Shepherd, and of many songs and other shorter poetical pieces written in his native dialect, survived till 1758, when he died at the age of seventy-three. Ramsay's lyrics, though often coarse, have, many of them, considerable rustic hilarity and humour; and his well-known pastoral, though its dramatic pretensions otherwise are slender enough, has much nature and truth both in the characters and the manners.

Our space will allow us barely to add the names of Parnell, Savage, Dyer, Robert Blair, Collins, Shenstone, Akenside, and Gray in poetry,—of Mandeville, Hutcheson, Berkeley, and Hartley in philosophy,—of Butler, Warburton, Hoadley, Middleton, Secker, and Watts, in theology,—and of the novelists, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and Smollet,—as the most remarkable of the remaining writers belonging to this period. Several of these, however, survived the accession of George III., although their works were mostly produced before that epoch. Johnson, Hume, Smith, Burke, and others of the most distinguished writers of the next reign, had also already begun to court the public attention.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE dress of the upper classes, both male and female, during the reign of William III. differed but little from that which had become fashionable towards the close of Charles II's. Strait square-cut coats, and waistcoats of equal length reaching to the knee; breeches fastened beneath the knee, but hidden by the long stockings which were drawn up over them; long neckcloths of Flanders or Spanish point lace; shoes, the upper leathers of which rose considerably above the instep and were fastened by a small strap over it, passing through a buckle placed rather on one side; hats bent up or cocked all round and trimmed with feathers; fringed gloves and monstrous periwigs, which it was the fashion to comb publicly, formed the habit of the beaux of London. The ladies seem to have adopted some of the Dutch fashions. The stomacher appears more formally laced. The sleeves of the gown become strait and tight, and terminate with a cuff above the elbow, in imitation of those of the male sex. Rows of flounces and furbelows or falbalas border the petticoat, which is disclosed by the gown being looped completely back. The head dress was exceedingly high in front, being composed of a cap, the lace of which rose in three or more tiers almost to a point above the forehead, the hair being combed up and disposed in rows of wavy curls one above the other, in a way which must be seen to be understood, and we must therefore refer our readers to the accompanying engravings.

Hair-powder was worn occasionally, but not generally.

The dress of the commonalty underwent no alteration. Footmen were forbidden to wear swords or any offensive weapon, "within the cities of London and Westminster and the liberties and precincts of the same," by an order of the Earl Marshal of England, gazetted January 1, 1701.

COSTUME OF THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY, TEMP. WILLIAM AND MARY.
From Prints by Romain de Hooge, 1689, and Costumes by Myer, 1691.

Costume of the Commonalty, temp. William and Mary.
From Prints by Romain de Hooge, 1689, and Mauron's Cries of London.

Muffs were carried by both sexes. They were very small and ornamented sometimes with large bows of ribands. Leopard skin muffs were fashionable in 1702.

The reign of Queen Anne was distinguished by no particular alteration in the male costume. The hat became smaller and was more regularly cocked on three sides, and the cuffs of the coats, worn very large, descended a little nearer to the wrist. The broad sword-belt had vanished, and the sword-hilt now peeped from between the stiffened skirts of the square-cut coat. Blue or scarlet silk stockings, with gold or silver clocks, were much worn; and shoes, with high red heels and small buckles; velvet garters were worn over the stockings below knee and fastened by small buckles on one side. The campaign wig was imported from France. They were made very full, curled eighteen inches in length to the front with *drop locks*. "When human hair was scarce," says Malcolm, "a little horsehair supplied the place in the parts least in sight." We also read of black riding wigs, bag wigs, and nightcap wigs.

The dress of a youth in the middle ranks of life is thus described in an advertisement issued in 1703:—"He is of fair complexion with light brown lank hair, having on a dark brown frieze coat double-breasted on each side, with black buttons and button-holes; a light drugget waistcoat, red shag breeches striped with black stripes and black stockings."

Mourning rings were worn in 1703, and black silk facings to coats of all colours. The battle of Ramilies, fought in 1706, gave name to a peculiar cock of the hat, and to a long gradually diminishing plaited tail to the wig, with a great bow at the top and a small one at the bottom; as also to the peruke itself which was called a Ramilie wig, and was worn as late as the reign of George III. The ridiculous long wigs of 1710 were very expensive. One was advertised as stolen in that year worth five guineas, and Duumvir's "fair wig," in the Tatler (No. 54), "cost forty guineas." In the same work also a ludicrous advertisement contains the following notice:—"N. B. Dancing shoes not exceeding *four inches height in the heel*, and periwigs not exceeding three feet in length, are carried in the coach-box gratis." Bickerstaff mentions casually the beau's pearl-coloured stockings, *red-topped* shoes, fringed gloves, large wigs, and feathers in the hat under the same date.

Those who did not wear powder, and who objected to the enormous expense or weight of the fashionable wigs, wore their own hair in long curls to resemble them, and a Mr. Michon, a goldsmith, advertised in 1710 that he had "found out a clear water" which would convert grey or red hair into brown or black.

In 1714 a Mr. John Osheal had the misfortune to be robbed of "a scarlet cloth suit laced with broad gold lace, lined and faced with blue; a fine cinnamon cloth suit with plate-buttons, the waistcoat fringed with a silk fringe of the same colour, and a rich yellow-flowered satin morning gown,

GENERAL COSTUME, TEMP. ANNE.
From Print dated 1706—1709, and figures in Jefferies' Collection.

lined with cherry-coloured satin, with a pocket on the right side."

The dress of the ladies for the first eight or nine years of Queen Anne's reign differed little from that introduced during that of her immediate predecessors; but in 1711 two vast changes took place. The first was the abandonment of the monstrously high heads and caps, the tower and commode, &c., for a natural and elegant coiffure, observable in the best known portraits of her majesty, and highly praised by Addison in the Spectator, who says, "I remember several ladies who were once very near seven feet high that at present want some inches of five." The second was the introduction of the hoop. This well-known article of female attire was invented by a celebrated mantua-maker of the name of Selby, whose death is amounced in the Weekly Journal of 1717. In the month of July, 1711, we find that the new-fashioned petticoat had swollen out to an enormous size, so that what the ladies had lost in height they made up in breadth; and a correspondent, speaking of the unfashionable country ladies at sixty miles' distance from London, says they can absolutely walk in their hooped petticoats without inconvenience.

The fashion of patching the face, which was introduced at least as early as 1680, was at this period carried to a great extent. Its application to party politics we shall presently have occasion to notice.

Powder was worn more by gentlemen than by ladies, the latter assuming sometimes even the male periwig when taking the air on horseback. A lady's riding suit of this period is described in the 104th Number of the Spectator, as consisting of a coat and waistcoat of blue camlet trimmed and embroidered with silver, with a petticoat of the same stuff, by which alone her sex was recognised, as she wore a smartly cocked beaver-hat edged with silver and rendered more sprightly by a feather; while her hair, curled and powdered, hung to a considerable length down her shoulders, tied like that of a rakish young gentleman, with a long streaming scarlet riband.*

The sacque and the hood were still worn;—the latter, which during the previous reign was commonly *black* silk, velvet, or sarcenet, we now find of various colours. "A spotted hood" is advertised as having been stolen, in the Post Boy of Nov. 15, 1709. Blue, yellow, pink, and green hoods were worn at the Opera in 1711, and cherry-coloured hoods were the rage in 1712. The following remarkable articles of female apparel are mentioned by Malcolm, from advertisements dated during the first twelve years of the eighteenth century:—"A gown of orange damask lined with striped silk—a *head* with very fine looped lace of very great value—a Flanders laced hood—a pair of double ruffles and tuckers—two laced aprons, one point, the other Flanders lace—and a

* This fashion of tying the hair is said to have been first introduced by the noted Lord Bolingbroke.—*See Nash's Collect. for Worcestershire*, i. 561.

large black scarf embroidered with gold."—These were all stolen during a fire which occurred in Red Lion Square in 1700. A black silk petticoat with a red and white calico border, cherry-coloured stays trimmed with blue and silver, a red and dove-coloured damask gown flowered with large trees, a yellow satin apron trimmed with white Persian muslin, head cloths with crow-foot edging, double ruffles with fine edging, a black silk furbelowed scarf, and a spotted hood: these were stolen in November, 1709. The lace-chamber, on Ludgate Hill, in 1710, advertises "one Brussels head at 40*l.*; one ground Brussels head at 30*l.*; one looped Brussels head at 30*l.*"

In 1712 were advertised for sale an *Isabella* coloured *kincob* gown, flowered with green and gold; a dark-coloured cloth gown and petticoat with two silver orrices;* a purple and gold *atlas* gown; a scarlet and gold atlas petticoat edged with silver; a wrought under-petticoat edged with gold; a black velvet petticoat; an *allejah* petticoat striped with green, gold, and white; a blue and silver silk gown and petticoat; a blue and gold atlas gown and petticoat; and clogs laced with silver.

In the same year were lost "a green silk knit waistcoat, with gold and silver flowers all over it, and about fourteen yards of gold and silver thick lace on it; and a petticoat of rich strong flowered satin, red and white, all in great flowers or leaves, and scarlet flowers with black specks brocaded in, raised high like velvet or shag."

So much for names and descriptions; for shapes we must refer to the engraver.

* A peculiar sort of lace.

General Costume, temp. George I. Selected from early works of Hogarth.

The reign of George I. offers no particular feature for remark. Wigs maintained their ground: and in 1720 white hair, for the manufacture of them, bore a monstrous price. In the Original Weekly Journal for that year it is stated that the hair of a woman who lived to the age of 170 (probably a misprint for 107) was sold, after her death, to a periwig-maker for 50*l.*

Powder became more general, but not amongst the military, it would seem, as, according to the Flying Post of June 14th, 1722, the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Talbot) appeared on horseback at a review, in the king's train, in a lay habit of purple, with jack boots, and his hat cocked, and a *black wig tied behind him, like a militant officer.*

The ladies wore hooped petticoats, scarlet cloaks with hoods, termed cardinals, and masks when walking. Black and white beaver hats for ladies were advertised in 1719, faced with coloured silks and trimmed with gold or silver lace. The sacque was still in vogue. The paintings of Watteau, who died in 1721, and of Lancret, who died in 1724, though their works are much tinged with fancy, are to a certain extent authorities for the dress of this and the preceding reign.

The reign of George II. furnishes us with hosts of authorities. The paintings of the unrivalled Hogarth alone form a gallery of fashions of the most instructive and amusing description.

The following picture of a beau of 1737, in doggrel of the day, is given by Malcolm from Mist's Journal:—

Take one of the brights from St. James's or White's,
'Twill best be if nigh six feet he prove high.
Then take of fine linen enough to wrap him in,

Right Mechlin must twist round his bosom and wrist.
Red heels to his shoes, gold clocks to his hose,
With calves *quantum suff.*,——for a muff;
In black velvet breeches let him put all his riches,
Then cover his waist with a suit that's well laced;
'Tis best if he wears not more than ten hairs,
To keep his brains cool, on each side of his skull.
Let a queue be prepared twice as long as a yard,
Short measure I mean,—there is great odds between:
This done, your beau place before a large glass.
The recipe to fulfil, mix with powder pulvil,
And then let it moulder away on his shoulder.
Let a sword then be tied up to his left side,
And under his arm place his hat for a charm;
Then let him learn dancing, and to ride horses prancing;
Italian and French, to drink and to wench:
Oh, then, with what wonder will he fill the *beau monde* here.

The Universal Spectator of 1730, quoted by Malcolm, says, "The wearing of swords at the court end of the town is by many polite young gentlemen laid aside; and, instead thereof, they carry *large oak sticks, with great heads and ugly faces carved thereon.*" We give an engraving illustrative of this particular fashion, as well as of the general dress of the day, from a well-known print representing the Mall in St. James's Park, with old Buckingham House, in 1735. Amongst other peculiarities the reader will distinguish that the high-crowned hat is worn by several females: and we find in the Weekly Register of July 10th, 1731, that it had then first made its re-appearance:—"The high-crowned hat, after having been confined to cots and villages for so long a

ALAMODE, 1735.

time, is become the favourite mode of quality, and is the politest distinction of a fashionable undress."* Perukes were a highly important article in 1734. Those of *light gray human hair* were four guineas each, light grizzle ties three guineas; and other colours in proportion, down to twenty-five shillings. Bright gray human hair cue perukes were from two guineas to fifteen shillings each, and bob-perukes of the same material a little dearer. Malcolm adds, "It will be observed, from the gradation in price, that real *gray* hair was most in fashion, and *dark* of no estimation."

The following extracts give us a description of the full or court dress of 1735:—"On his majesty's birth-day the queen was in a beautiful suit made of silk of the produce of Georgia. . . . The noblemen and gentlemen were chiefly at court brown flowered velvets, or dark cloth coats laced with gold or silver, or plain velvets of various colours, and breeches of the same. Their waistcoats were either gold stuffs, or rich flowered silks of a large pattern with a white ground; the make much the same as has been worn some time, only many had open sleeves to their coats: their tie-wigs were with large curls, setting forward and rising from the forehead, though not very high: the ties were thick and longer than of late, and both behind; some few had bag-wigs.

"The ladies wore flowered silks of various sorts of a large pattern, but mostly with a white ground, with wide short sleeves, and short petticoats: their gowns were pinned up variously behind, though mostly narrow. Some few had gold or silver nets on their petticoats, and to their facings and robings; and some had gold and silver nets on their gown sleeves, like flounces: they wore chiefly fine escaloped laced heads, and dressed mostly English. Some few had their hair curled down on the sides, but most of them had it pinned up quite short, *and almost all of them with powder both before and behind.*

"Some few had their heads made up Dutch, some with cockades of ribands on the side, and

* Malcolm's Anecdotes, ii. 331.

others with artificial flowers; they wore treble escalloped laced ruffles, one full tacked up before and two down, but all three down behind, though some few had two falls tacked up and one down before. Laced tippets were much worn; some had diamond solitaires to hook them together, others had their jewels made up bows and ends. Those without tippets had mostly very broad-laced tuckers, with diamond necklaces and earrings. Diamond buckles were much worn in the shoes both of the gentlemen and ladies. Lord Castlemain made a very splendid appearance among the young noblemen in a rich gold stuff coat, as Lady Harcourt did among the ladies in a white ground rich silk embossed with gold and silver, and fine coloured flowers of a large pattern."*

The editor of the London Evening Post, in December, 1738, makes a lady of fashion complain of the dress of gentlemen at the play in the following terms:—"Some of them had those loose kind of great coats on, which I have heard called *wrap-rascals*, with gold-laced hats slouched, in humble imitation of *stage-coachmen*; others aspired at being *grooms*, and had dirty boots and spurs, with black caps on and long whips in their hands: a third wore scanty frocks, little shabby hats put on one side, and clubs in their hands."

These fashions will be all observed in the print before alluded to, and it is interesting to compare it with the companion print of fashions in 1745, from which we also give an engraving. Claret-coloured cloths were now considered as handsome suits; and light blue, with silver button-holes and silver garters to the knees, was very fashionable between 1740 and 1751.

* Vide also a similar description of the court dresses on the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales, in the Weekly Journal, May 1, 1736, and Malcolm's Anecdotes, i. 303.

In 1753 The Adventurer (No. 101) contains a description of the gradual metamorphosis of a green-horn into a blood. "I cut off my hair and procured a brown bob periwig of Wilding, of the same colour, with a single row of curls put round the bottom, which I wore very nicely combed and without powder. My hat, which had been cocked with great exactness in an equilateral triangle, I discarded, and purchased one of a more fashionable size, the fore-corner of which projected near two inches further than those on each side, and was moulded into the shape of a spout." This latter fashion, however, we find he altered by considerably elevating and shortening the fore-corner of it, "till it no longer resembled a spout, but the corner of a minced pie." To this form of hat succeeded the larger one from Germany called the Kevenhuller.

With respect to the ladies' dress of this reign, we find that in 1745 the hoop had increased at the sides and diminished in front; and a pamphlet was published in that year, entitled "The Enormous Abomination of the Hoop-petticoat as the Fashion now is." In 1755 it was so much reduced as to be scarcely discernible in some figures; but two years afterwards we find it re-expanding right and left into the last and most familiar shape assumed by that monstrosity within the recollection of the present generation.

In 1745-6 gipsy straw hats are seen, and little bonnets tied under the chin almost of the modern shape. Long aprons were worn in 1744; then short ones; and before 1752 long ones again, as in that year a lady is made to exclaim, "Short aprons are coming into fashion again."* In the same year we hear of a successor to the hood under the name of a *capuchin*. Patches were much used,

* Gray's Inn Journal, No. 7.

Alamode, 1745.

GENERAL COSTUME, TEMP. GEORGE II.
From Prints of the Trial and Execution of the Rebel Lords. 1746.

and bracelets worn over long gloves. In 1751 we read of the loss of a lady's "white fustian riding-habit turned up with blue and laced with silver, a petticoat of the same, and a waistcoat trimmed also with silver."* Three years before this we hear of the Duchess of Bedford being met by George II. on horseback, her grace being attired in a riding-habit of *blue* faced with *white*; with the effect of which the king was so much struck, that, a uniform for the navy having been at that time under consideration, his majesty immediately ordered those

* Malcolm's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 336.

MILITARY COSTUME, TEMP. GEORGE II.
Selected from Hogarth's March to Finchley.

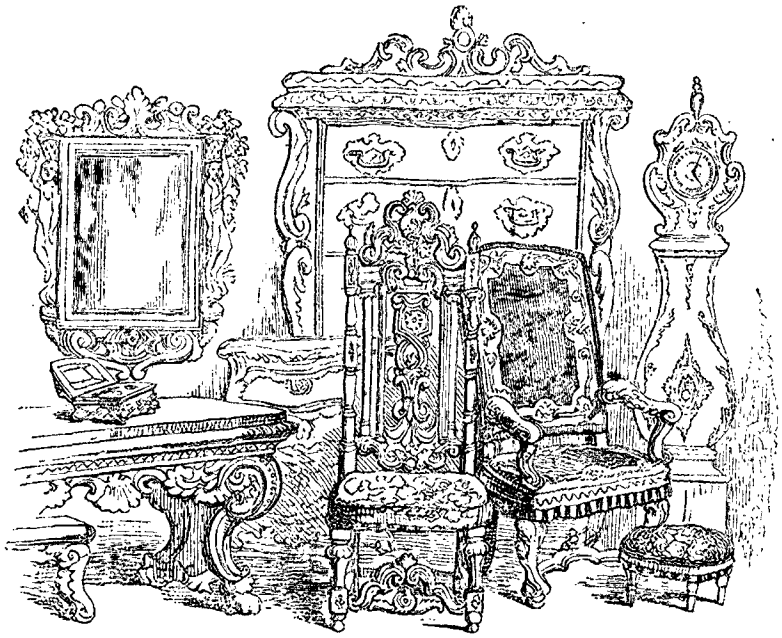
colours to be adopted.* A uniform for the army had been long previously in existence: the exact date of its introduction it would be perhaps difficult to determine; but, as the cuirass and buff coat were abandoned about the close of the reign of William III., the scarlet and blue national uniform became, we presume, definitely established in that of Queen Anne, in which reign also the musket with the socket bayonet superseded the pike, the cartouch-box the bandelier, and the gorget, the last piece of ancient defensive armour, dwindled into the ornamental trifle which has been latterly altogether discarded. The red and white feather appears first in Queen Anne's reign, and the black cockade in George II.'s. Hogarth, in his "March to Finchley," furnishes us with the dress of the grenadiers in 1745. The cap that is there seen was worn, however, as early as Queen Anne's reign, as an original one is preserved at Goodrich Court.

For the more minute changes of cut and colour in the uniforms of the various regiments during the first half of the eighteenth century, we must refer the reader to the Memorials of the British Army now publishing (one number or volume being dedicated to each regiment) from the very best authorities, the work having been originally undertaken by command of his late majesty King William IV., as we have not space for such details as that subject would necessarily lead us into.

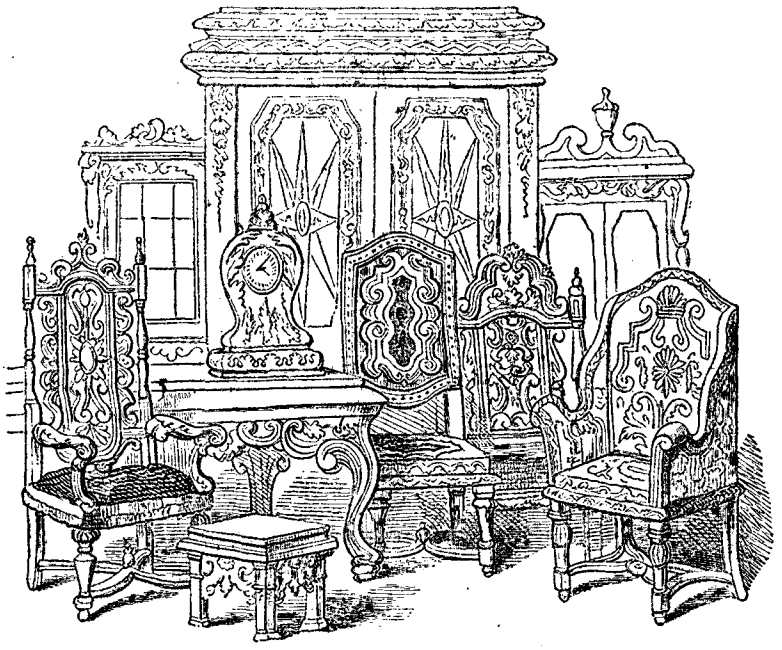
The commencement of the eighteenth century may be said to have completed the furnishing of our English mansions, and supplied them with nearly every article of convenience or luxury which they at present possess, and generally made in so superior a style, in respect both of elegance of form and durability of material, that original furniture of that period is now greedily sought after, and imitations of it widely fabricated to meet the demand. Nor is this rage for furniture "à la Louis Quatorze" and "à la Louis Quinze" to be wondered at after the poor, tasteless, comfortless, mockery of the "classical style" introduced subsequently to the French Revolution, and but recently discarded. In 1703 one of the earliest works on furniture and ornamental architecture was published by the Sieur de Marot, architect to King William III., containing the most elegant designs for fauteuils, canapés, beds, tables, mirrors, girandoles, candelabras, mantel-pieces, &c. The passion for porcelain at that period is particularly illustrated by the engraving of a room fitted up "à la Chinoise," with quantities of small brackets following the outlines of the panels, mantel-piece, glass, &c., on each of which stands a small cup, saucer, jar, or other china ornament. The plays of this date have also continual allusions to the purchase of china-ware tea-cups, jars, monsters, and mandarins, by ladies of quality. Japanned cabinets and folding screens were also much in fashion about this time.

The principal novelty, however, of this date was the introduction of mahogany. A block of it was sent at the end of the seventeenth century to Dr. Gibbons, a physician of London; and the beauty of the wood when wrought up became so attractive that it speedily engrossed universal attention. Requiring no additional embellishment from painting

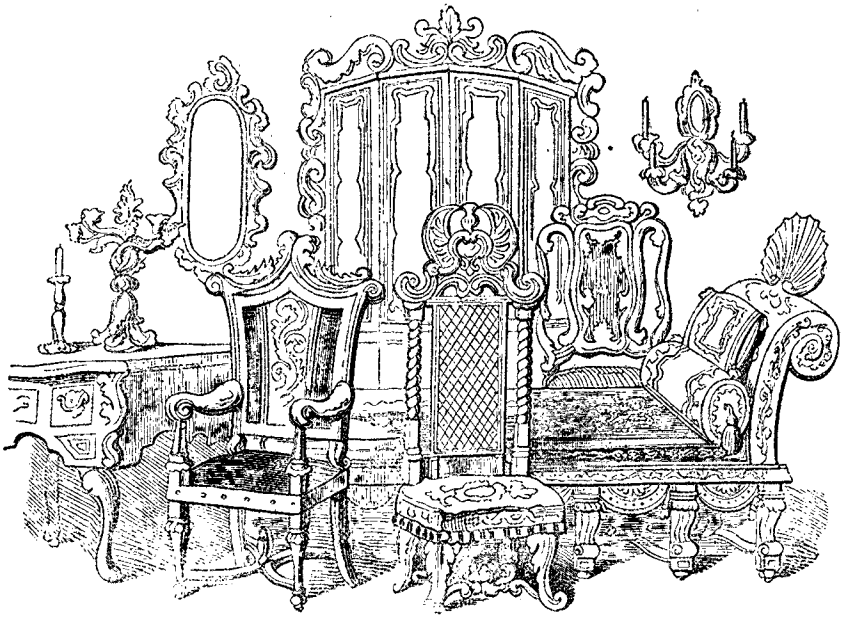
* Paper by Mr. Locker, one of the commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, read before the Society of Antiquaries, March 18th, 1830.



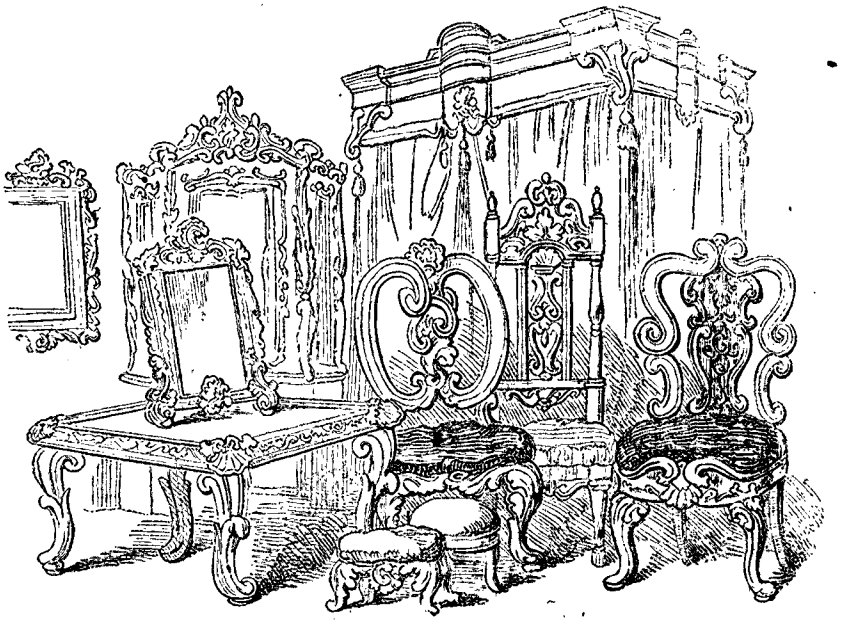
Sitting-Room Furniture, temp. William III.
Selected from Specimens at Knole, and in Private Collections.



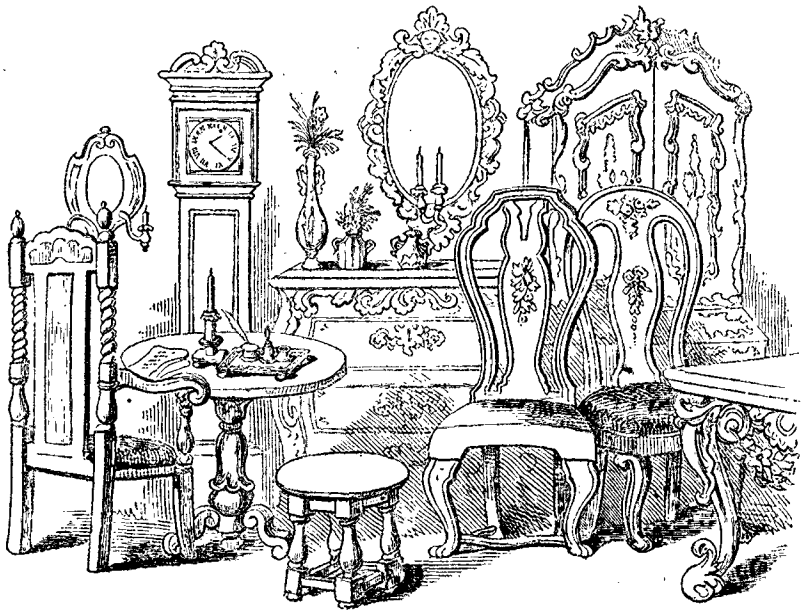
CABINET CHAIRS, ETC., TEMP. WILLIAM III. AND ANNE.
From Specimens in Private Collections.



SOFA, CHAIRS, CABINET, ETC., TEMP. WILLIAM III. AND ANNE.
Selected from Specimens at Penshurst and in Private Collections.



BED, CABINET, CHAIRS, ETC., TEMP. GEORGE I. AND II.
From Specimens in Private Collections and in Prints of the Period.



SITTING-ROOM FURNITURE, TEMP. GEORGE I. AND II.
Selected from Specimens in Private Collections and from Prints of the period.

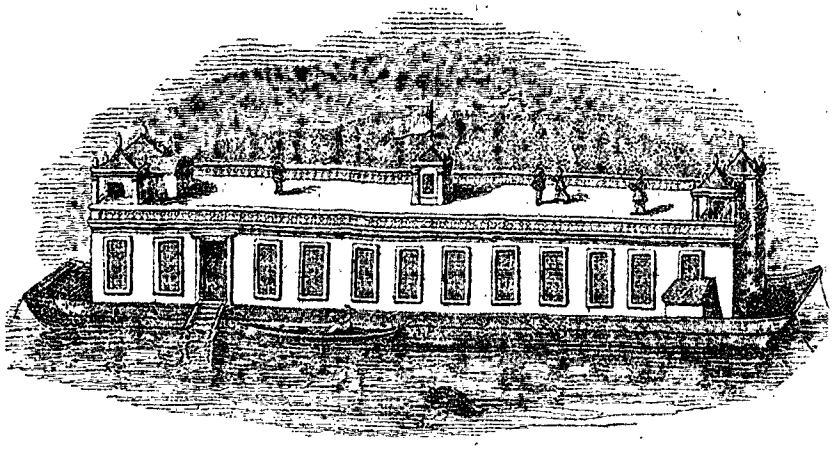
and gilding, and its beauty increasing rather than diminishing by use and age, it rapidly superseded all other woods for the general purposes of cabinet-making, and was also chosen for the embellishment of churches and other public edifices, as the exquisitely carved pulpits, columns, galleries, banisters, doors, &c., of such buildings both here and on the continent sufficiently testify. In addition to the Chinese porcelain, both for use and ornament, the manufactures of Holland, Germany, France, &c., enlightened by the revelations of a Jesuit named D'Entrecolles, in 1712, contributed their productions, and candlesticks, inkstands, hand-bells, and a multiplicity of articles for the toilet and writing-table were added to the dinner, tea, and coffee-services composed of this novel and beautiful material. With the close of the seventeenth century, too, the making of flint-glass had arrived at sufficient perfection in this country to render us independent of foreigners for the supply of the common articles of decanters, drinking-glasses, &c.; but for plate-glass we were still indebted to Venice; an establishment founded at Lambeth by the Duke of Buckingham, in 1673, having failed shortly afterwards.* The art of making what are called Brussels carpets was introduced at Kidderminster in 1745, from Tournay, and by the end of the reign of George II. the floors of all respectable houses were carpeted as at present.

The circumstances in which the present period commenced sufficiently account for the political spirit that now diffused itself throughout English society, and the warm party-feeling that took possession of all classes, giving rise to various new habits of life, and extensively influencing the manners and customs of the time. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, now became alike politicians; contention about affairs of state overran not only literature and religion, the coffee-house and the church, but the places of public amusement, and the very street merriment of the populace. In 1737 Walpole found himself so much annoyed by the satire and abuse levelled at his administration from the stage, that he brought in and carried through parliament a bill prohibiting the acting of any play for the future without the authority of the lord chamberlain—a restriction on the liberty of theatrical representation, which, as is well known, remains still unremoved. Some years before this, in 1711, a procession of wax figures which had been announced for the birthday of Queen Elizabeth, the 17th of November, so much annoyed the government, that a secretary of state's warrant was issued for the apprehension of the puppets. Even Punch abandoned his domestic brawls for public feuds, and might be heard, at the corners of streets, gibbering for or against the existing order of things at the pleasure of his employer. The reign of Anne, and still more those of the two first Georges, abounded in female politicians. Lady Sunderland, the second daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, and commonly called the Little Whig, had, like her mother, a beautiful head of hair; and, with her fair tresses, she was wont to angle for the hearts of the Tories, by receiving at her toilet all those gentlemen whose votes or interest she wished to secure, and dressing her head while they stood by.* At public places the political party to which a lady belonged was to be known by the arrangement of her patches. The Spectator gives a humorous description of a beautiful Whig lady who had a natural mole, like a patch, upon the Tory side of her brow, by which she was sometimes mistaken for an ally by her political opponents; and thus, like a privateer under false colours, she often sunk the unwary enemy by an unexpected broadside.† At the theatre the female Whigs and Tories sat also upon opposite sides of the house, while those ladies who had not yet declared themselves patched both sides of the brow, and occupied the middle boxes. Another method by which they announced their party-feelings was, by the colour of their hoods, when these had become a fashionable head-dress.‡

Places of public resort and political discussion for gentlemen had, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, multiplied in an inconceivable degree in London, in the shape of club-houses, chocolate-houses, and coffee-houses. Of the chocolate-houses, the chief were the Cocoa Tree and White's; the principal coffee-houses were St. James's, the Smyrna, Mrs. Rochford's, and the British. All these were so near each other, that in less than an hour one might see the company at all of them. As for the club-houses, they were so numerous, that, besides the large ones, there was one or more for almost every parish, in which the citizens regaled themselves after the business of the day, and found fault with the management of public affairs. As might have been expected, the rival parties kept by their respective houses of resort; so that a Whig would not go to the Cocoa Tree or Ofinda's, and a Tory would not be seen in St. James's.§ In entering a coffee-house, the customer had only to pay a penny at the bar; and for this he was not only regaled with a cup of coffee, but accommodated with the newspapers of the day, both English and foreign, and the newest pamphlets on morals and politics. In these places politicians were wont (if they were so fortunate as to gather hearers, where all were ready to speak) to settle the balance of Europe, to crown and depose kings at pleasure, and to prove that England was upon the brink of ruin, to their hearts' contentment. In this spirit the tradesman forsook his shop, and the merchant his warehouse, to take care of the state, and harangue upon the miscon-

* The art of etching upon glass was discovered by Henry Schwanhard, in 1670. Smelling-glasses and decanters, particularly of Dutch or German manufacture, were elaborately engraved with heraldic devices, hunting subjects, &c.

* Walpole's Reminiscences of the Reign of George I.
† Spectator, No. 81.
‡ Spectator, No. 265.
§ A journey through England, Scotland, and Ireland; by John Macky. Lond., 1722. Vol. i.



The Folly; a floating Coffee-house on the Thames, opposite Somerset House.
From a Print by Knyff. 1709.

duct of the ministry, without thinking of his own; and, as a necessary consequence, the approaches to a club-house had often an ambushment of bailiffs and bailiffs' followers on the look-out for these disinterested patriots; so that an oratorical financier, after he had satisfactorily cleared off the debts of the nation, was often walked to the spunging-house for being unable to settle a paltry bill. One mark of the political quidnuncs of this age was, to have the upper lip well besmeared with snuff, which was supposed to impart an air of peculiar sagacity to the whole countenance.* To counteract the preponderance of the Tories, at the beginning of the reign of George I., the friends of the Hanoverian succession established places of political resort, called mug-houses, in all the corners of London, for the well-affected citizens and tradesmen, to keep up a spirit of public zeal for the protestant succession. At these meetings, however, strong liquors were in plentiful circulation, and the members often rushed out to attack the Tories under the double inspiration of ale and patriotism, in consequence of which riotous excesses the mug-houses had to be suppressed by act of parliament.†

Among the fashionable classes, however, the spirit of gallantry was still more active and potent than that of politics. It clearly appears, from the popular literature of the earlier half of the eighteenth century, that the generality of men dressed, looked, acted, and studied, entirely with a reference to the tastes and humours of the fair sex. In the present day, when love is but an episode, rather than the great subject of life, a lady's man of the time of Queen Anne or George I. would be regarded as a sort of *lusus naturæ*; but the following features, grouped together from the various sketches of the period, will convey an idea of a numerous class of human beings now happily extinct. From ten till twelve o'clock the fashionable beau received visits in bed, where he lay in state, his periwig, superbly powdered, lying beside him on the sheets, while his dressing-table was sprinkled with a few volumes of love-poetry, a canister or two of Lisbon or Spanish snuff, a smelling-bottle, and sundry fashionable trinkets. At twelve he rose, and managed to finish the business of the toilet by three o'clock. In this complicated process he perfumed his clothes; soaked his hands in washes to make them white and delicate; tinged his cheeks with carminative, so as to give them the gentle blush which nature had denied; arranged, perhaps, a few patches upon his face, to produce the effect of moles and dimples; dipped his handkerchief in rose-water, and powdered his linen, to banish from it the smell of soap. The tying of his cravat was also a weighty operation that occupied much time, as well as the adjustment of his wig and the proper cock of his hat. After he had surveyed the whole arrangement in his looking-glass, it was necessary to practise before it the most becoming attitudes to give his finery its full effect, and study such smiles as would show the whiteness of his teeth to most advantage. He then dined; after which he ordered a chair, and repaired at four to some coffee or chocolate-house, where he endeavoured to exhibit his wit or his gallantry—the former, by railing at the last publication, or giving mysterious hints that he had some hand in producing it; the latter, by pulling out some tailor's or laundress's bill, and kissing it with great fervour, pretending that it was a billet-doux from a celebrated toast or lady of high rank. The bar of a coffee-house was generally superintended by some belle belonging to the establishment, whose charms were intended to draw customers to the place; and here the beau usually paid his devoirs, with his arms akimbo, and his nose within an inch of her face, while the poor damsel, who had no place of retreat, was compelled to give ear to his impertinences.* After spending an hour in this manner, it was time to repair to the theatre; upon which

* Tatler, Nos. 35 and 46. † Macky's Journal, Vol. i. * Works of Thomas Brown, Vol. iii. p. 66.—Spectator, *passim*.

our spark re-adjusted his cravat and wig, sprinkled his face with snuff to give himself a critical air, and repaired to the house: but there, instead of seating himself quietly, he shifted from seat to seat, and traversed alternately the boxes, pit, and gallery, to exhibit his attractions and win attention. Amidst these vagaries the "nice conduct of his clouded cane" was not forgotten, the frequent consequential tap upon his snuff-box lid (garnished most commonly with some indecent picture), or the graceful presentation of the pinch of snuff to his nose, so as to display to advantage the rich brilliant in his ring. It was shockingly vulgar to attend to the play, and therefore he turned his back upon the stage. From the play, he repaired to the park, buzzing and fluttering from lady to lady, chattering to each a jargon of bad English, worse French, and worst Latin, and was rewarded with many a rap on the shoulders from their fans, and the epithets of "Mad fellow"—"Dear, tormenting devil," &c. &c. When his lounge was ended he dropped into some fashionable party in Pall Mall or St. James's Square, to spend two or three hours at ombre or tic-tac, where he chatted his empty nothings, and lost his money with an air of fashionable indifference. This beau was ably matched by the assembled belles with their tower-like head-dresses, looking in their huge hoops as if they were enclosed in puncheons or in go-carts. A less e laborately constructed beau than the foregoing was conspicuous by "a cane dangling at his button, his breast open, no gloves, one eye tucked under his hat, and a tooth-pick."* But there were many ladies who required, of course, admirers made of sterner stuff; and, therefore, there were also abundance of those who, in the language of the day, were called bully-beaus — fellows who maintained a reputation for courage and enterprise by empty swagger and violent assaults upon the peaceable members of society. These were the personages who figured in Ramelies perukes, laced hats, black cockades, and scarlet suits; frequented the Tilt Yard Coffee-house, the great resort of military men, that they might be taken to belong to the army; manfully pulled the noses of those quiet citizens at the theatre who wore no swords;† and at length plucked up courage to break a head, by practising a little upon a tavern-drawer, or a box-keeper at the playhouse. An individual of such a stamp is thus sketched in Congreve's Old Batchelor:—"He is a pretender, and wears the habit of a soldier. . . . . You must know he has been abroad—went purely to run away from a campaign; enriched himself with the plunder of a few oaths—and here vents them against the general, who, slighting men of merit, and preferring only those of interest, has made him quit the service."

The attractions of dress being of such paramount importance to the gallants of the period, the mercers found their account in continually devising new fashions; and the way in which they recommended their wares was frank and honest enough. The master of a fashionable shop, or his apprentice, (if his figure was worthy of being made a clothes'-block,) had a waistcoat made of the newest rich silk that was to be brought into vogue. He then took his station at the shop-door, dressed in a black coat, with the breast thrown open to exhibit the new pattern, a pair of white stockings, and a light-coloured, well powdered bob-wig. He thus spent the day exhibiting his waistcoat and recommending its elegant colours and texture to the passers by; and the beaus were attracted and caught, like moths by the glare of a candle. In this way a prentice of Paternoster Row often set the fashion in dress to the west end of the town.*

To the charms of dress and address, however, it was an advantage for the gallant if he added something of literary accomplishment—if he were as graceful in the flourish of a pen as of a cane. To compose a good billet-doux was well; to be or at least to pass for somewhat of a linguist was better still; but to have the knack of tagging a few rhymes in laudation of a lady, or her lapdog, was a qualification that usually carried everything before it. The learning, however, of a literary beau generally consisted in little more than in having read all those collections of the day called miscellany poems, a few comedies, and in such an acquaintanceship with Ovid's Epistles (in English) as enabled him to quote them when the occasion required. Thus equipped, he was a complete intellectual Adonis whose charms none could resist, and from whose critical verdicts there was no appeal; and the entrance of such a favoured individual into company was generally marked by "an elevated chest, a pinched hat, a measurable step, and a sly surveying eye."†

The general style of courtship by which ladies were wooed and won comported with the character of the unintellectual coxcombs by whom the incense was offered; and in a love-speech angels, gods, racks, furies, tortures, and demons "ran through all the mazes of metaphorical confusion." This ridiculous medley, seasoned with poetical rant from the plays of Lee, Otway, and Dryden, and uttered with correspondent pomp and fervour, beat down the strongest defences of a female heart, and the fair "victor stood subdued by *sound*." Custom had sanctioned these forced expressions of feeling; the metaphors and phraseology were all ready at hand; and the swains of the day had not so much genius, or originality, as to strike into some new unbeaten path. Add to this, that female education had not advanced so far as to enable women to detect the absurdity of such vapid lip-worship, so that it appeared to them the language of truth and propriety, more especially as it was familiarised to their minds by the example of the heroes of the stage. They were delighted to be deified by the adoration of an Anthony, or an Oroondates, and would have broken their fans in disdain had a

* Cibber's Careless Husband. † Spectator, No. 267.

* The Character of the Beaus. Lon., 1696.
† Spectator, No. 156.

lover presumed to address them in the prosaic language of nature and sincerity. Even when courtship was of a more refined character, its language was still artificial, being wholly fashioned upon the old classical models of Greece and Italy. In this case, while the enamoured parties shivered under a December sky of England they professed to think of Arcadian bowers, and to fancy themselves among groves of myrtle; the spicy gales of Paphos were quoted by the lover while his teeth chattered in the face of an icy north-wind; and even the honest village church in the distance was a temple, where Venus and Cupid smiled propitiously, while Hymen waited at the altar. To finish the picture we must fancy the solemn entrances and exits of the parties, so like the measured steps of an ancient choral dance—the profound congees and bowings of the gentleman, and the demure, slowly-sinking courtesies of the lady, so much in keeping with the stateliness of laced hoop and powdered periwig—and those formal harangues which in the present day so greatly excite an irreverent mirth, when we read them in the institutes of Lord Chesterfield, or the novels of Richardson.

It would have been well if the London gallants had been content to confine their follies and foppery within the compass of the metropolis. But they were men of enterprise and eager for variety; and, as business was sometimes slack upon their hands, they made country excursions to astonish fox-hunting squires, and make love to their unsophisticated daughters. The fair rustics were dazzled by the surpassing finery of such manners, dress, and speech, while young clodpole esquires were set agog to emulate the captivating visitor. It was thus that many a youth, whose chief hope of triumph was confined to a fox-brush, and whose gayest party was a country wake, was translated into a London beau. As soon as his father had broken his neck over a six-barred gate, or fairly drunk himself out of the world, the rustic aspirant turned his back upon the old mansion of his forefathers, and hied to London, dressed in his best leathern-breeches tied at the knee with red taffeta, his new blue jacket, and his greatcoat with buttons no bigger than nutmegs. Although his entry was so uncouth and unpromising, he took care to announce that he was somebody, in which case he was soon surrounded by those who engaged to lick him into shape, and make a man of him. Bully-beaus and sharpers took him into training; his levee was soon thronged with tailors, silk mercers, and cabinetmakers; with fiddlers and dancing-masters; with prize-fighters, horse-racers, pimps, and parasites; and thus in an incredibly short space of time he was translated, from a raw bumpkin, into a finished gentleman of the town.* He was now ready to run the well-known career of the "Rake's Progress," and his new instructors took care that he should have no time to pause. They first led him into all kinds of dissipation, generally treating him at their own proper cost; and, when they had thus secured his confidence, they gradually allured him to the gaming-table, where he was soon brought to fell his forests, and mortgage his paternal acres. Hogarth has shown us what followed—the dilapidation of fortune—the hated marriage to retrieve it—the fresh course of riot ending in utter beggary—and the closing scene of all in the mad-house. But, if our fine gentleman took the alarm before it was too late, and perceived the gulph that yawned before him, he broke up his establishment, shook himself loose from his lewd associates, and fled homeward, sorely lightened in purse and estate, but enriched at least with experience. He thus settled down, perhaps, into the country oracle of taste and fashion, and the *arbiter elegantiarum* of a county ball; while at table he regaled his brother squires with wonderful stories of bear-garden exploits, and coffee-house repartees, his midnight scourings in the streets, or his conquests at masquerades among toasts and countesses.

While such were the mere externals of gallantry, its moral character, during the present period, had undergone little or perhaps no improvement; and the taint which Charles II. and his licentious court had inflicted upon the nation still festered, especially among the aristocracy. The plays, the novels, and the secret memoirs of the eighteenth century exhibit such scenes of depravity as, after making ample allowance for exaggeration, fully equal those of the preceding age. A more striking proof, however, of the immorality of this period is to be found in the writings of those distinguished Essayists who manfully stood in the breach, and arrested the progress of the plague. Although these writers dared to be so singular as to stand aloof from and to denounce the prevailing licentiousness, yet they evidently show by their occasional descriptions that they had not wholly escaped the contamination. Court example, which had introduced the evil into England, would have been necessary to expel it; but until the reign of George III., a royal mistress continued to be maintained at court as a state appendage, by which the public immorality was kept in countenance; and right reverend prelates, as well as grave senators, did not disdain to watch the politics, and profit by the favour, of the predominating lady of the day.

The quality and extent of female education, during the present period, corresponded with the superficial frivolity of the other sex, being confined to those flimsy external accomplishments that were best qualified to attract such unintellectual admirers. Even those accomplishments too were of very small amount—and consisted chiefly of a very little music, some skill in dancing, and as much arithmetic as sufficed for the purposes of card-playing. A fashionable lady was thought to be learned enough if she could barely read and write; if she could finish a letter without notoriously violating the common laws of orthography, she might pass for a wit. Her range of reading was not only limited but demoralising, con-

* Character of the Beaus. Lon.; 1696.—Hogarth.

sisting chiefly of those worthless ephemeral works of fiction, to which we have already alluded; and those plays of the period, to few of which a lady with any pretensions to decorum could go without a mask.*

The humble estimate that was generally formed as to the essentials of female education may be understood from such expressions in boarding-school advertisements as the following:—"Where young women may be soberly educated, and taught all sorts of learning fit for them."† A girl's schooling, indeed, was made very short work of; by the time she was fourteen or fifteen she was usually introduced into society, and set to begin the serious business of life, that is, to show off her personal attractions so as to get herself a good marriage. These, however, were also the days of runaway marriages, in which love laughed at locksmiths. The enamoured parties had only to hasten to the Fleet, where they were extemporaneously united by some reverend divine who plied his profession within its liberties in defiance of the canon. When, in the course of events, the consequences of such a step became prominent, the lady would sometimes publish, in her own defence, some such manifesto as the following, which is copied from the Post Boy of May 27th, 1712:—"Whereas, for several reasons, the marriage of Mrs. — to Captain — was kept private for some time, which has occasioned some insolent people to censure her virtue; to prevent which censures for the future, it is thought proper to give the public notice that she was married to the said Captain — on the 18th of June last at — church, by license, and before witnesses."*

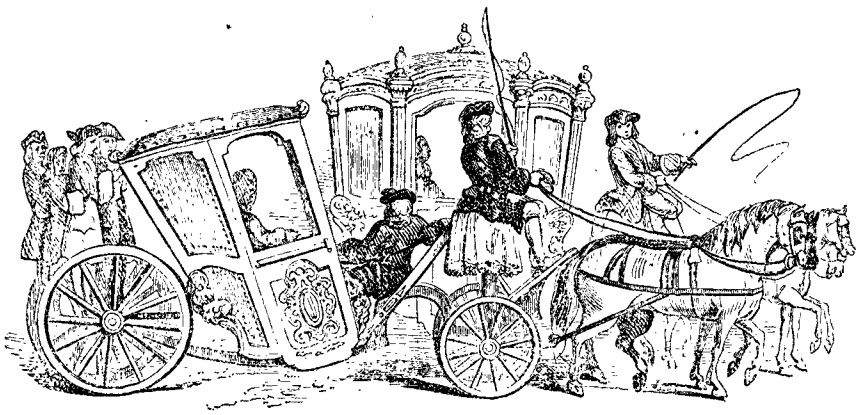
If a young lady thus prematurely launched into the world had undergone the probation uncontaminated, or at least undetected, and secured the grand aim of a comfortable settlement, she then displayed the effects of her education and habits upon a more extensive scale, and plunged into all the fashionable amusements of the day with an intensity proportioned to her lack of moral and intellectual resources. A whirl of daily variety being necessary to occupy the emptiness of her mind, she dashed over the town upon a round of visiting, in a carriage with four laced and powdered footmen behind it; and, in paying a visit, she entered a house as if she meant to fire it, and departed as if she had stolen something out of it.† When she was obliged to stay at home she regaled herself with frequent libations of tea, which sometimes was qualified with more potent liquors disguised

* When a play was particularly gross, ladies sometimes stole into the gallery, that they might enjoy it undetected.—*Gay's Letters.*

† Observator for 1712.

* The newspapers of the day also abound with advertisements of runaway wives, warning all shopkeepers and others against giving them credit. This seems to be a new feature in the manners of the country.

† Tatler, No. 109.



COACHES, TEMP. ANNE.

From Prints dated 1713, representing the Parliamentary Procession to St. Paul's.

under gentle appellations.* When her female friends dropped in the scandal of the day commenced, and reputations were torn in tatters, because they were generally incapable of conversing on higher subjects. When she held her levee the dashing rake and notorious profligate had free access, and the lewd jest or *double entendre* scarcely raised the fan to a single cheek.† It was unfashionable to be religious, and, if a lady of *ton* went to church, it was to see company, and deal curtsies from her pew;* but her Sundays were more commonly spent in the Park and at evening parties of card-playing. Then she patronised French milliners, French hairdressers, and Italian opera-singers; she loved tall footmen and turbaned negro footboys; she doated upon monkeys, paroquets, and lap-dogs; was a perfect critic in old china and Indian trinkets; and could not exist without a raffle or a sale. A day spent

* Congreve's Way of the World. † Spectator, No. 156,

* We learn from Gay, and other writers, that the fashionable time of going to church was in the afternoon.

by such a lady is thus graphically described by Cibber:—"A married woman may have men at her toilet; invite them to dinner; appoint them a party in a stage-box at the play; engross the conversation there; call them by their Christian names; talk louder than the players; from thence jaunt into the city; take a frolicsome supper at an India house; perhaps, in her *gaité de cœur*, toast a pretty fellow. Then clatter again to this (west) end of the town; break with the morning into an assembly; crowd to the hazard-table; throw a familiar levant upon some sharp, lurching man of quality, and, if he demands his money, turn it off with a loud laugh, and cry you'll owe it him, to vex him."* This gambling spirit might be characterised as the great female vice of the age. But a lady's debts of honour could not always be thus easily laughed away: on the contrary, the "sharp, lurching man of quality" had often his own ends in view; and a bankrupt female gamester had sometimes to compound with her creditor at the expense of her honour and domestic happiness. Many of the plays and tales of the period turn upon this critical point. A day so spent necessarily borrowed largely from the night, and late hours had therefore become fashionable, although at first they were regarded with wonder and alarm; and sometimes a highly fashionable lady did not return from her tour till two o'clock. The more sober part of the upper classes, however, still went to bed by eleven.†

The manners of high life being thus frivolous and depraved, and indifference to peaceful, domestic happiness so general, it could not be expected that servants would be either wiser or better than their masters. While, therefore, a gentleman was squandering his money in the gaming-house, the lackey who attended him played at cards on the stairs; and while a fashionable debauch was going on in the dining-room of the tavern, the valets were drinking in equal measure in the kitchen or at the bar. When people of fashion repaired to the Park they were obliged to leave their attendants at the gate; and here the party-coloured tribe amused themselves with boxing and wrestling, and frequently with more reprehensible amusements. It was also their custom, while they were in waiting at the gate, to rehearse all the scandal of their respective establishments, and tell everything that was said and done at home, by which means the privacy and peace of every family were given to the winds.‡ There was also a great deal of high-life-below-stairs dishonesty among servants, who, at their meetings and junketings, not only assumed the names and titles of their masters, but used moreover their choicest wines and viands; and often a smart lackey, when opportunity permitted, dressed himself in his lord's apparel, and sallied to the theatre or the ball-room in quest of intrigues, in which he often out-did the out-doings of his master. These, and still worse excesses, are frequently alluded to by the Essayists as a marked feature of the times; and they were supposed to originate in the practice of keeping servants on board-wages, which was now common in London. But it was at the theatre that the footmen chiefly exhibited their arrogance and unruliness. When they attended their masters and mistresses they had been allowed seats in the gallery gratis; and here their numbers, union, and confidence gave them almost unlimited power to annoy an actor or condemn a piece. "I am he," writes a representative of one of these dramatic censors, "that keeps time with beating my cudgel against the boards in the gallery at an opera; I am he that am touched so properly at a tragedy, when the people of quality are staring at one another during the most important incidents. When you hear in a crowd a cry in the right place, a hum when the point is touched in a speech, or a huzza set up where it is the voice of the people, you may conclude it is begun or joined by Thomas Trusty."* Sometimes their criticisms were of a more practical and troublesome character, so that when Cleomenes or Jane Shore was introduced dying of hunger, a shower of crusts would descend from the gallery upon the stage. At length, when their license had become intolerable, the footmen's gallery was closed. This was done on the 5th of May, 1737; but the reform was opposed with all the violence of an O'P. riot. The excluded, to the number of three hundred, armed with offensive weapons of various kinds, assaulted Drury Lane Theatre, broke open the doors, and carried the stage itself by storm, after wounding twenty-five persons, although the Prince of Wales and several of the royal family were present at the time. After a vain attempt to make the riot act heard in the midst of this uproar, the rioters were quelled by force, and thirty of their ringleaders were captured and sent to prison. Upon this, Mr. Fleetwood, the manager of the theatre, received a threatening letter from the footmen, in which they insisted that the gallery belonged to them of right, and that, if it was still closed against them, they would come in a body and pull down the whole house. In consequence of this threat a guard of fifty soldiers was placed over the theatre, and the mutineers made no further attempt.†

While complaints were universally made of the arrogance and dishonesty, the laziness and luxury of valets, footmen, and other male attendants, the charges against female servants were equally loud and numerous; and the character of the pert, mercenary, intriguing abigail of the eighteenth century is familiarised to us by many a dramatic sketch. When the country damsel came to town by the waggon, fresh in innocence and inexperience, and entered into service, a coterie of the town menials took her under their especial charge, and taught her the most approved methods of ob-

* The Provoked Husband.
† Vanbrugh's Journey to London.
‡ Spectator, No. 88.

* Spectator, No. 96.
† Gentleman's Magazine for June 1737.

taining the highest wages for the smallest amount of service, and the best way of picking up waifs, vails, and perquisites. In this way she learned to assume the cast-off airs with the cast-off gowns of her mistress; so that in a short time, among her other town accomplishments, she could "drink tea, take snuff, and carry herself as high as the best."* Nor was it better with the servants of the middle classes. "Women servants are now so scarce," says an anonymous writer of the period, "that, from thirty and forty shillings a year, their wages are increased of late to six, seven, and eight pounds per annum, insomuch that an ordinary tradesman cannot well keep one; but his wife, who might be useful in his shop or business, must do the drudgery of household affairs, and all this because our servant-wenches are so puffed up with pride now-a-days that they never think they go fine enough. It is a hard matter to know the mistress from the maid by their dress; nay, very often, the maid shall be much the finer of the two."†

Nor were boys in general much better instructed than girls. The substance of a finished education for a young gentleman of this period was, a little Latin and less Greek, beaten into him either at one of the public establishments, or by the Thwackum of a domestic schoolroom. When the youth had been whipped through the parts of speech, interjections and all, and driven through a few fragmentary portions of the classics, and was able to construct a few "nonsense verses" upon his fingers, he was then qualified to shine equally in the senate or at a masquerade. To these he added the accomplishment of dancing, and perhaps a little music. As for science, that was out of the question, being deemed suitable only for professional characters. The grand finish to such an education was the tour of Europe; and forth went the boy accordingly, in leading strings, to gaze at streets, mountains, rivers, and trees. "Nothing is more frequent," says the Spectator on this head, "than to take a lad from grammar and taw, and, under the tuition of some poor scholar who is willing to be banished for thirty pounds a year and a little victuals, send him crying and snivelling into foreign countries. Thus he spends his time as children do at puppet-shows, and with much the same advantage, in staring and gaping at an amazing variety of strange things; strange, indeed, to one who is not prepared to comprehend the reasons and meanings of them; whilst he should be laying the solid foundations of knowledge in his mind, and furnishing it with just rules to direct his future progress in life, under some skilful master in the art of instruction."‡ Such tourists naturally picked up in their rambles what was most easily acquired—the fashions, the frivolities, and the vices of foreign countries, which they imported into England, and engrafted upon the native stock.

Such a state of things naturally threw out abundance of wild off-shoots, and the annals of the day are filled with descriptions of eccentric characters, by whose turbulent conduct the peace of society was outraged. Allusion has already been made to those swaggering beaux who assumed the dress and titles of military officers: these were fellows who bilked coachmen, bolted from taverns without paying, thrust themselves into the theatre gratis, and forced quarrels upon the peaceably-disposed at public places.* Many of these characters, after having squandered their estates, lived by gaming and swindling, while others more adventurously endeavoured to repair their losses by taking to the road. Then there were Darby captains, who attended gaming-houses, to bully those who grew clamorous about their money gained from them by foul play; and Tash captains, who were champions to women of the town, to protect them from constables and informers; and Cock-and-bottle captains, who were generally to be found at alehouses, and whose vocation consisted in thrashing bailiffs, bullying timorous persons, and doing other such exploits for hire.† There were also nickers in abundance in London; that is, gentlemen who were indignant at the impertinence of a tradesman's bill, and who answered it by a volley of coppers, which they discharged at his windows as they reeled homeward at night.‡ But of all the turbulent characters of the period, none were so distinguished as the Mohocks. These fellows, who assumed the name and out-did the atrocities of a tribe of Indian savages, acted under a president, whom they styled Emperor of the Mohocks, and their aim was to excel each other in wanton outrages upon the peace of society. At their nocturnal meetings, therefore, they drank to an outrageous pitch, to qualify themselves for action, and then rushed into the streets with drawn swords, cutting, stabbing, and carbonadoing all such unlucky persons as happened to come in their way. An attack upon the watchmen was a favourite part of their frolic—a safe enough exploit, since these guardians of the night were generally weak, broken-down old men, who had neither strength to wield their poles in an assault, nor activity to run away from it. But what the Mohocks chiefly aimed at was, to mingle originality and wit with their mischief; and a few of their practical jokes will give a full idea of their character, as well as of the barbarism and insecurity that still lingered in London. Sometimes they "tipped the lion" on their victim; that is, they squeezed his nose flat, and gouged out his eyes with their fingers. Some of the Mohocks were called dancing-masters, because they made people cut capers, by thrusting swords into their legs: others were called tumblers, because they placed the women whom they caught topsy-turvey upon their heads. Another choice device of these wretches was, to tumble a

* A Trip through the Town. Lond. 1735. † Id. p. 14.
‡ Spectator, No. 364.

* Character of the Beaux. Lond. 1697.
† A Trip through the Town. Lond. 1735.
‡ Gay's Trivia.

Watchmen. Selected from Prints of the Period.

woman into an empty barrel, and then send it rolling down Snow Hill.* Sometimes a band of Mohocks, as soon as they saw a person in the streets, raised the view-halloo, and gave chace, crying, "A sweat! a sweat!" As soon as they had run down, and surrounded the trembling runaway, they drew their swords, holding them in a circle with their points upwards. The game then commenced by one of their number giving the prisoner a smart puncture in the rear: he naturally wheeled about; and still as he turned he was assailed by the rest in succession; and thus he was kept spinning round, until, in their estimation, he was thoroughly sweated by the exercise.† It may be seen from his own letters to Stella, that Swift, while he was in London, was frequently in dread of being maimed, or even murdered, by these villanous Mohocks.

As taverns were the chief haunts of these desperate characters, most of them were places of quarrelling and uproar, so that the landlord was generally more curious in the strength of his chairs and tables, than that of his wines. To such a height had these excesses reached, that even in the year 1744 the lord mayor and aldermen went up with an address to the king, in which was the following statement:—"That divers confederacies of evil-disposed persons, armed with bludgeons, pistols, cutlasses, and other dangerous weapons, infest not only the private lanes and passages, but likewise the public streets, and places of usual concourse; and commit most daring outrages upon the persons of your majesty's good subjects, whose affairs oblige them to pass through the streets, by terrifying, robbing, and wounding them, and these facts are frequently perpetrated at such times as were heretofore deemed hours of security; that the officers of justice have been repulsed in the performance of their duty, some of whom have been shot at, some wounded, and others murdered, in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons."*

Such a condition of the national character as that we have described was a fruitful soil for superstition and credulity; which, accordingly, still flourished as vigorously in the earlier part of the eighteenth century as they had done perhaps during the middle ages. Almost every old mansion in England was still ghost-haunted, and every parish was tormented by a witch. Fortune-telling also was still a common and a thriving occupation in London, where the customers of the seer or sibyl were not mere love-sick waiting-maids and amorous prentices, but sometimes women, and even men, of the highest rank.† When goods were lost, also, the cunning-man was frequently applied to, and thus he became a sort of rival to the notorious Jonathan Wild. Even the wise and the learned had not yet shaken themselves loose from such unintellectual thraldom, so that Dryden calculated nativities, Steele almost ruined himself in seeking after the grand magisterium, and Whiston not only believed in the miracle of Mary Tofts, who brought forth a warren of rabbits, but wrote to prove that she was announced in the prophecies of Ezekiel. In fact, these hallucinations continued to linger among our literary men until they were finally laid with the Cock-lane ghost. Medical quacks were, if possible, still more numerous and thriving than astrologers and fortune-tellers; and some of them

* Gay's Trivia.

† Spectator, *in variis*.

* It will be seen, from the foregoing account, that the extravagances of Sir John Brute, Lord Rake, and Colonel Bully, in the play of the Provoked Wife, were far from being exaggerations.

† The most celebrated fortune-teller of this time was a certain Duncan Campbell, a Scotsman, born deaf and dumb. He was resorted to by people of the highest rank, and implicit faith was placed in his supernatural sagacity and prescience. Defoe has written the (pretended) adventures of this impostor.

enjoyed such extensive practice, that they were enabled to parade about the country in a style outvying that of the wealthiest of the nobility. One of these fellows, of the name of Smith, used to ride his circuits in a coach drawn by six bay horses; a calash and four followed, and then a chasse marine and four: this imposing equipage was attended by four footmen in yellow liveries, and four in blue, trimmed with silver, while the pannel of the carriage in which the oracle rode was decorated with this punning motto upon his name—*Argento laborat Faber*. This splendid train, however, was not wholly for show, as the footmen in yellow were his tumblers and trumpeters, those in blue his merry-andrew, apothecary, and speech-maker, while the lady who sat by his side in the coach was a dancer on the tight-rope. This fellow cured every human disease, and sold his packets for sixpence.* Such was the unblushing effrontery of these charlatans, and the strength of popular credulity, that the foot of a mountebank's stage was often covered with patents, medals, and certificates, purporting to have come from the sultan of Egypt, the emperor of Persia, the king of Bantam, and other remote potentates, in attestation of his wonder-working cures.† Every street and lane, too, was filled with quack advertisements, in which all impossibilities in healing were promised, while every trick was adopted by their writers to catch the eye and excite the imagination. Sometimes the healing specific was announced by some mysterious name of awful dimensions, and thus people swallowed with alacrity what they were unable to comprehend. Sometimes the doctor advertised that he had studied thirty years by candle-light. But the best recommendation of a quack was, that he had not studied at all, but received his knowledge by a certain divine intuition: thus, to be a seventh son was to be born a man of healing; but the seventh son of a seventh son was an infallible physician. These pretensions could only be exceeded by that cunning fellow who advertised himself as the Unborn Doctor.‡ Even respectable chemists and druggists indulged in the same style in advertising the miracles of their laboratory; and their medicines were not only infallible cures, but might be taken with absolute pleasure and delight. The following few specimens of their announcements are selected from the newspapers of the first twenty years of the eighteenth century. There was angelic snuff, which cured all diseases of the head, besides deafness, megrim, palsy, apoplexy, and gout; and there was royal snuff, which was equally potent in its effects. There was a medicine which cured the vapours in ladies, by a single application, and so effectually that they would never return; and there was another for leanness, by which the most attenuated frame would expand into the dimensions of a civic dignitary. By one electuary weak memories were completely renovated, so that the whole past was vividly recalled before the mind's eye in an instant; and by a few drops of another hypochondria was banished, and all those blessed effects were produced upon the mind for which Macbeth's physician would have received a kingly fee. And who would have carried about a "mind diseas'd," when the healing phial was sold for only half a crown? or been cursed with the helplessness of "mere oblivion," when he could recover his memory for the same paltry sum? Then, too, there were lotions to remove warts and pimples, soften the skin, whiten parts of it that were red, redden parts of it that were white, and transform the whole complexion at pleasure, so that the homeliest face might assume the beauty of an angel. So lowly and condescending, too, were the powers of chemistry, that the "incomparable, secret white water" was distilled, to renovate and beautify the gentlemen's periwigs. "By it," says the advertisement, "old wigs that look almost scandalous may be made to show inconceivably fine and neat; and if any lock or part of a wig be out of curl by the pressing of the hat, or riding in windy or rainy weather, in one night's time it may be repaired to satisfaction."

In such a state of society as now existed it cannot be supposed that the rage of duelling would abate. In fact, it seems to have increased, as the political rancours which were now so prevalent gave rise to offences that nothing but blood could expiate. Affairs of love formed a still more fruitful ground of quarrel; and nothing was more common, when two gentlemen were paying their addresses to the same lady, than to settle it by mortal arbitrement. Such an event was considered, of course, the highest attestation of a lady's charms. Accidental encounters, too, or angry justlings frequently took place at the turnings of streets, or the haunts of public amusement and dissipation; and between parties flushed with wine, and whose sword-hilts were temptingly at hand, ended either in a formal challenge or an immediate affray; and plenty of quiet places could be found in every part of the metropolis where the combatants could settle the quarrel extempore, under the glimmering of the nearest lamp. In the formal duels of the period, sometimes more than one second was employed on either side; but his office was not that comfortable sinecure to which modern usage has reduced it. On the contrary, as in the duel fought in 1712 between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, of which an account has been given in a preceding chapter,* the seconds frequently joined battle as well as their principals; and thus the engagement became a desperate skirmish between half a dozen combatants. The ring in Hyde Park, the back of Montague House, and Barns Elms, were the principal places for these hostile meetings.

Next to the manners of the world of wealth and fashion we may notice those of the class of authors and literary men, who now constituted an import-

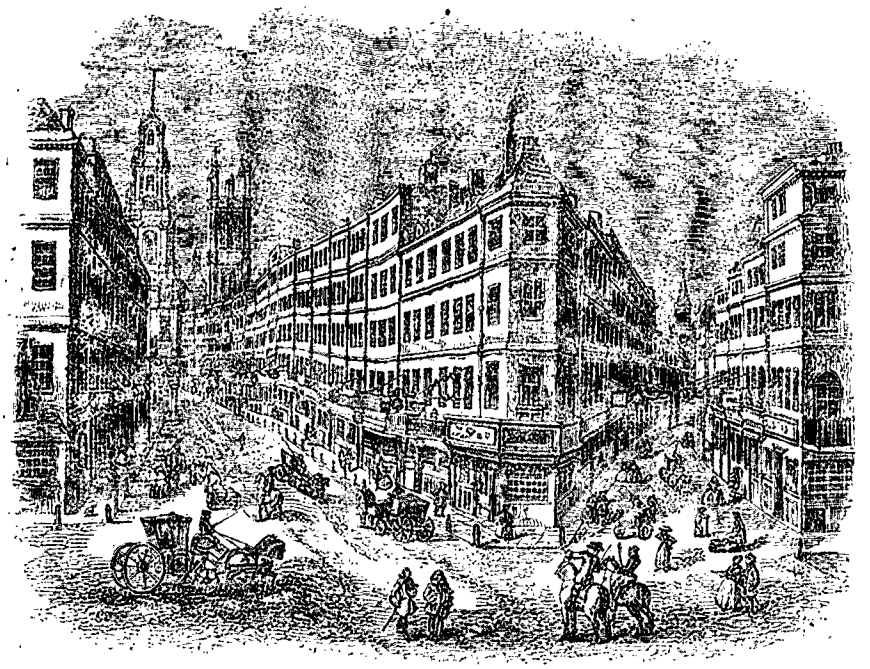
* Macky's Journey. † Tatler, No. 240.
‡ Tatler, No. 240.—Goldsmith's Citizen of the World.

* See ante, p. 271.

ant section of English society. The time had gone by when a writer, like a silk-worm, spun out his existence into a huge volume, and died; and when it was thought presumptuous to write at all unless the matter to be announced was of vital importance. A tiny pamphlet or even a copy of verses sufficed to gratify the vanity of seeing oneself in print. But it was now also discovered that the writing of books might be turned to profitable account; and the hope of solid pudding as well as empty praise induced many to forego their more regular and gainful occupations for the precarious bounty of the press. For a considerable part of this period, a titled or influential patron was still deemed indispensable for an author's success; and the man of genius was generally to be found besieging the door of some great man with a poem or a high-flown dedication in his pocket, and obliged perhaps to purchase admittance from the grim Cerberus of a porter with his last shilling. And even when he had surmounted this difficult barrier, and got admission to the presence of the Mæcenas, his best reward was a something like an alms in the shape of a dedication-fee, for which he was obliged to blow the loudest trump in Fame's collection, and deafen the public with the tale of his patron's liberality. The literary dinner-parties of such a patronising peer—the crowding to his mansion of authors with their faded attire newly brushed, and the brass hilts of their swords newly scoured—the solemn, Jove-like importance of the great man under whose eye the whole universe of intellect revolved, and upon the bending of whose brows the life and death of poems and literary systems depended; and the trembling veneration with which his satellites listened to his oracular sayings, and bowed assent over the rich sirloin or savoury venison, that effectually stopped the mouth of cavil or contradiction, is a frequent picture of the period, and one in which the pen of the atrabilious Smollett especially delighted to revel. On the other hand, however, we discern the commencement of the public patronage of literature even in the intercourse of authors with the Tonsons, the Lintots, and other publishers, which, in some of its rougher passages, has been recorded in so many a lampoon of the day, from that of Dryden upon Tonson's "two left legs," to the halting and desperate rhyme of the disappointed garretteer. In these performances several peaceful booksellers were immortalised who little dreamt of such a distinction. But it was the public, in truth, as in all such cases, and not the booksellers, that were to blame for the inadequate encouragement of which the authors complained. Readers as yet were few, and even the kinds of writing that were in request were not many. As yet, science was scarcely a marketable commodity; the lighter departments of literature were almost exclusively cultivated, and essay writing and tales, but especially poetry, formed the staple of the trade of authorship. As it was a general impression, too, of the period that recklessness and eccentricity were the true marks of genius, most authors fully established their claim to genius by taking no thought for the morrow. It is no wonder, therefore, that they were so generally a dinnerless and dun-haunted generation, eschewed by butchers, bakers, and tailors; and that the streets and alleys of London were so often enlivened by a race between a light-heeled bard and a panting bailiff. The usual habitation of an author was some poor garret; and, as certain places in London more particularly abounded in such cheap *domiciles*, Drury-lane was a classical region, and Grub-street was holy ground. The sanctuary of the Mint was a place of refuge for many a writer, and the Fleet is called by Pope a "haunt of the muses." In Grub-street those writers especially resided who had sunk to the lowest grade of the craft. These unfortunate moilers contrived to exist upon a few daily pence which they procured by writing ballads, wonderful accounts of ghosts, reports of monsters and prodigies, and, above all, the lives, crimes, and dying-speeches of malefactors. As for their domestic economy, what description can be needed after Hogarth's well-known sketch of the Distressed Author?

The advance of the mercantile classes in wealth and importance was now shown by their ambition of aristocratic distinctions as well as by other evidences. In London, while several of the most eminent of the merchants and civic functionaries rejoiced in the honour of knighthood, all who were of any consideration or even respectability had the title of *esquire*, or at least of *gentleman*, appended to their names. Even the clerks at last assumed these envied designations, and Steele complains that England had now become *Populus Armigerorum*—a nation of esquires.* London merchants as yet lived generally in the city, having their warehouses or counting-houses fronting the street; behind were their dwellings, which were entered by a small court; and, although these domiciles were sufficiently dark and confined externally, their interior was often very expensively and luxuriously furnished. At half-past one o'clock the merchant repaired to the Royal Exchange, and there remained till three; but those of greatest eminence preferred to transact business at Garaway's, Robins's, and Jonathan's coffee-houses. The first of these was frequented by people of quality who had business in the city, and by the wealthiest of the merchants; the second by foreign bankers, and sometimes also by foreign ministers; and the last by buyers and sellers of stock. There were two comfortable French eating-houses in the neighbourhood of the Exchange—Kivat's and the sign of Pontac.† But mere eating could not always satisfy those who bought and sold, and there were several persons belonging to 'Change who sipped in the forenoon, until they were neither drunk, nor yet fairly sober, in which twilight state they trans-

* Tatler, No. 19.
† Macky's Journey through England.



CORNHILL, THE EXCHANGE, AND LOMBARD STREET.
From an Old Print.

acted business. These persons were called Whetters in the days of Steele and Addison.*

In descending from the merchants to the tradesmen of London, we find that already they had become so numerous, and consequently the competition among them was so keen, that the various trickeries of puffing advertisements were well understood and practised. We have already alluded to the extravagant laudations with which all kinds of quack nostrums were recommended to the public. Sometimes a shopkeeper, scorning a direct advertisement of his commodities, commenced with an angry—"Whereas it has been reported that A. B. is going to leave off business;" and then followed an earnest assurance that such was not the case, and that he continued, as before, to sell the following articles at the lowest prices. A more ingenious plan was for H. Z. to advertise in the public prints that a purse, containing gold and bank-notes to a large amount, had been dropped in his shop, and would be returned to the proper owner on describing the contents. Of course every person was eager to deal with so honest a tradesman, and his visionary purse soon became a reality. But the chief attraction and best advertisement of a shop was the sign-board that announced the name and occupation of the owner with all the splendour of painting and gilding. To strike the eye more effectually, the common traders from an early period had been accustomed to blazon some animal or object upon their sign. When these subjects were exhausted, or when fancy became capricious, something more piquant than dull reality was adopted, and among the cognisances of tradesmen, there arose blue boars, black swans, red lions, flying pigs, hogs in armour, swans with two necks, and such "skimble-skamble stuff" as would have put the Welsh heraldry of Glendower to utter shame. Then there were multitudes of compound signs, such as the Fox and Seven Stars, the Bell and Neat's Tongue, the Dog and Gridiron, the Sheep and Dolphin. Such grotesque combinations seem to have originated in the prentice quartering his master's symbol with his own, like the combined arms of a coat matrimonial in heraldry. In not a few instances also they can be traced to the ignorance of the people, by which emblems in themselves abundantly rational were most ludicrously perverted. Thus, the Boulogne mouth became the Bull and Mouth; the Satyr and Bacchanals was metamorphosed into the Devil and Bag of Nails; and the pious puritanical legend—God encompasseth us—after having probably undergone a succession of perversions on lips little understanding or sympathising with the original sentiment, assumed a pictorial existence in the startling form of the Goat and Compasses. These signs generally projected far into the street, where they swung and creaked with every blast; but at last, as it was found that they intercepted ventilation, they were ordered to be placed against

* Tatler, No. 139.

the buildings, as at present. This improvement, however, did not take place until the middle of the reign of George II. The rage for splendid signs in those days resembled that which now prevails among shopkeepers for plate-glass windows and mahogany counters. It is mentioned in the Gentleman's Magazine ten years after the close of the present period, that there were signs on Ludgate Hill which, with their iron supporters, had cost several hundred pounds. Certain localities in the metropolis were occupied by particular departments of trade. Thus Fleet Street was noted for linendrapers' shops; Newgate was the chief market for mutton; Leadenhall for beef; St. James's for veal; Thames Street for cheeses; Covent Garden for fruit; Moorfields for old books; and Monmouth Street for old clothes.* Bookselling was now become a trade of great importance, and each branch of it possessed its particular locality. Old books were to be bought in Little Britain and Paternoster Row; those of divinity and the classics on the north side of St. Paul's Church; those of law, history, and plays, about Temple Bar; and French books in the Strand.† Millinery shops were still, as before, at the Royal Exchange, and 'Change Alley, and also at the New Exchange, which was situated between Durham Yard and York Buildings in the Strand; and as the counters at these places were generally attended by the most showy young women that could be procured, they were favourite haunts of beaux and profligates, who spent their time and money there in frivolous purchases, and more frivolous conversation.‡

Besides the regular tradesmen, London appears to have abounded with hawkers, whose occupations and modes of dealing would be indicted as nuisances in the present day. Thus, even so late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Westminster Hall swarmed with female hucksters; so that ribands, gloves, towers, commodes, and other such fancy articles were selling on one side of the building, while the property of lands and tenements was settled or wrangled about on the other: on the one side might be heard a shrill-tongued sempstress rehearsing a list of her wares, and on the other a deep-mouthed crier commanding silence.§ There were many shops in which toys, trinkets, and jewellery were disposed of, not by regular sale, but by a raffle; and to these places gallants were wont to take their mistresses, and treat them out of their winnings.‖ These fooleries were imitated in humble life, so that the very fruit-stalls in the streets were places for gambling, where dice or the wheel of fortune initiated apple-munching urchins into the doctrine of chances. Thimble-rigging also was fearlessly practised as a trade in the open streets. It is easy to conceive how the national love of betting must have been cherished by such hap-hazard kinds of traffic. But a still more pernicious kind of trade was that practised by a class of pedlars who vended strong liquors in the streets upon stalls and wheelbarrows, or carried them about wherever a crowd was gathered. Drinking-houses were at least as numerous in London as they are at present, although the population was little more than one-third of its present amount. According to a report drawn up by a committee of the magistrates of Middlesex, in 1725, there were then in the metropolis alone, exclusively of the city and Southwark, 6187 houses and shops, "wherein Geneva and other strong waters were sold by retail," being in some parishes every tenth house, in others every seventh, and in one, the largest of the whole, every fifth house. Then there were to be added those who sold strong liquors on bulks, stalls, and wheelbarrows.

London, even so late as the close of the present period, retained much of the rudeness and discomfort of earlier ages. The streets as yet were for the most part unpaved, and each tradesman paved the entrance to his shop in his own fashion. What was in those days called the pavement was the edge of the street railed off by posts for the protection of foot-passengers. The kennels, which were open on both sides of the street, swelled into inundations in wet weather, while in summer drought they sent forth pestilent exhalations from the garbage with which they were choaked up. Into these vile puddles also, when they were at full tide, carmen and coachmen delighted to drive their vehicles for the purpose of splashing a well-dressed pedestrian. As for Snow Hill, it was in wet weather a perfect torrent that flowed into Fleet ditch—that Stygian flood of civic abominations with which Pope's Dunciad has made us so familiar. It was fortunate that such streets were furnished with sweepers who cleared the crossings, and with shoe-blacks who plied their vocation at every corner. While even fair weather was scarcely tolerable in London from the clouds of dust with which every breeze was laden, nothing could be more unpleasant than a rainy day. When the clouds darkened, the shopmen eyed the coming storm, and prepared to encounter it. The hosier stripped the long poles projecting over his door of the stockings that dangled from them in rows, like a wary mariner striking sail; booksellers, whose shops were frequently furnished with large, unprotected stalls, made haste to remove their books under shelter; and the boatmen clothed their boats with a tilt, in the hope of tempting a fare. As the rain increased, the streets were soon covered with liquid mud, while the whole tribe of blue boars, red lions, and goats in boots collected and discharged the water in one heavy, pitiless stream. Then it was that "taking the wall" was a deed of hardihood which only strength and courage could maintain; and, while the robust kept close to the shelter of the numerous penthouse lids, the weak were elbowed out into the full brunt of the storm.

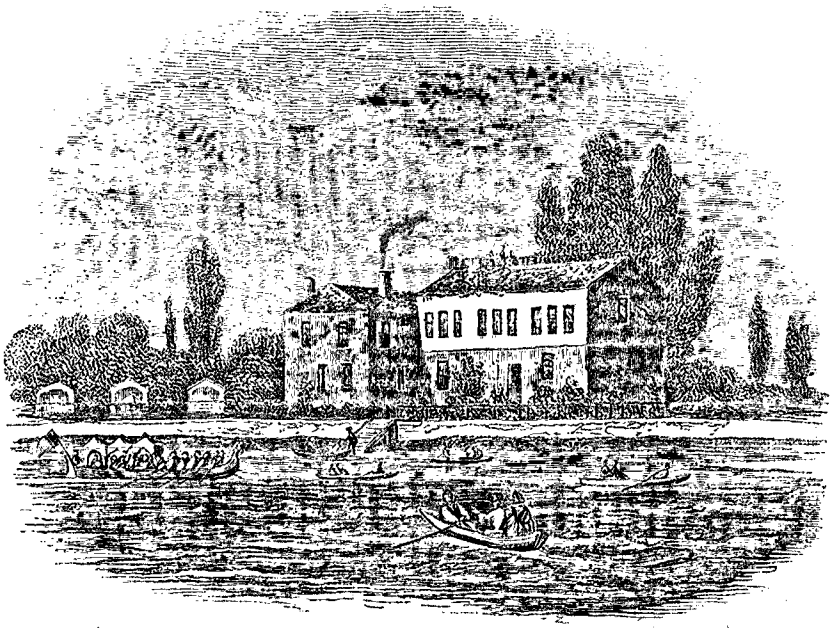
* Gay's Trivia.
† Macky's Journey.
‡ The New Exchange was taken down in 1737, and dwelling-houses were erected in its stead.
§ Works of Thomas Brown. Lond. 1744, vol. iii. p. 40.
‖ Gay's Eclogues.

But the natural evils of rain, mud, and dust were not the worst to be encountered in walking about the metropolis. Pickpockets had become wonderfully numerous, so that whether at church or market, the theatre or the ball-room, purses, snuff-boxes, and watches disappeared with a facility incomprehensible to the owners. Even articles attached more closely to the person were not secure, and the gallant who presented his hand to a lady, to prevent her from stumbling, sometimes found, when too late, that a brilliant had departed from his finger. Occasionally, too, a skilful rogue carried a covered basket on his head, in which a boy was concealed; he passed through some crowd where something had been provided to be stared at—and the best periwig in the throng would vanish as suddenly as if it had gone to keep company with Berenice's hair. The squares of London were infested with throngs of beggars, who assailed the ears of the passers-by in every tone of clamorous supplication, and shocked their eyes with the exhibition of every disgusting malady that flesh is heir to. But frequently these wretches were also thieves; and thus the cripple, who had begged all day, converted his crutch into a truncheon at night, with which he knocked his victims on the head. This was especially the case in the lonely square of Lincoln's Inn Fields, which at this period was a haunt of the most desperate characters, especially during the hours of darkness. If the pedestrian, eschewing these perils, hoped to escape them by a coach, the matter was not much mended: the streets of London were so narrow and the obstacles so numerous, that the whole tide of drays and carriages was frequently brought to a dead-lock, by some sudden impediment; in such cases, the coachmen, instead of extricating themselves by winding through the mass, or waiting patiently till motion was restored, would begin to lash each other with their whips, or descend from their boxes for a regular trial at bruising, while the delighted crowd formed a ring, and cheered the combatants. Sometimes, too, when part of a street was undergoing repair, the lamp that marked the dangerous spot at night would be extinguished by design or accident; and thus the carriage was shattered in pieces against the pile of stones, or thrown headlong into the excavation. In our own day, when the splendour of gas has reduced the moon and stars to mere rural conveniences, we are astonished at the cimmerian darkness in which our great-grandsires were content to wander. In the year 1736 London could boast of no more than about a thousand lamps, which were kept burning only till midnight, and that for only one-half of the year; during the other half (that is from Lady-

LONDON LAMP-LIGHTER. From Hogarth.

day till Michaelmas) they were not lighted at all. Indeed, had it not been for the numerous link-boys in every public street, a night walk in the metropolis would have been out of the question. But sometimes even these link-boys were in league with the thieves and night-prowlers, and thus the link often went out, as if by sheer accident, in the very worst place for such an accident to happen; and, while the be-darkened citizen was anxiously endeavouring to peer out amidst the surrounding gloom, he found himself suddenly environed, and perhaps knocked down by the ruffianly ambush into which he had been so treacherously conducted.* Sedans were used to a great extent at this period, not only by ladies and effeminate beaux, but also by robust men; the bearers, who were generally Irishmen, derived from the nature of their occupation a thickness of leg and strength of calf that became proverbial; and the conveyance itself was a cheap one, as a chair, with its bearers, could be hired for a guinea a week, or a

* Gay's Trivia.



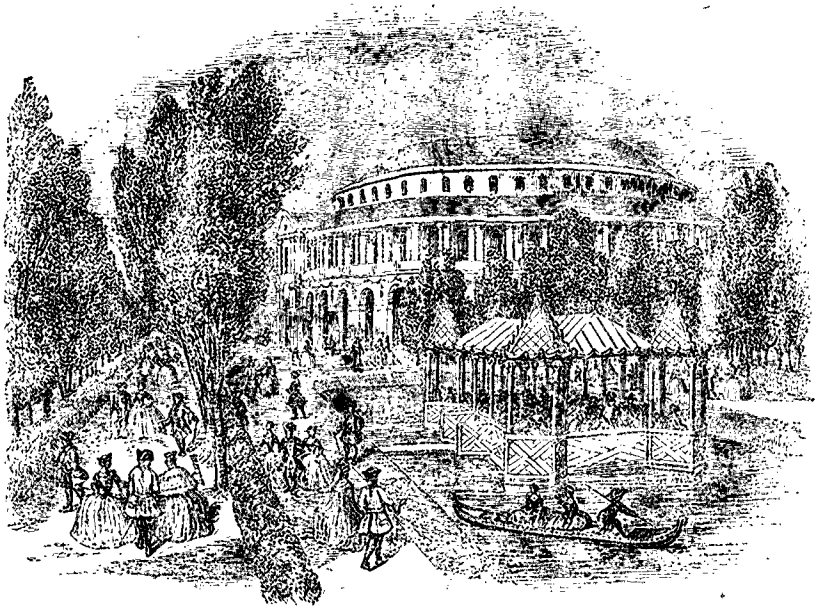
Folly House, Blackwall. From an Old Print.

shilling an hour. Water conveyance also was much used in passing from one part of London to another; and a person would be rowed anywhere above the bridge to Westminster, in a boat with two rowers, for sixpence, and with one for threepence; and below the bridge, to the lower extremity of the city, for the same sum. In sailing down the river, people of whatever rank had to encounter a broadside of coarse raillery from every passing boat.* Such moderate fares encouraged among the citizens the practice of forming water-parties; and in these aquatic trips Folly House, at Blackwall, formed the usual landing-place and house of entertainment for those whose appetites were whetted by the keen air of the river.

In turning to those amusements that particularly illustrate the character of the period, the watering-places may be first mentioned. Medicinal springs had long been known; the diseased, the hypochondriacal, and the idle had flocked to them; and, as the healing waters increased in reputation, it became fashionable during this period to spend the summer season in their neighbourhood, where, as a matter of course, parties, balls, and festivals, were frequent among an idle population. Bath had for many years been one of the chief of these places of resort; and under the able management of Beau Nash, popularly called the King of Bath, it was now enabled to throw all other watering-places into the shade, so that above eight thousand families generally repaired to it in the course of a season. Two laws which Nash established, and rigorously enforced upon his subjects, tended upon the whole to make his reign a very useful one. By one, all politics were absolutely banished from Bath, so that the most fruitful source of quarrels among gentlemen was removed: by another, all scandal was prohibited, by which the ladies were reduced to an equally pacific state.* Next to Bath Tunbridge and Epsom Wells were in greatest repute. These were resorted to by the families of the wealthier inhabitants of London and the rural gentry; and an account of the manner in which time was spent at one of these places will serve as a picture of the rest. At Tunbridge, there was, on one side of the well, a row of shops and coffee-rooms, on the other a market; and behind the well was a large chapel, in which divine service was performed twice a day. Early in the morning the company repaired to the waters, and there the ladies and gentlemen associated with each other in dishabile: at nine o'clock they separated to dress. At ten, the company again became visible, some repairing to church and others to the coffee-houses. After prayers they promenaded on the walks, while the bands of music continued to play; they also amused themselves with raffling, hazard, drinking tea, and walking, till two, when it was time to repair to dinner. In the afternoon the bowling-greens were open for those who loved that national sport; and on the same greens balls were held four times a week, for the diversion of the young people. At night the company returned to the shops on the walks, and there all manner of play and diversion was kept up till midnight. As ceremony was greatly abated at such public and promiscuous meetings, a greater frankness towards strangers was allowed than in the metropolis, so

* Macky's Journey through England.

* Life of Beau Nash.



RANELAGH. 1751.

that no gentleman needed a formal introduction to a lady at play or upon the walk; and this liberty, as might be supposed, was very frequently abused by sharpers and fortune-hunters.* In the sketches of the day, accordingly, a dashing Irishman in chase of an heiress at a watering-place is a very common feature. As the luxuries of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epsom were as expensive as they were fashionable, persons of moderate fortunes contented themselves with the more accessible mineral springs of Islington, to which they repaired with their families, and where they imitated upon a humble scale the amusements of the more aristocratic watering-places.

But the Londoners had likewise places of entertainment nearer at hand, where the foot could step at once from the dusty pavement upon a velvet lawn, or wander at will among shady avenues. Of these Spring Garden was the chief at the close of the seventeenth century, until it was found that something more than mere walks and trees was desirable, and accordingly in Ranelagh and Vauxhall Gardens the attractions of art were introduced to heighten the charms of nature. At these places the trees were hung with lamps, and the plats enlivened with artificial cascades; the whole scene was studded with summer-houses that served either as love-bowers or places of refection, while music, fire-works, water-works, and wonderful mechanism presented an ample variety to every kind of taste. These scenes, however, are familiarised to every reader of Fielding, Goldsmith, and Johnson.

Play-going was still as frequent and as fashionable as ever, without the theatre having undergone any moral improvement: the same sort of plays were acted, and the same license in behaviour tolerated, as had prevailed during the reign of Charles II. Theatrical representations had now reached their perfection in point of splendour under the able management of Cibber, Quin, and Garrick; but amidst every change a striking indifference continued to be manifested towards the proprieties of costume, especially in tragedy, where these proprieties are most required. Whether the hero was Greek or Roman, regal, military, or sacerdotal, his dress was that of a beau of the eighteenth century; while a Cleopatra or a Semiramis could not appear without a powdered commode, a hooped petticoat, a stomacher, and a fan. Even Cato was introduced upon the stage in 1712 in a "long wig, flowered gown, and lacker'd chair," while these preposterous adjuncts were hailed, not with shouts of derision but peals of applause. The false taste of such exhibitions does not seem to have been as yet detected, although the incongruities of the opera were seen and ridiculed. Thus, when Nicolini was exposed to a tempest in robes of ermine, or when he sailed in an open boat upon a sea of pasteboard; when enchanted chariots were drawn by Flanders mares, and real cascades were made to flow through canvas landscapes, such a critic as Addison could point out the impropriety of blending reality with imitation in the same piece. And yet he was contented to see his own Cato metamorphosed into something like a London alderman, and he perceived nothing absurd in Macbeth figuring in a court dress of sky-blue and scarlet.

Besides the theatre and the opera there were

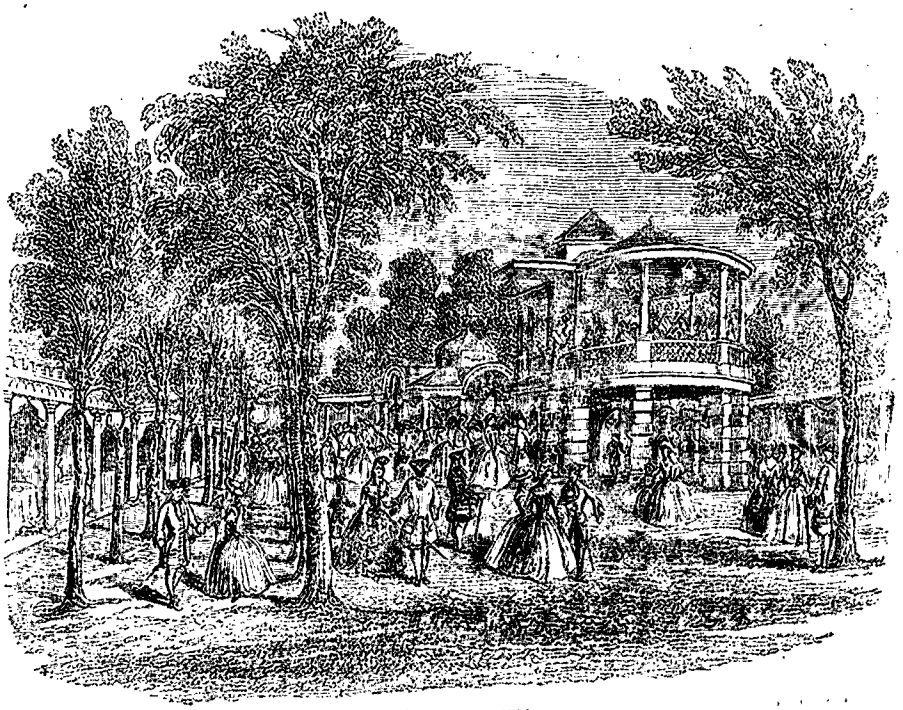
* Macky's Journey through England.

some other exhibitions of the dramatic class which came into great favour in the eighteenth century. Of these, the most distinguished was the puppet-show of Mr. Powel, which was established in the piazza of Covent Garden, and was attended by numerous and fashionable audiences. In Mr. Powel's little theatre interludes upon all subjects sacred or profane were acted by puppets; but, whether the play might be scriptural or historical, Punch was always the principal figure, and his jests formed the main amusement of the audience. Thus, in a sacred interlude representing the general deluge, Punch and his wife were introduced dancing merrily in Noah's ark. The following advertisement inserted by Powel in the prints of the day will convey a distinct idea of the nature of his exhibitions:—"At Punch's Theatre in the little Piazza, this present Friday, being the 2nd, and to-morrow the 3rd of May, will be presented an opera called the State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man. With variety of scenes and machines, particularly the scene of Paradise in its primitive state, with birds, beasts, and all its ancient inhabitants; the subtilty of the serpent in betraying Adam and Eve, &c., with variety of diverting interludes, too many to be inserted here. No person to be admitted with masks or riding-hoods,* nor any money to be returned after the curtain is up. Boxes 2*s*. pit 1*s*. Beginning exactly at seven o'clock." Wynstanly's Water Theatre was another of these minor places of public amusement. It stood at the lower end of Piccadilly, and was distinguished by a windmill on the top of the building. The exhibitions here varied according to the season and the humour of the public, and consisted chiefly of the representations of sea-deities, nymphs, mermaids, tritons, and other aquatic personages, playing and spouting out water, or sometimes water mingled with fire. The price of admission to the boxes varied from four shillings to half-a-crown, to the pit from three to two shillings, and there was also a sixpenny gallery, as in the royal theatres. The quantity of water used on extraordinary occasions sometimes amounted to eight hundred tuns; so that the exhibitions at this house must have been of rather a splendid description. Sadler's Wells at this period combined the characteristics of a tavern and a theatre; for the spectators were not only amused with songs, recitations, and spectacles, but regaled with ale, wine, cakes, and tobacco. It was chiefly a resort however of low and vicious company.*

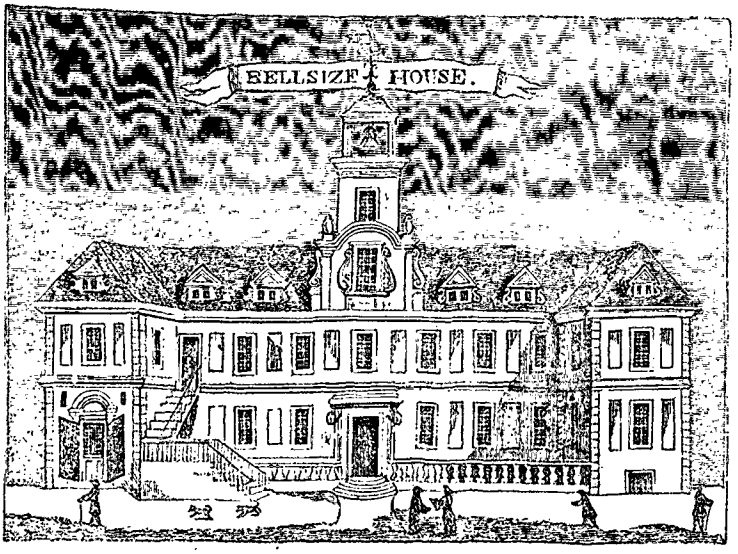
There were also hops, that is, balls, held in some hall or tavern for the entertainment of the lower classes. Hampstead was a famous, or rather infamous place for such merry-meetings, where the excesses to which they led were so common, that no decent tradesman cared to be seen in that beautiful suburban village.† The chief of these places of concourse at Hampstead, which was called Belsize House, is worthy of more particular notice. This edifice, which was erected in the

* Masks and riding-hoods were still greatly used in the galleries of the royal theatres for the purposes of licentious intrigue; and therefore Powel, who regarded himself as a teacher of religion and morals, was anxious to guard his house from such profanations.

* Walk to Islington, 8vo. Lond., 1699.
† Macky's Journey through England.



Vauxhall, 1751.



BELSIZE HOUSE.

reign of Charles II., upon the site of the ancient "manor of Belses," stood in front of the highway of Hampstead, having a large park and handsome gardens in its immediate neighbourhood. The success which had already attended similar speculations undoubtedly suggested the idea of converting this stately mansion into a place of public entertainment; and accordingly it was opened for that purpose in April, 1720. The nature of the amusements at this institution may be ascertained from the following exact copy of the first advertisement which was published on the occasion:—

THESE are to give Notice, that Bellsize is now open'd for the whole Season, and that all Things are most commodiously concerted for the Reception of Gentlemen and Ladies; The *Park*, Wilderness, and Gardens, being wonderfully Improv'd, and fill'd with variety of Birds which compose a most Melodious and Delightsome Harmony. Every Morning at Seven a Clock, the Musick begins to play and continues the whole Day thro'; and any Persons inclin'd to walk and divert themselves in the Morning, may as cheaply break fast there, on *Tea* or *Coffee*, as in their own Chambers: And for the convenience of single Persons or Families who reside at *Hampstead*, there are Coaches prepar'd to ply betwixt the 2 places; which, by the least Notice given, shall attend at their Lodgings or Houses for sixpence *per* Passenger; and for the Security of his Guests, there are 12 stout Fellows compleatly Arm'd to patrole betwixt *London* and *Bellsize* to prevent the Insults of Highwaymen or Footpads which may infest the Road."

The pretensions of this place were at first rather aristocratic; but the company soon became sufficiently miscellaneous. Thus it appears, from Read's Journal for July 15, 1721, that the Prince and Princess of Wales dined at Belsize House, attended by several persons of quality; yet, from the satire entitled "Belsize House," published only a year after, we find that persons of the lowest description as well as the highest were the regular frequenters, while excesses prevailed among them which would have shamed the lowest place of entertainment. In fact, so rapid was the process of degeneracy, that in less than a twelvemonth the "twelve stout fellows completely armed" had increased to thirty, so perilous had the approaches to this precious temple of Cotytto become. The proprietor, or master of the ceremonies, generally called the Welsh Ambassador, soon also became so infamous that he was committed to Newgate; but he speedily regained his liberty, and resumed his public functions. On each side of the gate of Belsize House a grenadier mounted guard. The coffee-room was set apart for the more select customers, while the north side of the building was reserved for the common herd; but the dining-room was neutral ground in which all ranks were fused into one common mass. Besides the amusements specified in the programme, hunting and fishing were the out-of-door sports of the establishment, and balls and concerts were held in the long room; but deep and ruinous play, after all, formed the chief recreation, unless we except illicit love intrigues, for which the extensive grounds about the house afforded sufficient facilities.

Shooting-matches were also common in the outskirts of London, and the nature of these will be understood by the following advertisement from the Postman of June 7, 1713:— "A stall-fed fat deer to be shot for at the

Greyhound, in Islington, on Wednesday, in Whitsun-week, for half-a-crown a man, forty men to shoot, at four of the clock in the afternoon." The chief out-door sports, besides bowls and skittles, were football, which was played at by the young prentices within the porches of Covent Garden,* and cricket. In this last stirring game matches were often made between equal numbers of the gentlemen of two counties by advertisement in the public prints. The chief place in London for these competitions was the Artillery Ground.

Prize fights had now become frequent, at which the common weapons were broadsword, sword and dagger, and single stick; and the gladiators who mangled each other for the amusement of the crowd, devoted themselves to this savage calling as a regular trade, and subsisted upon the subscription-purses or admittance fees. Many of these fellows were also accustomed to ramble about the country, like knight-errants in quest of adventures, and sound their challenges to combat in every village. The following short sketch sufficiently describes the nature of a prize-fight:—"Seats filled and crowded by two, drums beat, dogs yelp, butchers and foot-soldiers clatter their sticks; at last the two heroes in their fine bosomed Holland shirts mount the stage about three; cut large collops out of one another to divert the mob, and make work for the surgeons; smoking, swearing, drinking, thrusting, justling, elbowing, sweating, kicking, cuffing, stinking, all the while the company stays."† The writer adds that even the ladies attended such exhibitions, and viewed them with keen interest. The most distinguished of these bullies was Figg, whose face and figure have been familiarised to us by Hogarth in one of the sketches of the Rake's Progress. This personage taught the "noble science of defence" in Oxford-streed road, near the Adam and Eve court, where gentlemen were trained in the use of the small sword and single stick.‡

It was from this cultivation of the science of defence that scientific boxing took its rise among us. About the beginning of the eighteenth century such preceptors as Figg began to give lessons in pugilism, as well as in the use of weapons. The addition was hailed with delight; boxing matches became daily more popular, and at last superseded every other kind of pugnacious competition. Even the magistrates rather encouraged the practice under an idea that pugilism would promote manliness of character. But a more decided and influential patronage was that of persons of rank and wealth, who found in the chances of a boxing match the strongest excitement for betting; they adopted their favourite champions, trained them for the ring, as they had been accustomed to train game-cocks for the cock-pit, and then wagered immense sums upon their prowess. Among the lovers of this sport one of the most eminent was the Duke of Cumberland (the hero of Culloden), who lost several thousand pounds at a single milling match by the defeat of Broughton, his pet bruiser. The challenges of these combatants also were regularly published in the daily prints; and the following specimen*—a gentle one compared with others that might be quoted—will show the nature of such cartels:—"Whereas I, William Willis, commonly called by the name of the Fighting Quaker, have fought Mr. Smallwood about twelve months since, and held him the tightest to it, and bruised and battered more than any one he ever encountered, though I had the ill-fortune to be beat by an accidental fall; the said Smallwood flushed with the success blind Fortune then gave him, and the weak attempts of a few vain Irishmen and boys that have of late fought him for a minute or two, makes him think himself unconquerable; to convince him of the falsity of which I invite him to fight me for one hundred pounds, at the time and place above mentioned, when I doubt not I shall prove the truth of what I have asserted by pegs, darts, hard blows, falls, and cross buttocks." We may add that the meeting took place, and that the fighting quaker was completely vanquished.†

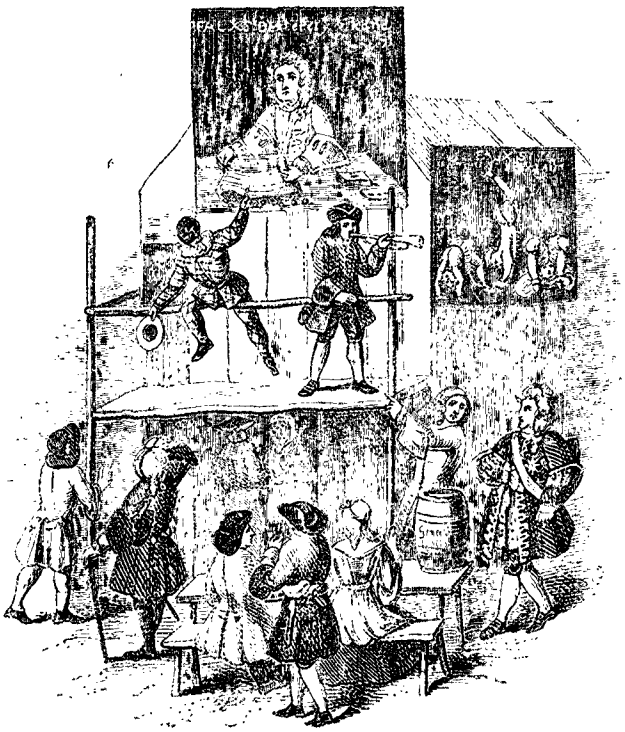
The love of spectacles which had always distinguished the London population had now become more rampant than ever; so that, while a bull-baiting was enough to rouse a whole ward, a public execution could at any time empty the half of the metropolis into Tyburn. But more potent even than these were the attractions of a civic fair, and especially a Bartholomew Fair. Bartholomew Fair had its origin so early as the reign of Edward I., and was allowed by the charter to be held for three days only: but when the allotted time had expired, the crowds were not so easily dispersed, and they continued to linger on from day to day, until hunger or satiety sent them back to their occupations. At last, the popular appetite for the amusements of this carnival had become so rabid, that in the reign of Anne a plan was set on foot to have the period extended to fourteen days—a project which, as might be expected, excited the alarm of all sober-minded people in the metropolis, so that a whole tempest of protests and petitions was discharged against the proposition.‡ In our own day, when even popular excitement is graduated by the scale, it is almost impossible to conceive the turmoil with which London was formerly pervaded on the arrival of the period for holding Bartholomew Fair. All was then a preparation for merriment, uproar, and licence, and every parish in the metropolis discharged its population into Smithfield as into a vast reservoir. Thither came the man of ton from the west-end, who hoped to exchange his more fashionable diversions for some vulgar intrigue;—thither came the anxious citizen, his more anxious dame, and his half-delighted,

* Guy's Trivia.
† Works of Thomas Brown, vol. i. p. 151., Lond., 1744.
‡ Pierce Egan's Boxiana.

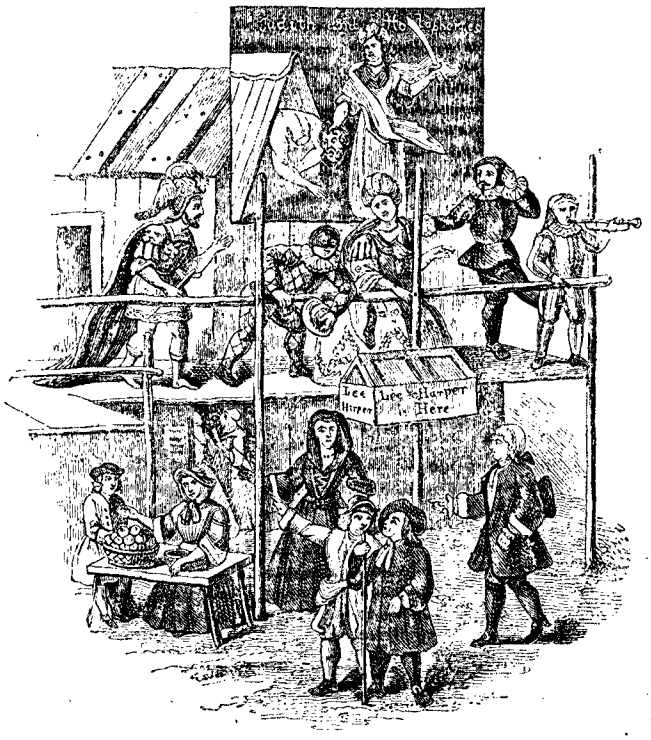
* Daily Advertiser for April 26, 1742.
† Egan's Boxiana.
‡ Reasons for the punctual limiting of Bartholomew Fair to Three Day, &c. Lond. 1711.

half-terrified stripling, to drown the cares of a whole year amidst the uproar and confusion of a day;—on one side was to be seen the sleek country grazier, or blue-aproned butcher, elbowing his way through the crowd to settle a bargain in hay or bullocks; and on the other the ambulatory vintner with his wheelbarrow of Geneva, for which he found customers in abundance, as may be seen in the following sketch. Here, too, came the thimble-rigger with his table, and the bearward with his monkey and dancing bear; the robber, the thief, the bully, and the pickpocket; in the hope that where so much business and folly were mingled they would reap a plentiful harvest. And not less strange seems the place of meeting itself than the crowds that repaired to it. A city had suddenly started up composed of streets of show-booths and lanes of stalls, where everything that could allure the fancy or the palate might be purchased for a trivial sum; while the roaring of rival showmen, the braying of trumpets, and hammering of gongs and cymbals, made every brain reel that was not well fortified by nature against such portentous concussions. The nature of the shows, which formed the principal attraction of the fair, may be discovered from a glance at the foregoing and following prints: but under the character of raree-shows there were sometimes exhibitions which could scarcely have been expected even from an age so depraved. Thus we are informed, in a work which we have already quoted, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century one of these exhibitions consisted of a series of indecent paintings which were publicly displayed for pence to the gaze of the youth of both sexes.* Not only the idleness and tumult, but also the immorality and excesses of Bartholomew Fair, had long been a civic pestilence which the authorities endeavoured to banish. In 1702 a proclamation issued by the lord mayor for the suppression of the "great profaneness, vice, and debauchery, too frequently practised there," required all persons concerned in the fair not to "let, set, or hire, or use any booth, shed, stall, or other erection whatsoever, to be used or employed contrary to law, for interludes, stage-plays, comedies, gaming-places, lotteries, music-meetings, or other occasions or opportunities for enticing, assembling, or congregating idle, loose, vicious, and debauched people together under colour and pretence of innocent diversion and recreation." Another similar proclamation was issued in 1707, wherein the "deplorable increase of profaneness and debauchery" are emphatically pointed out, and all erections belonging to the fair are required to be constructed for the purposes of traffic only. In

* Reasons for the punctual limiting of Bartholomew Fair to Three Days, &c. Lond. 1711.



BARTHOLOMEW FAIR. 1721. (Vaux the Conjuror's Booth.)
From a Painted Fan of that date.



Bartholomew Fair. 1721. (Lee and Harper's Booth.)
From a Painted Fan of that date.

order also to lessen the access of the crowd, the gates and thoroughfares of Christ's and Bartholomew's Hospitals were ordered to be shut at ten o'clock, and no persons who were not inhabitants of the place were to stay beyond that hour.

In passing from the metropolitan to the rural population, the country gentlemen first demand our notice. Their habits have been amply delineated in the plays, the novels, and essays of the period. Who is unacquainted with Sir Roger de Coverley? In that masterly picture, the author, Apelles-like, has concentrated all the amiableness, the simplicity, the humour, and amusing weaknesses of the class of which Sir Roger is the great representative, without its vices and defects. From this example we learn, that, although many of the rural squires had the last polish given to their education in London, where perchance they rented chambers for a few terms in the Temple, and frequented the coffee-houses to which the wits of the day resorted, yet they returned by no means overburdened either with learning or a general knowledge of the world. They cultivated their paternal acres, watched with almost Druidical reverence the safety of their ancient oaks, jealously defended their hedges and enclosures from trespass, were members of the worshipful quorum, in which capacity, perhaps, they impressed their tenants with respectful awe by a speech of three minutes long upon some great occasion, and enforced especially those statutes that regarded the preservation of public decency—and game. When Sunday arrived they repaired to the village church, which they entered through a lane of uncovered and bowing peasantry, who took this opportunity of showing their respect for his worship and receiving his kind enquiries in return; after which they ascended "the squire's pew," the chief seat in the synagogue, where they edified their tenantry during service by the loudness of their responses, while they looked considerately about to see which of their dependants were absent, as well as to impress decorousness upon those who were present. And when joyous Christmas came round, then the mansion rang with those festivities that seemed a perfect echo of the Elizabethan age, although now antiquated or wholly forgotten among the fashionable circles of the metropolis; and the master of the mansion caused the doors to be thrown open that the enjoyments of the season might be as general as the blessings it commemorated. A multitude of fattened hogs were slaughtered for the occasion, cut into chines, and distributed among the neighbours; and a string of hog's pudding and a pack of cards were sent to every poor family in the parish. Then, also, a double quantity of malt was allowed to the small beer, which was set a running in the hall for every one that called for

it, while the table was continually set out with a large round of cold beef and a mince pie. And at evening, when the Christmas sports of the happy yeomanry were making roof and rafter shake, as if they too were alive with merriment, the landlord vouchsafed to look in upon their festival and enjoy the practical jokes that had been treasured up for the occasion. A squire of this old school stamp loved to see the old arras that still lingered upon the walls, and the pictures of his ancestors that seemed to smile upon him approvingly for treading in their footsteps; and he valued as choice heir-looms his antique, massive, high-backed chairs, the covers of which were adorned with embroidered flowers, cupids, and shepherdesses, by the needles of his grandmother and her industrious household. He was also proud of his chaplain, his housekeeper, and his throng of servants, although one half of them were only of use to wait upon the other half; and he dwelt upon the past merits and exploits of his aged hunters, which he allowed to graze labour-free, for life, in his richest paddock. His diet and his hours of eating were also conformed to the same primitive principle: he breakfasted at an early hour upon hot rolls, plumcake, and strong ale, and dined at twelve o'clock.

The stirring amusement of hunting was more generally followed by the country gentlemen of the last than by those of the present century. This was to be expected in an age when the resources of politics and literature were as yet only of secondary account. A very large portion of the rustic squires of this period were foxhunters exclusively—men whose whole lives and energies were devoted to the amusements of the chase, such as those with whose manners we have been made so familiar by the descriptions of Fielding and Smollet. They appear to have been for the most part as unintellectual as the horses they rode or the animals they pursued; their proudest exploit was to clear a six-barred gate, and their highest ambition to wear the brush in their cap. In those days, when after a hard chase the stag or buck was at last pulled down, the old laws of venerie respecting the cutting up of the quarry were still carefully observed; and first of all a knife was tendered to the stranger of the party to cut the victim's throat, his refusal of which made him liable to the charge of daintiness and want of manly spirit. When the animal was cut up another compliment was for the master of the ceremonies to lave his hands in the blood and gravely besmear with it the stranger's face—a mode of baptism into the family of Nimrod well calculated to keep the fastidious aloof; after which the whole company put their hunting-horns to their mouths and blew most outrageously. The party then adjourned to dinner, where, if the venison happened to be served up, it was passed untouched by those who had been engaged in the chase, it being a principle that no stanch sportsman should eat his own game. The characteristic circumstances of a banquet of this kind; the prodigious feats of hunger and thirst; the brainless babble and boisterous debate of so many hirsute, un-ideaed animals, swelling into a universal roar, like the gathering of a sea-storm, and like it subsiding, in the slow progress of hours, into the dead calm of speechless helplessness, are well described in Thomson's Seasons. The torpid reaction of such violent excitement could only be banished by preparations for the next chase; and in this way the mere hunting gentleman continued to live from week to week, until some sharp and sudden disease cut him down in the midst of his strength, or some desperate flying leap, in which his horse fell short, and broke its own neck as well as that of its rider.

Commerce was still regarded with a supercilious eye by the generality of the proud and ignorant country gentlemen, and even younger sons, though deprived of all share in the family estate, and often sent forth into the world with scarcely any provision, were taught to despise mercantile pursuits as derogatory to their rank and the honour of their family. Hence the numerous Will Wimbles, the led-captains, and genteel parasites of the time, who endeavoured to make themselves necessary to some nobleman or gentleman for the privilege of a place at his table. For this purpose some of them studied profoundly the points of a horse, the breaking in of hunters, and the training of pointers, with the cure of the diseases to which such animals are liable; others were skilful in the mysteries of angling and the manufacture of the best kinds of flies: many had no other qualification than a strong head, by which they were enabled to superintend the overflowing hospitality of their patron, and drink hard in his service at an election canvass.* Others who had no genius for these vocations, endeavoured to recommend themselves by their skill in flattery, gallantry, or even more questionable accomplishments.†

Of the country ladies of this period, those who had not learned the fashions and frivolities of London are chiefly represented to us in the light of "notable ladies," and quiet domestic drudges, with scarcely education enough to keep the household account-book, or spell correctly a receipt for a new home-made wine, or improved syllabub. The principal change that had taken place in their domestic habits since the last age was, that a lady no longer thought that the great business of life was to embroider cushions and coverlets; but, if she did not become a politician, as those figuring in the London circles usually did, she most commonly settled down into the character of a Lady Bountiful, and occupied herself in supplying the poor of the village with money, the industrious

* "Some persons, and those of quality, may not be safely visited in an afternoon, especially in the country, without running the hazard of excessive drinking of healths, whereby in a short time twice as much liquor is consumed as by the Dutch, who sip and prate; and in some places it is esteemed a piece of wit to make a man drunk; for which purpose some swilling, insipid, trencher buffoon, is always at hand, under the boasted but scandalous title of Major Domo." *Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia, by John Chamberlayne*, Lon., 1708, p. 254.

† The qualifications for such an office are particularly described in Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, chap. xx.

with work, the idle and the vicious with counsel and rebuke, and the sick with medicines and cordials. In this last department many of them became so presumptuous that no ailment was too hard for them, from a toothache to a pestilence, from the stroke of a cudgel to that of a thunderbolt. Their remedies were for the most part the strangest quackery. One of their favourite cures for consumption, for example, was what they called snail pottage. This was a peck of garden shell snails washed in small beer and fried in a frying-pan, shells and all, with a quart of earth worms, and mingled with abundance of strong ale, herbs, spices, and drugs. In others of their preparations there was as much cruelty as loathsomeness and absurdity. To make oil of swallows, some ten or a dozen swallows were pounded *alive* in a mortar, with many other choice ingredients; and in making what was called cock-water, the poor bird had first to be plucked alive. Sometimes, also, the aid of the planets was necessary to make the charm successful; as, for instance, in the case of one of their medicines into which the tips of crabs' claws entered largely, the rule was that they should be gathered "when the sun enters the sign of cancer."* Many of the possets and restoratives, in short, which filled the receipt-books of these good ladies, one would think, must have required the nerves as well as the caldron of the weird sisters to prepare them. The practices in question, however, were chiefly confined to staid elderly females, the wife of the squire or vicar, some well-dowered widow or considerate spinster, who with abundance of means and inclination to do good, had stumbled upon a wrong path. One of these ladies bound upon her visits of mercy, and followed by her abigail panting under the well-laden basket, must have been a formidable spectacle. We may conceive the deep and low-muttered curses with which she was followed by the village doctor, whose office was thus reduced to a starving sinecure; the shudder of her patients when her step was heard upon the threshold, or when her budget of cures was unpacked, to be administered under her own eye; and the annoyance she must have inflicted upon those sufferers whose cases were hopeless, until they were glad to escape from her benevolence by dying in good earnest.

The chief domestic amusements of the rural gentry were the anniversary festivals, which the progress of fashion had as yet left almost untouched in the country mansions: but there were also parties for card-playing, dancing, and music, as in London. Next to the chase, shooting and fishing were the principal out-door amusements. This last sport seems to have been a favourite among the fair sex, if we may judge from the numerous pictures in which ladies are drawn seated on the bank of a river or pond, with fishing-rods in their hands. County and subscription balls were also of frequent occurrence, and were often enlivened by the presence of smart young recruiting officers, anxious to add to their scanty pay the dowry of some high-born rustic, who might be charmed by the attractions of a red coat. Some of the fairs also were select and fashionable, rather than promiscuous resorts; in particular, Bury fair, which was in high reputation at the time of the Spectator. It lasted a fortnight each year, and was numerously attended by the nobility and gentry. The meeting was held upon the Angel Hill, in Bury St. Edmonds, which was covered for the occasion with streets of gay tents; and here the multitude diverted themselves in the afternoon with raffling, till it was time to repair to the play. After that was over the company adjourned in parties to the houses of the noblemen and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, which were kept open during the fair. This annual meeting at Bury was in great favour with people in high life, not only on account of the gay parties and amusements with which it was enlivened, but the frequent marriages it occasioned, so that it was considered one of the best matrimonial markets in England.*

It was not always, however, that country gentlemen and their families could be satisfied with such a monotonous round of occupation and amusement when the routs, masquerades, and theatres of the metropolis glittered in perspective. But a trip to London was not then the smooth and expeditious process which modern improvements have rendered it, more especially if it was to be made from one of the remote districts. The English roads were so execrable that in 1703, when Prince George of Denmark had to travel from Windsor to Petworth, a journey of only forty miles, it took him no less than fourteen hours to accomplish it. Frequently the carriages stuck fast in the mire; some of them were overturned; and the prince's coach would have shared the same fate, but for the boors of the district, who propped and poised it with their brawny shoulders all the way from Godalming to the neighbourhood of Petworth. The last nine miles of the journey occupied fully six hours. But broken limbs and overturns in the mud were not the only, or even the worst evils to be experienced in such a migration; for the great approaches to the capital, and especially Bagshot and Hounslow Heath, and Popham Lane, were traversed by mounted highwaymen, either singly or in small bodies, and the daily prints were filled with accounts of robberies committed upon travellers and the mails. Few, therefore, ventured to set out on a journey without being well armed, and sanguinary encounters with robbers were frequent upon the highways. The style in which Sir Francis Wronghead and his family travelled to London, however laughable it might appear on the stage, was not only prudent, bating a few extravagancies, but was actually not unusual with persons of his rank. Two strong cart-horses were added to the four old geldings that drew the pon-

* The Queen's Closet opened, Lon., 1710.

* Macky's Journey through England.

derous family carriage; this vehicle was laden at top with an array of trunks and boxes, while seven living souls, besides a lap-dog, were stowed within. The danger of famine was averted by a travelling larder of baskets of plum-cake, Dutch gingerbread, Cheshire cheese, Naples biscuit, neats' tongues, and cold boiled beef; the risk of sickness was provided for by bottles of usquebaugh, black cherry brandy, cinnamon water, sack, tent, and strong beer; while the convoy was protected by a basket-hilted sword, a Turkish cymetar, an old blunderbuss, a bag of bullets, and a great horn of gunpowder.*

The manners of the peasantry still exhibited much of the same rude simplicity by which they had been characterised in the days of Elizabeth. Rural education had undergone little, if any, improvement or enlargement during the seventeenth century. The monotonous toils and occupations of the rustics, therefore, still continued to be enlivened chiefly by wakes and fairs, which were thronged with puppet-shows, pedlars' stalls, raffling tables, and drinking booths, while the peasants contended with each other in wrestling, cudgel-playing, and foot-racing. In this last sport young women were frequently the performers, in which case the prize for the successful runner was a smock. Among the favourite competitions at fairs were grinning-matches, in which the candidates grinned most hideously through a horse's-collar; and trials in whistling, where the person who could whistle through a whole tune, without being put out by the drolleries of a Merry-Andrew that were played off before him, was the victor. Contentions of this nature were also frequent during the celebration of the annual church festivals, and especially at Christmas, when a trial of yawning for a Cheshire cheese took place at midnight, and he who gave the widest and most natural yawn, so as to set the whole company a gape in sympathy, carried off the cheese in triumph.†

The old Saxon, or perhaps originally Druidical, superstitious observances, which had amused the rural hearths of England during the days of the Heptarchy, were still in a great part retained, especially those relating to courtship and marriage; and each season of the year seems to have had its appropriate spell. Thus, a young damsel who was anxious to know something of the husband whom fate had destined for her, was directed to run until she was out of breath as soon as she heard the first notes of the cuckoo, after which, on pulling off her shoe, she would find in it a hair of the same colour as that of her future mate. If she wished to see his full appearance, she was to sow hempseed on Midsummer-eve, and command her lover, in a rhyming couplet, to follow, and mow; and, behold, on looking over her shoulder she would see him at her heel, scythe in hand! On Valentine's morning, the first batchelor whom a girl accidentally met was supposed to be her destined husband. On May-day, a girl had only to bring home a snail, and lay it upon the ashes of the hearth; and, in crawling about, the reptile would mark the initial letter of her true-love's name. Another way was, for her to pare a pippin, and throw the rind over her head; the skin, on falling, would exhibit the same letter. If she had more than one lover, and hesitated in her choice, she judged of their comparative merits by taking two hazel-nuts, to each of which she attached the name of a candidate, and threw them into the fire; the nut that blazed brightest and longest intimated the lover who would prove the most constant. Another equally good experiment for the same purpose was, to take from a pippin two kernels, and stick them on her cheeks, with the name of a lover for each; the kernel that stuck longest showed, of course, the person she ought to prefer. If she wished to communicate with an absent lover she took up the insect called a lady-bird, and thus addressed it:—

> Fly, lady-bird, fly, north, south, east, or west;
> Fly where the man is that I love the best:

and the little messenger would fly to him accordingly. If a lover showed symptoms of inconstancy, a girl had only to purloin his garter, and bind it with her own in a true-love knot, by which his heart was noosed beyond the power of escaping.* But the belief in the efficacy of these antique rites was before the end of the present period fast departing from its last shelter in hut and cottage; and such spells were now chiefly tolerated only from the power of habit, and for the purposes of amusement. The sunshine that had already enlightened the mountain-tops was now entering the humble valleys, and penetrating the dark recesses; dubious objects were daily becoming more palpable, and shadows ceasing to dismay or deceive.

In Scotland, during this and the preceding period, first a struggling and persecuted, and then a triumphant and dominant presbyterianism had moulded the national manners and habits of feeling to a severity probably much beyond what would have been the natural result in other circumstances either of that form of religion, or of the inherent character of the people. A stern and gloomy asceticism was strangely mixed in the prevalent religious temper with a superstition as weak and abject, though not as imaginative, as ever enthralled the most credulous devotees of Romanism. Thus in common doubts or dilemmas, pious clergymen, instead of taking counsel with flesh and blood, were accustomed to open the Bible, and pounce upon a text at random, "to see what the Lord would say unto them." If they were on a journey, and at a loss what road to take, they laid the bridle on the horse's neck, and prayed for divine guidance, after which the animal was allowed to choose its own path. If the way was the right one, this was a merciful answer to prayer; but if the rider was carried astray, there was some gracious purpose to be served by the

* Vanbrugh's Journey to London. † Spectator.

* Gay's Pastorals: The Spell.

aberration.* Under the ministrations and authority of such instructors all gaiety was banished from the land. Innocent festive recreations were scowled at under the designations of "chambering and wantonness;" and even those stirring games and athletic exercises which best suited the martial temper of the people began to be regarded as sinful, and that not the less for having been enforced in the hated episcopal Book of Sports. But, of all amusements, card-playing was reckoned the chief of abominations; those who were accustomed to the spiritual gambling of dipping between the leaves of a Bible accounted all games of chance connected with cards as processes of diabolical consultation, or even as practices of sheer atheism. The following *naïve* account will convey an idea not only of the feelings entertained upon this head, but of the habits of a well-ordered presbyterian family of rank during the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century. "The house of Rapploch being much frequented by strangers and the family itself numerous, it cannot be imagined but servants took occasion to spend much of their time idly, if not profanely. There was nothing wherein they exercised themselves more than in dicing and carding. One evening while they were gaming (their master's grandchild James looking on, being then in the fifth year of his age), they first contended, and then quarrelled with much noise; which, coming to their master's ears, residing in the garden chamber directly opposite to the kitchen lights, who, hearing this great noise, he makes down the stairs to understand the cause, but not so quietly but the patting of his staff upon the steps of the stair discovered his coming; which made all of them betake themselves to their heels, to seek for a place of shelter, knowing well that if they were catched they should be soundly battoned. . . . . Being come to the kitchen, he finds none there but his grandchild James, and the cards upon the table, which he takes up, and throws in the fire; when they were burning, the child cries out, 'Dear grandfather, the bonnie king o' hearts is now burnt!' Whereupon his grandfather with his staff strikes him twice upon the head, saying, 'False knave, know ye the cards already? Soon get out of my sight, otherwise ye shall be soundly whipt!' . . . . This correction even then took so deep impression, that during his (the boy's) whole life he hated the playing at cards, neither did he ever but unwillingly exercise himself therein."†

When in the storm of persecution under Lauderdale and York the presbyterian clergymen, driven from their churches, were compelled to flee with their flocks to the caves and dens of the mountains, and to preach and fight by turns, a still darker and wilder character was impressed upon the national mind. Many of the hunted fugitives, in addition to the encounter of earthly enemies, were forced to grapple with Satan himself, who, as they believed, delighted to cross their path, or haunt their solitudes, in a corporeal form. Others of these stern confessors became seers and woe-denouncing prophets, whose visions were nothing but what their circumstances and the times inspired—the downfall of unrighteous rulers, and the destruction of persecutors, amidst tracks of desolation and rivers of blood. The same turn for the marvellous and supernatural made them invest their enemies with unearthly terrors; so that such unrelenting shedders of the blood of the saints as Dalziel and Claverhouse were supposed to have sold themselves to the prince of darkness, and it was asserted that the fiend had made their bodies proof to lead or steel, for the more effectual destruction of the children of the covenant. It was scarcely therefore to be wondered at, if acts of merciless cruelty were often thought justifiable against enemies who were thus supposed to have removed themselves beyond the pale of humanity: the only wonder is, that such acts were so few. Nor was the intolerance of the Covenanters unnatural. Having renounced all, and being ready to endure all for the sake of their faith, every man was consequently extremely jealous of its purity, and could not endure with patience the slightest deviation from what he regarded as the one rigid line of truth and salvation. It happened accordingly that the flocks of different teachers, when they found themselves driven together to the mountains as recusants, eyed each other with distrust, and even amidst their common sufferings found opportunities to debate and disagree upon the split hairs of their respective opinions; so that, even when the royal artillery was thundering upon their shaken ranks at Bothwell Bridge, they were more intent about their polemic debates among themselves than about the destructive onslaught of the enemy. Yet, extravagant and bigotted as these men were, they still, it is ever to be remembered, possessed that indomitable energy which vindicated the liberties of their country in the darkest hour of oppression, and when Scotland had no other patriots.

On the re-establishment of presbyterianism at the Revolution, the church courts were restored to all their former power, and their censures and penances to all their former severity. To this new system the great majority of the nation gave a willing obedience, as that for which they and their fathers had contended at the sacrifice of all things; and the national character and manners were now irrevocably modelled upon the spirit of presbyterianism. In the days of peace and prosperity that followed during the reign of William, and after the accession of the House of Brunswick, the old Covenanters and their children looked back with complacency upon their past struggles and sufferings. Almost every family was hallowed by the martyrdom of some one of its members; and it was a proud boast for any one to be able to tell that his father or his ancestor had been hanged at the Grassmarket, for the sake of the good cause. Then the stalwart iron-handed champions of the

* Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Robert Blair. Edin. 1754.
† Memorie of the Somervilles. Edin., 1815. Vol. ii. pp. 139-40.

covenant—the Patons, Hackstons, Balfours, and Clelands—who had fought in the field, and perished on the scaffold, were exalted into national heroes as well as martyrs; and while their exploits in passing from mouth to mouth were gradually magnified into the impossibilities of romance, these men at last divided the popular enthusiasm with the Wallaces, the Bruces, and the Douglasses of former ages. Then, too, the pale-eyed, woe-worn prophets of the cause, the Pedens and Cargills, who had cheered the hearts of their followers in the gloomiest hour with predictions of deliverance and retribution, were fondly remembered, and their prophetic powers as devoutly credited as those of the apostles themselves. With such feelings, and such themes, the devout peasantry of Scotland around their rural hearths experienced the high enjoyment of those who listen by the shelter of a fire-side to the storm from which they have escaped. The literature also of these simple people was in harmony with their favourite subjects of conversation. In the kitchen of every hut there was a *bole* (niche) in the wall which, like a shrine, contained the most sacred treasures of the family in the form of a small collection of books and pamphlets. These consisted of such books as Boston's Marrow of Divinity, the Cloud of Witnesses, Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland, Howie of Lochgoin's Scotch Worthies, a few volumes of sermons, by Cameron, Renwick, and other apostles of the covenant, preached extemporaneously among the moors and mosses, and taken down in short hand by some zealous follower, and various short tracts of covenanting history and biography written by Peter Walker, the travelling packman, and his devout contemporaries; and, above all, there was the "big ha' Bible," a massive quarto carefully covered with a hairy, undressed calf's-skin, or one of more portable dimensions, the oaken boards and brass mountings of which were dinted perhaps with bullets that had flown at Air-moss or Drumclog, and with which the business of every successive day was solemnly wound up by the *gudeman*, who was the priest, as well as the father of the family.

But while such manners prevailed among the rural population, whose obedience was a willing service, or where the kirk was strong enough to quell the refractory, the case was very different with a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the larger towns, and especially of the capital. The great external distinction between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians had all along been the opposite modes of observing the Sabbath followed by the two parties. On the restoration of the old authority of presbyterianism, measures were taken, in conformity with the principles of that discipline, to make the Sabbath universally a day of devotion, and meditation, and silence. No voice of levity was to wound, or look of gaiety to profane it; nothing was to be audible but the swing of the church-bells, or seen but the crowds that moved in slow and hushed procession to and from the churches: and during the intervals of public worship the work was to be varied by nothing but domestic devotion. A distinct idea of what was accounted sinful on that day may be obtained from the registers of the presbytery of Edinburgh for 1719 and 1721, in which the following enormities are enumerated: standing in companies upon the street—holding idle discourses there—withdrawing from the city—taking recreation before or after church, by walking through fields, parks, meadows, and such places—giving and receiving visits—gazing out at windows and beholding vanities abroad—entering into taverns, ale-houses, milk-houses, gardens, and other places. "Yea," adds the manifesto, "some have arrived at that height of impiety as not to be ashamed of washing in waters and swimming in rivers upon the holy Sabbath." All who were guilty of such delinquencies were solemnly summoned to repent, while those who persevered in their iniquity were threatened with the utmost severity of ecclesiastical censure. There were in most of the large towns ecclesiastical officers called Seizers, whose duty it was to glide about the streets and lanes during divine service, and to apprehend all loiterers and evil-doers, and bring them before the spiritual tribunal.

It was a natural consequence of this excessive rigour of discipline which the Scottish church attempted to enforce, that the part of the population which set its authority at defiance, and was indifferent to character, was unusually turbulent and reckless. The desperadoes of the Scottish capital out-heroded the roysters of London in every kind of excess. There was a Scottish Hell Fire Club which, in daring impieties and indecencies, appears to have even gone beyond the English association of the same name. There were also associations in Edinburgh similar to those of the Mohocks and Nickers of London. One of these was called the Sweating Club, from the practice of chasing people through the streets at midnight, and almost sweating them to death. But street misrule and mischief were not by any means confined to these infamous associations; persons from whose grave occupations different things might have been expected were as turbulent as the Sweaters themselves, especially after a hearty carouse—an event of almost as regular occurrence as the every-day dinner. It had become the custom in Edinburgh for half the business of life to be carried on in taverns and public houses: there the rich, deserting their own mansions, entertained their guests with greater freedom and licence; there the lawyers met with their clients, the merchants and tradesmen with their customers, and all bargains were discussed and settled over plentiful libations of strong liquors. Then it was that judges and advocates might be seen reeling homeward through the streets at midnight, laughing to scorn the laws which they administered by day, roaring bacchanalian catches, and hailing every ragamuffin they met. Lawyers' clerks, in imita-

tion of their betters, scoured the streets under the same drunken inspiration, driving the peaceable and the sober before them like a flock of sheep. From time immemorial the Edinburgh houses had had a pin at the door instead of a knocker: this was a notched or twisted bar of iron standing perpendicularly from the door, and bearing a small ring of the same metal, which was drawn along the bar when a person sought admittance, an operation familiarly called "tirling at the pin." When the knocker superseded this primitive accommodation the innovation somehow displeased these nocturnal swaggerers, and they were not scrupulous in testifying their resentment. Sometimes a whole street of houses had all its knockers wrenched off in a single night.* But the great object of hatred on the part of these Edinburgh brawlers was the town-guard. This body, which was originally established by the Regent Murray, consisted of two or three hundred men, armed and disciplined for the conservation of the public peace. And truly their office was no sinecure; for, if a company were reeling home at night, if a discontented mob assembled, if even a king's birth-day or civic festival was to be celebrated, the unfortunate guard seemed to have been drawn up as a fair mark for every missile; so that mud, stones, dead cats (and sometimes live ones), bruised the bodies, and defiled the uniforms of this obnoxious soldiery. But the members of the corps were Highland veterans, men of a race not famed for meekness or patience; and as they wielded formidable Lochaber axes, which they let fall with little ceremony, an Edinburgh row was by no means so safe as a London one. The guard-house, in fact, was often filled, in the course of the night, with broken-headed captives. The poet Fergusson, whose wild kind of life often brought him into a most undesirable contact with these champions of the peace, has celebrated them in many a rhyming malediction. Every Edinburgh shopkeeper, too, was required to keep by him a Jeddart staff or spear, with which to sally out, and aid the public authorities in any sudden commotion. Such, however, was the fierceness and determination of an Edinburgh mob in cases of great political excitement, that these powerful obstacles were swept away in an instant. It will be remembered how resistlessly they carried everything before them in the Porteous affair.

A considerable proportion even of the burghers and middle classes in Edinburgh appear to have been nearly as indifferent to the censures of the church as either their inferiors or superiors. We may gather from the poems of Ramsay and Fergusson, that hard drinking was general among them, and that they spent nearly as much of their time in the tavern as at their own firesides. There they besotted themselves with strong ale and whiskey, and played at high-jinks, where the forfeits commonly consisted in swallowing certain measures of liquor. One of their favourite possets, in a cold evening, was a toasted pease-scone (a cake of the flour of pease) in a cup of ale to take the chill off. Such excesses, which might have been fatal without active exercise, were relieved by the athletic games of bowling, curling, golf, and penny-stane; and by morning walks on the Castle-hill, which was then the favourite promenade of the citizens. On holidays, also, and especially on the Sunday evenings, they were wont, in spite of clerical prohibitions, to stroll to Newhaven or Musselburgh, to sup on fish, fresh oysters, and mussel-brose. If they returned to town later than ten o'clock they would find the gates shut; but, in this case, a trifling bribe would induce the porter to open the wicket.* In transacting business, the shopkeepers sat in the entrance of their little dark shops, or upon the stair-head, with their wares upon the pavement before them, which they loudly recommended to all who passed by. But, as their traffic did not require very close attention, they frequently adjourned from their shops to some place of social resort, locking their doors, and putting up a label telling their customers at what hour they would return. After mid-day they generally assembled at the Cross, and there discussed the price of goods or the politics of the day.† At eight o'clock in the evening the hour loudly struck from the steeple of St. Giles's was the signal to close business, upon which every shop and booth was shut up, and the owners repaired to their homes, or more probably to their favourite clubs and taverns.‡

In the early part of the eighteenth century many of the ladies of the highest rank in Scotland could not write, and some of them could not even read. Some brilliant specimens, indeed, of female talents and accomplishments graced the northern capital; but these were rare exceptions to the general rule. A certain bluntness, and even licentiousness, of conversation prevailed among women of rank; and the youngest and fairest of them in social parties could sing with wonderful complacency such equivocal or rather unequivocal songs as are now only to be found in the cabinets of virtuosos and relic-hunters. Lady Stair, who was the leader of ton in Edinburgh about the middle of the eighteenth century, was so free of speech, that, having quarrelled with the Earl of Dundonald, she defied him to his teeth, and called him thrice, "a d——d villain." Anne, the eldest daughter of Lord Royston, a lady of wit, beauty, and accomplishments, used to disguise herself in male attire, and scour the streets at midnight in quest of adventures, like a regular Mohock. In one of these sallies she fell into the hands of the town-guard, and was confined for a whole night in the guard-house. When ladies walked in the streets their favourite attire was a large plaid, which was gracefully disposed over the head like a Spanish mantilla, so that it formed a more complete disguise than even a mask.§ On this account it served to cover, or rather conceal a multitude of sins, in the shape of assigna-

* Chambers's Tradition of Edinburgh.

† Allan Ramsay.

‡ Fergusson.

§ Ramsay's Tartana, or the Plaip.

tions and intrigues, a circumstance which brought upon it the ban both of town-council and kirk-session. Ladies also were frequenters of taverns, as well as gentlemen; and it would appear that, on these occasions, they did not generally stint themselves in drinking to the measure of feminine propriety. But of all the excesses of these aristocratic rantipoles, their oyster suppers were the most startling. Edinburgh at this time abounded with little dark cellars, which were used as vulgar hostelries, and in these subterranean dens fashionable parties of both sexes assembled for the purposes of feasting and revelry. The supper on these occasions was generally oysters and porter; the conversation that enlivened it was as low as the place of festival; and when the coarse banquet was over, dancing, brandy, and rum-punch kept the whole party in a state of uproarious excitement till morning light began to dawn. Sometimes, too, by way of heightening the revel, town courtesans were actually invited to take a share in the dancing and merriment.*

Edinburgh at this period, and even until she had "flung her white arms to the sea," enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the filthiest city in Europe. While war was rife between England and Scotland, the citizens, in building their houses, were anxious to keep as near the protection of the Castle as possible; and, therefore, instead of increasing the limits of the city, they piled story upon story, after the model of the Parisians, until a house sometimes rivalled the steeples in height, while it sheltered some twenty or thirty families within its walls. This was especially the case in the High-street, where some of these fourteen-story dwellings remained till within these few years. The streets being very narrow, while the houses were so lofty, were consequently gloomy and ill-ventilated; and, as those who dwelt in the airy regions begrudged the toil of a descent to the street when it could be avoided, the whole garbage of many families was ejected from the windows with little ceremony. This vile process, indeed, was confined to an early period of the morning; but woe to the stranger who ventured to go forth, in the hope of inhaling the morning breeze! A whole volley of miscellaneous abominations lighted upon his head before the tardy warning of "*Gare de l'eau*" could travel to his ears. Another source of the dirtiness of Edinburgh was, the circumstance of so many outside stairs projecting from the houses, under which the inhabitants kept swine, that were allowed to wander about in the streets, and play the part of scavengers. These animals naturally became the pets and playfellows of the young people, and thus a litter of pigs and children might often be seen rolling lovingly together in the mud.† As the desire of protection impelled the common people Castle-ward, the situation of Holyrood Palace at its lower extremity made the Canongate a street of noblemen's houses, before the accession of James VI. to the crown of England. Even after that event, indeed, although several of the Scottish nobility repaired to the English court, yet the majority, who were both proud and poor, found themselves unable to sustain the expenses of a London life, and very prudently abode by their Edinburgh domiciles. This state of things continued till the Union, when the removal of the parliament certainly gave a blow to the prosperity of Edinburgh, which for a time was severely felt. The insurrections in 1715 and 1745 succeeded, by which the town was still further thrown back; but after the final overthrow of the Stuart cause, Edinburgh, as if it had been delivered from its evil genius, suddenly commenced a career of prosperity nearly unexampled in the progress of modern capitals.*

In their domestic economy the Scottish population had, up to the end of the present period, made a slower advance than might have been expected, especially after the union of the country with England. The time had not yet arrived when they were to contend with their ancient rivals in the arts of civilization, as they had formerly contended with them in arms, and for a long time after the Union they rather sought, by an opposition of manners and ways of living, to distinguish themselves from a nation which they hated. Thus, the Scottish peasant who should have been so fastidious as to remove the huge festering dunghill from before his door, whitewash his cottage walls, ornament his porch with flowers or woodbine, or even improve the rude and scanty comforts of his *butt* and *ben*, would have been derided by the whole village as a dainty, precise Scotchman, who had grown ashamed of his fathers and his country —a blundering imitator of the new-fangled crotchets of the false-hearted and luxurious Southrons. This feeling also was in some degree shared by those of the nobility who still remained in Scotland, and neither their finances nor their feelings of domestic comfort could persuade them to exchange their dismal country-seats for elegant and stately mansions. These homely dwellings, however, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, had been generally furnished with bowling-greens, butts for archery, tennis-courts, and billiard-tables.† Even the royal palaces, such as Holyrood and Falkland, were only covered with thatch till about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Duke of Queensberry attempted a bold innovation when he built the splendid palace of Drumlanrig; but, when the work was done, he appears to have valued himself little upon the experiment. On the first day of his residence there he was attacked by a sudden illness in his

* Ramsay.—Fergusson.—Chambers.

† Chambers, Traditions, &c.—In such a state of things frequent visits of the plague might have been expected; and yet such a calamity had been unknown in Edinburgh since A.D. 1645. *Arnott's History of Edinburgh*, p. 259.—Fletcher of Saltoun, in his Discourses upon the Affairs of Scotland, attributes the dirtiness of the city to its situation, when, in fact, the evil should rather have been charged upon the vile habits of the people.

* Arnott.—Chambers.

† Memorie of the Somervilles, vol. ii. p. 141.

bed at midnight; but, being unable to sound a sufficient alarm through so huge an edifice, his servants could not hear him, so that he almost expired in the midst of his splendid solitude. On this account he never again attempted to sojourn in his new house. He was so scandalised also at the building expenses, that he endorsed the bundle of accounts with this malediction—"The deil pike out his een that looks herein!"* But, notwithstanding the inferiority of their dwellings, there was still no lack of large retinues among the Scottish nobles, as the feudal feelings of the people were still strong, and men preferred following the heels of a laird to more independent but more laborious processes of industry. Sometimes, too, these trains exhibited all the pomp of the middle ages, especially at a riding of parliament before the Union: so late as 1700, the Duke of Queensberry, the king's commissioner, entered Edinburgh with forty coaches and twelve hundred horse.†

From the cheapness of education, both at school and college, a Scottish gentleman was able, at a small expense, to send all his sons to the university; but, as the eldest only inherited the patrimonial estate, the rest commonly went abroad, and prospered so well that the good luck of Scotsmen in foreign countries had already become proverbial. Thus, even so early as the period of the Thirty Years' war in Germany, Gustavus Adolphus had four lieutenant-generals, twenty colonels, and inferior officers without number, in his army, who were all natives of Scotland.‡ Towards the end of that period, when Scotland was beginning to be smitten with a new commercial ambition, it became a practice in some parts of the country, and especially in Fifeshire and Perthshire, for the younger sons of noble families to be instructed in some mechanical art, for the encouragement of trade and manufactures.§ This was a change which would not have been objected to even by the aristocratic spirit of Fletcher of Saltoun, who complained that the younger sons of ancient Scottish families devoted themselves too exclusively to the career of a soldier of fortune. In the article of diet the Scots were pretty nearly assimilated to their neighbours of England, with the exception of their retention of certain dishes which had been national from an early period. The chief of these were a singed or scorched sheep's head boiled, a haggis, oatmeal porridge, cakes of the same material, and kail-brose. Tea had been imported into Scotland in 1681, and in 1750 it was in common use among the middle classes of Edinburgh.

At all times a large portion of the Scottish population had consisted of mendicants and other lawless characters. About the date of the Union, according to Fletcher, there were 200,000 persons in Scotland who begged their bread from door to door, while there had never at any time been less than 100,000. He tells us, also, that they generally went in bands; that whatever they were unable to obtain by entreaty they took by force and violence; and that they lived among themselves in a state of lawless and unnatural intercourse. Many of these pariahs, however, were not Scots, but gypsies. The genuine Scottish gaberlunzie and bluegownsman of the eighteenth century was a person of a very different stamp, being at once the newsmonger, love-broker, and letter-carrier of his little district, and sometimes also its chief wit and politician. He was thus a useful personage in his day and generation; and, instead of being humbled under his office, he rather regarded himself as a benefactor of society who had a good right to be fed. While the progress of civilization, therefore, crushed and exterminated the gypsy race, as it does in the case of other savages, it passed lightly over the privileged beggar of the village, so that many an Edie Ochiltree is still to be met with in the rural districts of the North.

The Highland population of Scotland acted so important a part on more than one occasion in this period that they call for particular notice. Although they constituted a part of the British empire, yet, till the year 1745, they were as complete strangers to the English as the inhabitants of Timbuctoo. Even of the inland Lowlanders few knew anything about them; the only specimen they saw of this secluded race being occasionally a Highland drover armed to the teeth, and stalking with an air of majesty after his drove of black cattle. Those who lived more immediately in the neighbourhood of the Highlands knew them only as troublesome neighbours, who either made forays upon their lands or subjected them to the tribute of black-mail.

The government of this singular people was as exotic as their appearance, language, and dress, being neither feudal nor monarchical, but patriarchal, after the fashion of the earliest tribes of mankind. Indeed, the closest resemblance to the Gaël of Scotland in this point is to be found among the mountaineers of India, and especially among the Affghans. At the head of every clan was the chief, or *Cear Cinne*, who was regarded as the descendant and representative of the father of the tribe. He was the steward of the soil, and the magistrate, judge, and general of the people. Next in the order of rank were the tacksmen,—men related to the chief, and who obtained portions of the land from him upon lease or mortgage. And last and lowest of all were the families and dependents of the tacksmen, by whom the land was stocked and cultivated. In large clans the tacksmen frequently became chieftains (that is, subordinate chiefs over their own sept); but, where they were not so fortunate, they were at least *duinhé-wassails*, that is, gentlemen, and as such entitled to wear the eagle's feather in their bonnet. Sometimes it unluckily happened that the duinhé-wassail, notwithstanding his rank and noble pedigree as the sixteenth cousin

* Chambers.
† Arnott's Edinburgh, p. 195.
‡ Macky's Journey through Scotland.
§ Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh.

of a chief, was obliged to follow the occupation of a drover or even a carrier, which brought him daily into contact with the Lowlanders, who laughed his high pretensions to scorn. In such cases the claymore was promptly unsheathed; but the sturdy Lowland peasant, plunging his bonnet into water and wrapping it round the head of his cudgel, buckled fearlessly with his adversary, and then

> "With many a hard thwack, many a bang,
> Stout crab-tree and old iron rang."

From the minute subdivision of land, and from each clan being confined within its own territorial limits, the Highland population was continually increasing beyond the means of subsistence; and whole throngs, therefore, were at length obliged to emigrate to Edinburgh, where they found occupation as chairmen, caddies (errand-men), porters, and in other humble offices. On the other hand, the duinhé-wassails frequently became robbers; a noble occupation in their eyes, as it was conducted upon a grand scale at the head of some score or two of "pretty men," and against their supplanters the Saxons of the plains, from whom they only wrested, as they said, what had been originally their own. With this view of the matter the catteran was in their estimation a patriot and a hero, even though his career should be terminated by the "kind gallows of Crief." On account of this superabundance of population, also, war was profitable for all parties; and a Highland chief, who regarded such a state of things as his proper season of harvest, was wont to value himself, not upon the amount of his rental, but upon the number of broadswords he could bring into the field. Thus MacDonald of Keppoch, having regaled some English strangers one day with a plentiful banquet, at which there was abundance of good wine, was asked by one of the guests, who had more curiosity than politeness, what might be the amount of his income: "I can raise five hundred men," was the chief's laconic reply.*

The mode of living of a Highland chief was a curious mixture of patriarchal pomp and simplicity. His castle (if he had a castle) was generally a rude square tower, but more usually his abode was only a plain stone house, which an English yeoman would scarcely have coveted. Here dwelt the mountain satrap, surrounded by a crowd of officers, who regarded him with almost Eastern adoration—his pipers and bards, his speech-makers and henchmen, and all the various functionaries that composed the joints of his unwieldy tail. Even old Lord Lovat, one of the very greatest of the Highland chiefs, lived in a house that would have been thought a poor one for a common English gentleman, but in the style of a sovereign in the midst of his court; for he kept several public tables, while a large retinue was constantly in attendance. All this could not be done, however, without much crowding, and economising of space; and therefore his own room served for dining-room, parlour, audience-hall, and dormitory; his lady's sitting-room was also her bed-chamber; and the only accommodation for lodging the throng of servants and retainers was a quantity of straw spread every night on the floors of the lower apartments, upon which they all slept. One luxury of this old nobleman reminds us of the ancient Persian kings. There was a particular spring of which it was his pleasure to drink, and a servant therefore was sent to it every day for water, although the distance was eight miles. Sometimes the patriarchal fashions of the Highlands set every principle of propriety at defiance: Lord Lovat, when he found in his old days that he lacked animal warmth, supplied the defect by lying in bed between two buxom damsels.*

No towns properly so called were to be found in the Highlands. The houses, which were generally scattered in a glen or strath, were built of sod or turf, sometimes of clay, and occasionally of stone without lime. The food of the common Highlanders was not only very simple, but generally scanty: we have already mentioned their practice of bleeding their black cattle at the beginning of summer, and boiling the blood in kettles with a great quantity of salt, to be laid up for food. With the exception of the target, which was used only in battle, a Highlander was at all times completely armed: he even went to church in armour, so that his weapons became as familiar to him as his own limbs; and such was the iron hardihood and power of endurance which his mode of life imparted, that, having been a soldier from his boyhood, he was scarcely at all subject to any of those military ailments that in a campaign destroy more lives than the sword.† In illustration of the high ideas of honour that were cherished by this primitive race, it is sufficient to allude to the fidelity with which they protected the young Chevalier when a price of 30,000*l.* was set upon his head; and the poor Highlander who sheltered and guarded him in defiance of such a bribe, and who was afterwards hanged for cattle-stealing, was only a specimen of the general character of his nation. The two great master-feelings of the Highlanders were, love of revenge, and devotedness to their chiefs. In the retaliation of injuries the Highlander was an avenger of blood, whom neither the Goel of the Hebrews nor the Tair of the Arabs could have surpassed; and thus every glen and mountain was the dwelling-place of deadly feuds handed down like heir-looms from father to son to the latest posterity. Their love and veneration for their chief was equally intense. He was the impersonation of his clan, the heart from which all its life-blood circulated, and to which it as faithfully returned; and the common exclamation of a Highlander, under any sudden surprise, when others give vent to a devout or profane ejaculation, was, "May God be

* Home's History of the Rebellion in 1745.—Article by Sir W. Scott, on the Culloden Papers, in the Quarterly Review, vol. xiv.

* Chambers's Edinburgh.
† Home's Rebellion of 1745.

with the chief;" or "May the chief be uppermost."*

It is in these peculiar habits and dispositions of the Highlanders that we are to discover the causes of all that was wonderful and romantic in their campaign of 1745. Charles Stuart arrived among them in the character of a chief forsaken by his people, and their sympathies were kindled by what appeared to them the highest of all calamities. The Highland leaders commanded their vassals to arm, and they armed accordingly. Few of these chiefs indeed had ever seen a battle; but then they were high-spirited and brave, and wherever they charged they were sure that their people would follow. In this way a host of men that could scarcely be called an army, unprovided with military stores, and scarcely half-armed, were enabled to traverse one hostile kingdom and part of another in despite of all opposition, and to rout with ease the numerous legions of veteran troops, and skilful leaders that were successively sent to overwhelm them.

* Home.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE circumstances of the different classes of the people of England about the date of the Revolution have been attempted to be determined with curious precision by a political arithmetician of that day, Gregory King, the author of a little work entitled "Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England," drawn up in the year 1696.* Without placing absolute reliance upon King's calculations, we may accept his conclusions, which appear to be deduced on the whole both with care and sagacity, as probably in most points coming nearer to the truth than any we should be able to form from other sources of information.

From the returns of the collectors of the chimney-money or hearth-tax for 1690 (the last year it subsisted), King infers that the number of inhabited houses in England was at the time when he wrote about 1,300,000; of which he assigns 105,000 to London and the parishes comprehended within the bills of mortality, 195,000 to the other cities and market-towns throughout the kingdom, and the remaining 1,000,000 to the villages and hamlets. Allowing $5\frac{1}{2}$ souls for each house in London within the walls, $4\frac{1}{2}$ for each in the rest of the bills of mortality and in other great towns, and 4 for each in the hamlets and villages, he concludes that, making allowance for omissions of all kinds, the entire population of England must at that time have amounted to above five millions and a half. It is probable, however, as we have had occasion to notice in a former Book, that this estimate of the number of persons in each house is considerably too low. If we take the number of the inhabitants of each house, on the average of the whole kingdom, at $5\frac{2}{3}$, which appears to be nearest the truth,† we shall obtain from the 1,300,000 houses, and the additions King makes for omissions and vagrants, a population of above 7,200,000. We may safely assume that the entire number of people in England at the Revolution was not under seven millions, or fully a fourth more than the amount at which King fixes it.

But the most curious of King's calculations is his scheme of the ranks, occupations, and incomes of all the families in the kingdom, drawn out for the year 1688. According to this table the families of the nobility then amounted to 160; of the bishops, to 26; of baronets, to 800; of knights, to 600; of esquires, to 3000; of gentlemen, to 12,000; of persons in offices (meaning, apparently, in the employment of government), 10,000; of merchants and traders by sea, 2000; of merchants and traders by land, 8000; of persons belonging to the profession of the law, 10,000; of clergymen, 10,000; of freeholders, 180,000; of farmers, 150,000; of persons connected with the sciences and liberal arts, 16,000; of naval officers, 5000; of military officers, 4000; of shopkeepers and tradesmen, 40,000; of artisans, 60,000; of common seamen, 50,000; of common soldiers, 35,000; of labouring people and outservants, 364,000; of cottagers and paupers, 400,000. It does not appear from what data these numbers are drawn, and indeed our author could scarcely in this part of his labours have had anything else to guide him except his own sagacity exerted on a very small number of ascertained facts. Even no better furnished, he is doubtless entitled to speak with more authority than any one can do at the present day; yet some of the items in the table seem rather remarkable. The number of persons in public employments, at a time when both the post-office and the excise were so insignificant, appears very large; so does that of persons belonging to the legal profession; the number of clergymen, again, must be rather understated, if those of the Roman Catholic persuasion and of the dissenting bodies are intended to be included; on the other hand, we should scarcely have looked for so large a body of persons in any way connected with the sciences and the liberal arts. This last item, however, probably includes all the members of the medical profession.

Another column of the scheme presents us with the average yearly income of each description of family; and this, although also of course only a conjectural approximation to the truth, is both more likely to be tolerably correct than the guess

* Gregory King's calculations were first partially given to the world by Dr. Davenant in his "Essay upon the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade," published in 1699; and they have been often quoted from Davenant's imperfect account. But King's work has been published in full from his own manuscript, in the British Museum, by the late George Chalmers, at the end of the fourth edition of his "Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain." Lon. 1804.

† See vol. iii. p. 654; and Chalmers's Estimate, p. 57.

at the numbers of the families of each class, and is of fully as much value as an evidence of the economic condition of the country. In almost every case the income assigned is probably less than would be expected. Those of the nobility are set down as averaging 2800*l.*; of the bishops, 1300*l.*; of the baronets, 880*l.*; of the knights, 650*l.*; of the esquires, or untitled landed gentry, 450*l.*; of the gentlemen, 280*l.*; of one half of the public functionaries, 240*l.*; of the other, 120*l.*; of the foreign merchants 400*l.*; of the home merchants, 200*l.*; of the lawyers, 140*l.*; of one-fifth of the clergy, 60*l.*; of the remaining four-fifths, only 45*l.*; of two-ninths of the freeholders, 84*l.*; of the remaining seven-ninths, 50*l.*; of the farmers, 44*l.*; of the men of science and the liberal arts, 60*l.*; of the officers of the navy, 80*l.*; of the officers of the army, 60*l.*; of the shopkeepers and tradesmen, 45*l.*; of the artisans and handicraftsmen, 40*l.*; of the common seamen, 20*l.*; of the common soldiers, 14*l.*; of the labouring people and out-of-door servants, 15*l.*; of the cottagers and paupers, 6*l.* 10*s.* According to this statement, then, the highest grades of the church, the medical profession, and the army brought only an income half as much more than the average annual earning of a common mechanic; and the amount of the latter was within four or five pounds of the income of eight thousand of the clergy and of the general body of the farmers. Legal practitioners fared somewhat better; but even they, one with another, did not earn more than between three and four times the income of a common mechanic. The incomes of individuals of course varied considerably in most of these classes; but still, after every allowance on that account, the state of things seems to have been widely different from that which now exists; the general inequality of incomes must have been much less; and, in particular, the social position of the mere labourer would appear to have approached much nearer than it now does to that of the capitalist, whether the moneyed man, or the man of education and accumulated knowledge, whose capital lies, not in his pocket, but in his head. And this is the more worthy of remark inasmuch as the ordinary profits of money capital were certainly not less, but greater, then than they are now, although the positive amount of such capital profitably invested was infinitely less than it now is.

Another of the chapters or sections in King's work contains an estimate of the yearly consumption of flesh in England at this time. This he makes to consist — 1. of 800,000 beeves and calves, weighing on an average 260 pounds each, and of the market value of 1½*d.* per pound; 2. of 3,200,000 sheep and lambs, each of the weight of 32 pounds, at 2¼*d.* per pound; 3. of 1,300,000 swine and pigs, each weighing 46 pounds, at 3*d.* per pound; 4. of 20,000 deer and fawns, each of 70 pounds weight, at 6*d.* per pound; 5. of 10,000 goats and kids, each weighing 36 pounds, at 2½*d.* per pound; 6. of 12,000 hares and leverets, each of 2½ pounds, at 7*d.* per pound; 7. of 2,000,000 of rabbits and conies, weighing each ¾ and ¼ a pound, at 6*d.* per pound; 8. of tame fowls, such as geese, turkeys, hens, ducks, pigeons, swans, and peacocks, to the value of 600,000*l.*, at 6*d.* per pound; 9. of wild fowl, to the value of 20,000*l.*, at a shilling a pound. If but little reliance can be placed upon the quantities here supposed to be consumed of each of these various kinds of animal food, the statement may at least be received as evidence of the average weight of the carcases, and of the current price of the several descriptions of butcher's meat and poultry. It will be found, however, that the estimate makes the entire annual consumption of flesh and fowl to have amounted in weight to 398,090,000 pounds, and in value to 3,922,000*l.* Of the entire population of the kingdom, calculated, as above, at five millions and a half, King assumes that very nearly a half eat flesh constantly: of the remainder he sets down 200,000 as infants under thirteen months old; 40,000 as sick persons; 260,000 as persons who, for whatever reason, do not feed on flesh more than twice a-week; 1,280,000 as persons "who, by reason of their poverty, do not contribute to church or poor, and consequently eat not flesh above two days in seven;" and 1,020,000 as persons receiving alms, and consequently not eating flesh above once a-week. At this time, therefore, it would appear, there were none of the people of England who had not flesh at least once a-week; and not more than about one individual in six who ate it so seldom. According to another table, the quantity of malt brewed in 1688 was 23,000,000 bushels, producing 5,300,000 barrels of strong ale and beer and 7,100,000 of small; and in 1695, after the excise had been raised, the quantity of malt was only 22,000,000 bushels, producing 3,850,000 barrels of strong drink and 7,500,000 of small. Even this reduced quantity would still allow about two barrels of malt-liquor for each individual, if we make the proper deduction for infants and sick persons. At this time a barrel of beer contained 32 gallons, equal to 32½ imperial gallons; so that, if we take the entire beer-drinking population as amounting to six millions, the above quantities would allow for the annual consumption of each individual at the Revolution about 28 gallons of strong and 40 of small beer, and in 1695 about 21 gallons of strong beer and 40 of small. But we believe that in fact the drinking of beer, either strong or small, has at no time been a habit of the population over the whole extent of England—that perhaps it has never been general over more than half, or at most two-thirds, of the kingdom. The actual consumption, therefore, of each individual in the districts where beer was drunk must have been much greater than has been just stated. The amount of the beer-drinking in England, at the end of the seventeenth century, may be best estimated from the fact, that, whereas the quantity of malt then consumed was about twenty-two or twenty-three mil-

lions of bushels, it does not now, with our population more than doubled, exceed thirty millions. There can be no doubt indeed that the consumption of malt-liquor has declined in this country within the last century and a half; one obvious cause of the change, whatever others may have also operated, being the vastly extended substitution of tea and coffee—beverages which were scarcely known to the mass of the people at the date to which King's calculations refer.

The manner in which the population was distributed over the country at this time may be learned from an account which Davenant has published of the number of inhabited houses in each county, according to the hearth-books for the year 1690.* If we compare this account with the last population returns of 1831, we shall discover some remarkable points of diversity between the two. In 1831 the three counties of Middlesex, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, in that order, head the list arranged according to the population, that of each being very nearly the same, namely, between 1,300,000 and 1,400,000 souls. In 1690, if we allow $5\frac{5}{7}$ persons to each house, Yorkshire stood first, with a population of 653,000, and Middlesex second, with 600,000; but the third county was Norfolk, of which the population was 306,000; and the fourth, Devonshire, with 304,000. Suffolk, with 257,000, also preceded Lancashire, which had only 253,000; Kent having 251,000, Somerset 248,000, and Lincoln 243,000. Durham and Northumberland, also, which are reckoned together, had 288,000 between them. Surrey, including Southwark, had 219,000, and Essex very nearly the same number. In 1831, the nine counties that came next in order after the three already mentioned, the population of each of which was not far from three times as great as that of the most considerable in the remainder of the list, were Devonshire with 494,478, Surrey with 486,334, Kent with 479,155, Staffordshire with 410,512, Somersetshire with 404,200, Norfolk with 390,054, Gloucester with 387,019, Warwickshire with 336,610, and Cheshire with 334,391. The population of Lincoln was then 317,465, and that of Essex 317,507: Suffolk, formerly more populous than Lancashire, had now only 296,317 inhabitants, or not 40,000 more than it had nearly a century and a half before. It was then the fifth in order among the English counties; it was now the seventeenth. Indeed, at the time of the immediately preceding census in 1821 Suffolk had not quite recovered the actual population it appears to have had a hundred and thirty years before. Other counties in which the population has made very little progress are Bedford, Berkshire, Buckingham, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Rutland, and Westmoreland. On the other hand, the increase has been very considerable in Cheshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derby, Gloucester, Shropshire, and Wiltshire; and still greater in Cambridge, Kent, Nottingham, Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, Sussex, and Warwickshire.

The pressure of the poor-rates, which, as we have seen, had been felt throughout the seventeenth century, became more severe than ever after the Revolution, and various schemes continued to be proposed by philanthropic or ingenious speculators for checking an evil which it was now perceived would inevitably, if let alone, maintain its progress at an accelerating pace. The consideration of the best method of employing the poor was, as already noticed, one of the subjects to which the Board of Trade, established in 1696, was directed to give its attention;* and, accordingly, the following year a Report on the subject was presented by the commissioners to the lords justices, drawn up by Mr. Locke. "The multiplying of the poor," says this Report, "and the increase of the tax for their maintainance, is so general an observation and complaint that it cannot be doubted of; nor has it been only since the last war that the evil has come upon us; it has been a growing burden on the kingdom these many years; and the two last reigns felt the increase of it as well as the present." The growth of the evil Locke attributes simply to "the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners." Above one half of the persons in receipt of parish relief might, he calculates, maintain themselves if they had employment—so far had the inundation of able-bodied pauperism already forced itself upon the rates. We need not, however, go into any account of the plan proposed by Locke for remedying the evils described in his report, since, although it was some years afterwards embodied in a bill which was introduced into the House of Commons, it was never sanctioned by the legislature or carried into effect. It consisted principally in the enactment of more stringent regulations for compelling the overseers of parishes to find employment for their able-bodied paupers, and in some provisions for enabling them to put out the poor to work with such persons as would hire them. The author seems to have anticipated that in this way all the poor who were able to work might be made to defray the expense of their maintainance—as if it were not simply the deficiency of employment having really in itself the power of supporting the labourer which created the class of able-bodied paupers. No doubt an overseer, or other public officer appointed for that purpose, might do something in removing impediments or obstacles that sometimes separate the work to be done from the hands able and ready to do it,—as when the overstocked labour-market of one parish or district of the country, or even of one portion of the empire, might be relieved, and at the same time another in opposite circumstances benefited, by the opening of a free communication between the two, and the transference of labourers from the former to the latter. But overseers cannot, any more than other men, *create* employment—cannot perform

* In his Essay upon Ways and Means, published in 1695. See Works, i. 39.

* See ante, p. 698.

the miracle of making that labour productive or profitable which naturally is not so. Above all, this is not to be done by making people hire labourers, or take apprentices, whom they do not actually want; that is merely the most roundabout, wasteful, unfair, delusive, and in all respects most objectionable way of imposing a rate.

In 1698, Richard Dunning, whose plan, published in 1685, for the management of the poor of Devonshire we noticed in the last Book,* printed at Exeter another pamphlet, to which he only prefixed his initials, with the title of "Bread for the Poor." In this tract he states that, in some parishes of Devonshire, the charge of maintaining the poor had already advanced from forty shillings to forty pounds a year within about half a century; and that, on a moderate calculation, the entire rates for the county did not amount to much less than 40,000*l.*, which was about four times their amount fifty or sixty years before.† Yet this writer maintains wages were in his day higher than formerly, work more plentiful, and provisions cheaper. The charge for the poor throughout the whole kingdom he estimates at above 819,000*l.* per annum. "Add to this," he goes on, "what they receive by begging, and what they might get in the time they now spend idly, or worse; which few but will agree is more than the poor-rates: so the same, being but another such sum, and added to the former, makes up 1,638,000*l.* per annum." The first cause which he assigns for the great increase of the rates is the extravagant living of the poor. He affirms "that not only more ale and brandy are sold than formerly in single alehouses and brandy-shops, but the number of such houses and shops is also increased; that the money spent in ale and brandy, in small country shops and alehouses, amounts to a vast and almost incredible sum, did not their payments for excise manifest it; that a very small and inconsiderable part thereof is spent by gentlemen or travellers, or housekeepers that pay rates to the king and poor; that such as are maintained by parish pay seldom drink any other than the strongest alehouse beer, which, at the rate they buy it, costs 50*s.* or 3*l.* a hogshead; that they seldom eat any bread save what is made of the finest wheat flour sold by common bakers." The second cause he assigns is idleness. "Persons," he observes, "once receiving parish pay, presently become idle, alleging that the parish is bound to maintain them, and that, in case they should work, it would only favour a parish, from whom, they say, they shall have no thanks." The allowances made by parishes to their poor Dunning censures as in general much too high, and as, in consequence, having the effect of not only fostering extravagance and idleness in them, but discouraging industry in others. The parish pay he declares to be, in fact, three times as much as a common labourer, having to maintain a wife and three children, can afford to expend upon himself. "As it is not strange," he observes, "to see labourers to have four or five children apiece, which they maintain by their labour, so it is common to see many maintain three children apiece in a decent manner: now, admitting the wife maintains herself and one child,—which is the most a woman can, and what few will do,—what is needful to maintain himself and two children the husband must bear: he must pay house-rent, which, in 20*s.* yearly, is weekly upwards of 4*d.*; he must buy wood, which cannot be less than 3*d.*; his own clothes, in 20*s.* yearly, cost above 4*d.*; his Sunday's diet, 2*d.*; and working tools, weekly, 1*d.*; there remains of his week's wages, to maintain two children, meat and drink, clothes, attendance, washing, &c., scarce above 1*d.* a day for each child, 1*s.* 2*d.*" "So weekly," it is added, "both cost 2*s.* 5*d.*;" by which we understand it to be meant that the above enumerated items, being his charges both for his children and on his own account, imply a weekly expenditure of about 2*s.* 5*d.*—the penny being added to make up the full 20*s.* for rent and 20*s.* for clothes. Then, we are told, "his full wages, in some parts of the country, are weekly 2*s.* 6*d.*; in others 2*s.* 8*d.*; in some places less; and, where more is paid, house-rent and wood are dearer." But this, apparently, must have been his money wages only, —what he received in addition to his diet, which, it will be observed, is charged, in the above account of his expenditure, only for Sunday. This circumstance, strangely enough, appears to have escaped Sir Frederick Eden, who, in his work on the State of the Poor, assumes, from what is here stated by Dunning, that in Devonshire, in the latter end of the seventeenth century, a working man's income was only about 6*l.* 10*s.* a-year, and labours through a long quarto page to reconcile this account with those of other contemporary authorities—with that of Sir Matthew Hale, for instance, who, as formerly noted, computes the necessary expense of a labourer's family of six individuals, in Gloucestershire, about the time of the Restoration, at 26*l.* a-year;* and with that of Gregory King, who, as we have just seen, estimates the ordinary income of a labourer, having a wife and two children to support, at 15*l.*, within a few years of the very time when Dunning's pamphlet was published. If we suppose the cost of the Devonshire labourer's food to be equal to the amount of his wages, Dunning's statement will very nearly agree both with King's and Hale's. In that part of the island, where there were no manufactures, and where living was cheap, it may be supposed that wages would be rather below the average.

It had already, before the end of the seventeenth century, begun to be felt that various inconveniences in the management of the poor were occasioned by

* See vol. iii. p. 912.

† According to Mr. Arthur Moore's estimate, published by Davenant, and referred to in our last Book (vol. iii. p. 908), the annual assessment for the poor in Devonshire in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. was 34,764*l.*

* See vol. iii. p. 905.

the universal assessment of the rates in separate parishes. In a tract published about the last year of that century by a Mr. John Cary, entitled "An Essay towards regulating the trade and employing the Poor of this Kingdom," the author recommends, as a matter of chief importance, "that the poor's rates be made with more equality in cities and great towns, especially in the former, where the greatest number of poor usually residing together in the saburbs and out-parishes are very serviceable, by their labours, to the rich in carrying on their trades; yet, when age, sickness, or a numerous family make them desire relief, their chief dependence must be on people but one step above their own condition, by which means these out-parishes are more burthened in their payments than the in-parishes are, though much richer; and is one reason why they are so ill inhabited, no man caring to come to a certain charge; and this is attended with another ill consequence, the want of better inhabitants making way for those disorders which easily grow among the poor; whereas, if cities and towns were made but one poor's rate, or equally divided into more, these inconveniences would be removed. and the poor maintained by a more equal contribution." An act of parliament passed in 1697, by which the different parishes in the city of Bristol were formed into a union, with a workhouse, and the management of all parochial concerns within the city vested in a single corporation, appears to have been procured mainly by Cary, who in another publication has given an account of the proceedings of the managers in execution of the act. "It was probably," Sir Frederick Eden observes, "in consequence of the prosperous beginnings of the Bristol workhouse, which seem to have been chiefly owing to the active exertions of Mr. Cary and the other promoters of the establishment, that city workhouses came much into vogue during the reigns of King William and Queen Anne. Two years after the passing of the Bristol Act, Exeter, Hereford, Colchester, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Shaftesbury were authorised to erect workhouses for the employment and maintenance of their poor; and these establishments were soon after extended to Lynn, Sudbury, Gloucester, Plymouth, Norwich, and other places." *

Before the end of the reign of Anne the assessment for the maintenance of the poor is supposed to have amounted, for the whole of England, to not less than a million sterling.† In 1704 a bill was brought into parliament, and passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the Lords, for carrying into effect a scheme of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, the object of which was to maintain the poor by establishing a workhouse in every parish, in which they might be employed in various trades and manufactures. In opposition to this project Defoe published one of the cleverest of his pamphlets, his "Giving Alms no Charity," in the form of an address to the House of Commons. We have no concern at present with the views advocated in this tract, either upon the question of setting the parish poor to work at trades followed by the rest of the population, or upon that of the expediency of any system of public relief whatever for able-bodied pauperism, on both of which the negative is strongly and unreservedly maintained. But in the course of the argument some statements are advanced which illustrate the actual condition of the labouring population at this date. Defoe maintains that there was in England, when he wrote, "more labour than hands to perform it, and consequently a want of people, not of employment;" and that no man in any part of the kingdom, of sound limbs and senses, could at that time be poor, that is, in a state of destitution, merely for want of work. In proof of these positions, he observes that "the meanest labours in the nation afford the workman sufficient to support himself and family, which could never be if there was a want of work." "I humbly desire this Honourable House," he goes on, "to consider the difficulty of raising soldiers in this kingdom; the vast charge that the kingdom is at to the officers to procure men; the many little, and not over honest, methods made use of to bring them into the service, and the laws made to compel them. Why are gaols rummaged for malefactors, and the Mint and prisons for debtors? The war is an employment of honour, and suffers some scandal in having men taken from the gallows, and immediately, from villains and housebreakers, made gentlemen soldiers. If men wanted employment, and consequently bread, this would never be; any man would carry a musket rather than starve, and wear the queen's cloth, or anybody's cloth, rather than go naked and live in rags and want. It is plain the nation is full of people; and it is as plain our people have no particular aversion to the war; but they are not poor enough to go abroad. It is poverty makes men soldiers, and drives crowds into the armies; and the difficulty to get Englishmen to list is, because they live in plenty and ease; and he that can earn twenty shillings a-week at an easy, steady employment, must be drunk or mad when he lists for a soldier, to be knocked o' th' head for 3*s*. 6*d*. per week. But if there was no work to be had, if the poor wanted employment, if they had not bread to eat, nor knew not how to earn it, thousands of young lusty fellows would fly to the pike and musket, and choose to die like men in the face of the enemy, rather than lie at home, starve, perish, in poverty and distress." And, we may add, it would be no answer to this reasoning to object that women and persons above the military age had not the resource of going to serve as soldiers. The fact that young and able-bodied men generally refused to serve still proved that there was no scarcity of other employment, and consequently that none needed to be in want who were able and willing to work, of either sex or of whatever age: it proved that the labour-market was not overstocked. Defoe, whose sketches of this kind are all taken from the life, as well as done to the life,

* State of the Poor, i. 257.
† See the authorities for this in Eden's State of the Poor, i. 264.

draws rather a glowing picture of the improvidence of the generality of his poorer fellow-countrymen. "Good husbandry," he says, "is no English virtue: it may have been brought over, and in some places where it has been planted it has thriven well enough; but it is a foreign species; it neither loves nor is beloved by an Englishman. The English get estates, and the Dutch save them; and this observation I have made between foreigners and Englishmen—that where an Englishman earns twenty shillings a-week, and but just lives, as we call it, a Dutchman grows rich, and leaves his children in very good condition. Where an English labouring man with his nine shillings per week lives wretchedly and poor, a Dutchman with that wages will live tolerably well, keep the wolf from the door, and have everything handsome about him. In short, he will be rich with the same gain as makes the Englishman poor; he 'll thrive where the other goes in rags; and he 'll live where the other starves or goes a-begging. We are the most *lazy diligent* nation in the world: there is nothing more frequent than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or perhaps drunk, till it is all gone, and perhaps himself in debt; and, ask him in his cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more. I make no difficulty to promise, on a short summons, to produce above a thousand families in England, within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whose fathers can earn their fifteen to twenty-five shillings a-week, but will not work; who have work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn anything but bare subsistence and spending-money for themselves. I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge among our own labouring poor. I once paid six or seven men together on a Saturday night, the least ten shillings, and some thirty shillings, for work, and have seen them go with it directly to the alehouse, lie there till Monday, spend it every penny, and run in debt to boot, and not give a farthing of it to their families, though all of them had wives and children." And afterwards he observes, "The poverty of England does not lie among the craving beggars, but among poor families, where the children are numerous, and where death or sickness has deprived them of the labour of the father: these are the houses that the sons and daughters of charity, if they would order it well, should seek out and relieve..... As for the craving poor, I am persuaded I do them no wrong when I say, that, if they were incorporated, they would be the richest society in the nation; and the reason why so many pretend to want work is, that, as they can live so well with the pretence of wanting work, they would be mad to leave it and work in earnest. And I affirm, of my own knowledge, that when I wanted a man for labouring work, and offered nine shillings per week to strolling fellows at my door, they have frequently told me to my face that they could get more a-begging; and I once set a lusty fellow in the stocks for making the experiment." The state of things at the beginning of the eighteenth century seems, in fact, very much to have resembled that which continued to prevail down to our own day, and under which the almost uninterrupted progression of the poor-rates certainly did not imply either a constantly increasing scarcity of work, or a constant decline in the economical condition of the labouring classes from any other cause. On the whole, the various accounts that have been quoted leave the impression that, notwithstanding the increased and increasing amount of the assessments for the support of the parish poor, the circumstances of the mass of the people in the reign of Anne were far from uncomfortable, and were decidedly improving rather than falling off. With the progress of trade and manufactures, and of the national industry in general, wages had risen, without provisions having become dearer. The increase of the poor-rates is probably itself to be considered as an indication of this improved condition of the class for whose benefit they were professed and understood to be levied. Whether under a good or under a bad system of management, the allowance to the parish pauper will naturally be influenced by the customary rate of living among the general labouring population: the higher that is, the better will the paupers also fare. And so it should be, if one and the very chief good effect of a public provision for pauperism be, as we believe it is, the keeping up of a sufficiently high standard of living even in the lowest grade of the population; and if our workhouses, or other pauper establishments, are not to be a means of degrading and demoralizing the labouring classes instead of sustaining them.

An important change was made in the general management of the poor in the reign of George I. by the erection of workhouses in a great number of parishes, in virtue of the powers conferred by an act passed in 1723, which also amended the law by providing that no justice of peace should make any order for relief until oath should be made *before* him of some matter which he should judge to be reasonable cause, and until after the party had made application without success to a vestry, or to two of the overseers. Most of the workhouses that were built were projected, and the management of the poor in them contracted for, by a Mr. Matthew Marryott, of Olney, in Buckinghamshire; and the effect, in most cases, for some years, was a very considerable reduction of the rates. "But," says Sir Frederick Eden, writing in 1797, "from comparing the present state of those parishes which erected workhouses in consequence of this act with their condition seventy years ago, it would seem that the expectations entertained by the nation, that great and permanent benefits would be the result of these establishments, have not been realized." From the details which he places before his readers respecting many of the parishes which adopted workhouses about this time, he

thinks it will appear "that the charge of maintaining the poor has advanced very rapidly, notwithstanding the aid of workhouses, and perhaps as rapidly as in those parishes which have continued to relieve the poor by occasional pensions at their own habitations." In the first operation of the workhouse and contract system, however, there can be no doubt that large savings were effected by the economy of purchasing on a great scale, and still more by the reduction of the numbers of the paupers that was brought about partly by the aversion of the poor to the confinement and discipline of the workhouse, partly by the more careful inquiry that was now made as to settlements. From a publication, entitled "An Account of several Workhouses," which appeared in 1725, and was reprinted, with considerable additions, in 1732, we may collect some facts which help to illustrate both the expense of living at this period, and the general condition of the working classes. The workhouse of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields was opened in April, 1726, and for the first year the entire number of persons maintained in the house was 235, of all ages; the expenditure for victuals was 203*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.*; so that each person cost for food, one with another, 1*s.* 5¾*d.* a-week. The items of expenditure were baking, milk, butcher's meat (180*l.*), cheese (81*l.*), bread and flour (321*l.*), oatmeal, peas, beer (161*l.*), shop-goods, herbs, and mackarel. The cost, however, at which the paupers were maintained varied considerably in the different workhouses. Thus, at Westham, in Essex, even after the erection of a workhouse had reduced the rates one-half, each individual of forty or forty-five poor, maintained in the year 1727, cost about 5*l.* for the whole year, or nearly 2*s.* a-week. At Newport Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, again, each inmate of the workhouse cost only about a shilling a-week. About eighteen pence seems to be the average cost. On the whole, Sir Frederick Eden estimates the expense of maintaining a pauper in the first workouses to have been about half what it was when he wrote. "The diet, however," he adds, "provided in the houses on their first establishment seems to have been equally good with what it is at present. In most of the workhouses meat dinners were served three or four times a-week." At Bedford, for instance, the allowance consisted of bread and cheese four times, and broth three times a-week, for breakfast; of boiled beef and suet-pudding three times, cold meat three times, and hasty pudding, or milk-porridge, once, for dinner; and of bread and cheese again, or sometimes broth, for supper. We may be pretty sure that the labourer who maintained himself by his own industry could not afford to feed better, and probably not nearly so well as these paupers. "Their bread," the account adds, "is wheat dressed down, and made into large household loaves by a woman in the house. Their drink is beer, tunned in from the public brewhouse at three-halfpence per gallon. The overseers do sometimes put a cow upon the common for them; and, that nothing may be wasted or lost, they have a pig or two bought in, to live upon their wash, and dregs, and fragments; which, when well grown, is fed and killed for the house. They have also a little garden for herbs, onions, &c." In the original establishment at Bristol, according to the narrative published by Cary, one of the managers, a hundred girls, who were set to work at spinning worsted, were supported at a cost of 1*s.* 4*d* a week for each; their diets being, he says, "made up of such provisions as were very wholesome, afforded good nourishment, and were not costly in price, namely, beef, peas, potatoes, broth, peas-porridge, milk-porridge, bread and cheese, good beer (such as we drink at our own tables), cabbage, carrots, turnips, &c., in which we took the advice of our physician, and bought the best of every sort." The principle, however, upon which this establishment was founded, of attempting to make the paupers work for their maintenance, had in a few years to be abandoned, after the attempt to carry it into effect had involved the concern in a debt of some thousands of pounds.

The amount of the poor-rates, and the numbers of the parish-poor, went on increasing throughout the reign of George II., and various plans were proposed from time to time for checking the evil, none of which, however, received the sanction of the legislature. Sir Frederick Eden has detailed the leading provisions of the several schemes suggested by William Hay, Esq., M.P. for Seaford (the same who wrote the well-known Essay on Deformity), in his "Remarks on the Laws relating to the Poor, with Proposals for their better Relief and Employment," published in 1735, and in a bill which he introduced into the House of Commons the same year; by Mr. Thomas Alcock, in his "Observations on the Defects of the Poor Laws, and on the Causes and Consequences of the great increase and burthen of the Poor," published in 1752; by Sir Richard Lloyd in 1753; by the Earl of Hillsborough the same year; by Henry Fielding, the novelist, in a pamphlet entitled "A Proposal for making an effectual Provision for the Poor," also published in 1753; by Mr. James Massie, in his "Plan for the Establishment of Charity Houses," published in 1758; and by Mr. William Bailey, a member of the Society for promoting Arts and Commerce, in his "Treatise on the better Employment and more comfortable Support of the Poor in Workhouses," published in the same year. Not much information, however, as to the actual circumstances of the poor and the labouring classes, is to be gathered from these well-intended speculations. Mr. Alcock mentions, on the authority of accounts given in to parliament, that the whole sum laid out on the poor in England, for four years preceding the date of his publication, amounted, on an average, to nearly three millions per annum. The oppression suffered by the poor from the law of settlement is painted in as strong colours by Mr. Hay, in 1735, as it was by Adam Smith, in the "Wealth of Nations," forty years later. "A

poor man," Hay observes, "is no sooner got into a neighbourhood, habitation, and employment that he likes, but, upon humour or caprice of the parish, he is sent to another place, where he can find none of these conveniencies: not certain long to continue there; for, perhaps, after the appeal, he is sent back again, and then hurried to a third place; and sometimes is a great while before he knows where he shall be at rest. In the mean time, he is at expense in removing his family and goods; or, perhaps, not able to carry them with him, is forced to sell them to a disadvantage; he loses his time, and is obliged to neglect his work, which is his only support; so that 'tis no wonder if by this treatment he is very much impoverished, and, from being only likely to become chargeable, is made actually so." That all this might be, and in many instances actually was, practised under the former state of the law, is admitted on all hands; the only question that has ever been raised is as to the extent to which forcible removals were carried. Probably the right with which the law invested them had come to be less generally abused by parishes and overseers for some years before it was taken away (in 1795), under the salutary check of that very public opinion which at last brought about its abolition.*

From an Order and Declaration passed at a quarter sessions for the county of Lancaster in 1725, "upon conference with discreet and grave men of the said county respecting the plenty of the time and other necessary circumstances," we learn the common rates of wages of the different descriptions of servants, labourers, and artificers, in the north of England towards the end of the reign of George I. It is herein laid down that a bailiff of husbandry, or chief hind, shall take for his wages by the year not above 6*l.*; a chief servant in husbandry, that can mow or sow, and do other husbandry well, not above 5*l.*; a common servant in husbandry, of twenty-four years of age or upwards, not above 4*l.*; a man-servant from twenty to twenty-four years of age, not above 3*l.* 10*s.*; a man-servant from sixteen to twenty years of age, not above 2*l.* 10*s.*; the best woman-servant, being a cook, or able to take charge of a household, not above 2*l.* 10*s.*; a chamber-maid, dairy-maid, wash-maid, or other mean servant, not above 2*l.*; a woman-servant under the age of sixteen, not above 1*l.* 10*s.* In all these cases, we presume, the sums set down are the wages in addition to victuals, though that is not expressed. It is distinctly stated in the case of "the best of millers" that his year's wages, without meat and drink, shall be not above 10*l.*, and, with meat and drink, not above 5*l.* As for labourers hired by the day or week, it is in the first place declared that their hours of work, from the middle of March to the middle of September, shall be from five in the morning till half-past seven at night, and for the rest of the year from the spring of day till night, resting only half an hour at breakfast, an hour at dinner, and half an hour again at drinking; "and in the summer half-year," it is added, "they may sleep each day half an hour: else for every hour's absence to defaulk a penny; and every Saturday afternoon, or eve of a holiday, that they cease to work, is to be accounted but half a day." The day's wages for the best description of husbandry labourer are appointed for the winter half-year not to exceed a shilling without, or sixpence with, meat and drink; for the summer, ten-pence without, or five-pence with, meat and drink. For the ordinary sort of labourers the rates are fixed at ten-pence without, or five-pence with, victuals, in winter; and at nine-pence without, or four-pence with, victuals, in summer. Male haymakers are allowed ten-pence or six-pence; women haymakers, seven-pence or three-pence; mowers, fifteen-pence or nine-pence; men-shearers, a shilling or six-pence; women-shearers, ten-pence or six-pence; hedgers, ditchers, palers, threshers, or persons employed in other task work, ten-pence or six-pence, according as they provide their own food or otherwise. Masons, carpenters, joiners, plumbers, tilers, slaters, coopers, and turners are not to receive more than a shilling without, or six-pence with, meat and drink; except a master workman, having others working under his direction, who may receive fourteen-pence (of course without victuals). A pair of sawyers are not to have above a shilling with meat and drink, nor above two shillings without; master tailors are to be paid at the same rate; their journeymen and apprentices at ten-pence without, and five-pence with, their food. These rates may be fairly presumed to be considerably lower than were paid at this time in the southern counties; yet the Lancashire justices express it as their opinion that, their county being nearly eighty miles in length, "the more northern part thereof ought not to demand so much, but be content with what the custom of the country hath usually been." Fortunately for the labourers in the northern extremity of Lancashire, the statutes under which the justices acted did not permit them to fix more than one set of rates for the whole county.* The following passage from Sir Frederick Eden's work, published in 1797, gives some interesting information respecting both the earnings of labourers and the price of provisions in the North of England at dates not far removed from that of the above order of the Lancashire justices:—"In the neighbourhood of Carlisle, fifty years ago, reapers received 4*d.* a-day and diet; or 6*d.* a-day and dinner. Common labourers in husbandry, sixty years ago, were paid 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* a-week, and

* Fielding's account, written in 1751, is perhaps nearest the truth. "In all cases of removal, the good of the parish, and not of the public, is consulted; nay, sometimes the good of an individual only; and therefore the poor man who is capable of getting his livelihood by his dexterity at any handicraft, and likely to do it by his industry, is sure to be removed with his family; especially if the overseer or any of his relations should be of the same occupation; but the idle poor, who threaten to rival no man in his business, are never taken any notice of till they become actually chargeable; and, if by begging or robbing they avoid this, as it is no man's interest, so no man thinks it his duty, to apprehend them."—*Inquiry into Increase of Robbers*

* See the Order, given at length in Eden's State of the Poor, vol. i. Append. cvi.—cx., from the Annals of Agricult., xxv. 305.

board; they now receive 10*d.* and 1*s.* a-day, and diet. A farmer's maid-servant, sixty years ago, was paid from 40*s.* to 50*s.* a-year, with diet; a man-servant from 4*l.* to 6*l.* a-year, with diet; he was usually hired by the half-year. At present, maid-servants with farmers receive from 6*l.* to 8*l.* a-year, with diet; and men-servants from 15*l.* to 20*l.* a-year, with diet. Masons fifty years ago had in winter 6*d.* a-day and board, and 1*s.* without board; in summer 8*d.* a-day and board, and 1*s.* 2*d.* without board. At present they receive 1*s.* 4*d.* a-day with board, and from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day without board. Wages of carpenters fifty years ago were 1*d.* a-day less than those of masons; they are now 2*d.* a-day less. . . . An old man, of great credibility and good memory, in a village a few miles to the east of Carlisle, says that sixty years ago the common daily wages of labourers in husbandry from Martinmas to Christmas were 3*d.* and victuals, and 4*d.* with victuals in the summer; that reaping was 6*d.* the day, and a dinner; or 4*d.*, and the day's diet. Women about seventy years ago, he says, earned 2*d.* a-day and board, for weeding, spinning wool, spreading peats, scaling (scattering or spreading) manure, &c.; and it was rare that a woman, hired by the half-year, had more than 20*s.* for that period. Seventy or eighty years ago, he says, butter was 2*d.* the pound (or at that rate, for neither butter nor butcher's meat were weighed, nor milk measured); barley 3*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* the Carlisle bushel (three Winchester bushels); oats 2*s.* ditto; rye 5*s.* ditto; wheat from 7*s.* to 8*s.* ditto. Mutton was then usually sold at Carlisle by the quarter; and a quarter, which would now cost 3*s.*, sold then for 1*s.*; and a fat calf, three weeks or a month old, from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*"*

An account of the fluctuations of the price of wheat throughout this period has already been given in another chapter.† On the whole, this article will be found to have rather fallen than risen in price from the Revolution to the end of the reign of George II. According to tables drawn up by Bishop Fleetwood and Mr. Charles Smith, the average price of the Windsor quarter (nine bushels) of the best wheat was, for the twenty years from 1686 to 1705, 2*l.* 5*s.* 10¾*d.*; for the twenty years from 1706 to 1725, 2*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*; for the twenty years from 1726 to 1745, 1*l.* 17*s.* 9¾*d.*; and for the nineteen years from 1746 to 1764, 2*l.* 0*s.* 1½*d.* The average price of the Winchester quarter of *middling* wheat was, for the first of the above periods, 1*l.* 16*s.* 3½*d.*; for the last, 1*l.* 11*s.* 8½*d.* It could not therefore be contended, even on the assumption that wheat had always been the general food of the people of England, that the rise which undoubtedly took place in wages during the present period was balanced by any corresponding rise in the cost of subsistence. But upon this subject Sir Frederick Eden has some remarks that are well worth extracting. He observes, "The price of wheat, I conceive, is no criterion of the ability of a man to subsist by his labour, unless it can be shown that this grain is wholly and entirely his ordinary food. But at no period of our history has this been the case. To argue from such data would warrant us in supposing that a labourer must have been under an absolute impossibility of subsisting in 1595, when wheat was above 2*l.* the quarter, and the wages of ordinary agricultural labourers not more than 4*d.* or 5*d.* the day, without diet; and that 8*d.* the day was a miserable pittance in 1682, when wheat was nearly at the same price. But the truth is, that at neither of these periods did wheat constitute a part of the diet of either the peasant or artificer in many parts of England. From the Household Book of Sir Edward Coke . . . . it appears that in 1596 rye-bread and oatmeal formed a considerable portion of the diet of servants even in great families. In 1626 barley-bread is stated, in a grant of a monopoly from King Charles, to have been the usual food of the ordinary sort of people."* He then refers to an estimate, drawn up by Gregory King, of the quantities of grain of different sorts grown in England a few years after the Revolution, which, however, is not quite the same as it stands in King's own work with the copy given by Davenant, which Sir Frederick Eden quotes. Exclusive of the seed-corn, King calculates the annual amount of wheat produced in England at only 12 millions of bushels (not 14, as stated by Davenant); that of rye at 8 millions (not 10, as in Davenant); that of barley at 25 millions (Davenant has 27); that of oats at 16 millions; that of peas at 7 millions; that of beans at 4 millions; and that of vetches, &c., at one million.† Sir Frederick goes on to state that it is only since the commencement of the eighteenth century that the use of wheaten bread has been gradually introduced among the labouring classes. "About fifty years ago," he afterwards tells us (that is, about the year 1747), "so little was the quantity of wheat used in the county of Cumberland, that it was only a rich family that used a peck of wheat in the course of the year, and that was used at Christmas. The crust of the goose-pie—a dish with which almost every table in the county at that season is supplied—was made of barley-meal: one of wheaten flour was considered as a great delicacy, but is now getting into very general use: the barley-pie, however, is not yet entirely excluded from the Christmas fare of some families. The usual treat for a stranger fifty years ago in Cumberland was a thick oat-cake (called *haver bannock*) and butter. Puddings and dumplings, made of oatmeal and suet, were a common dish at rural entertainments. An old labourer of eighty-five remarks that, when he was a boy, he was at Carlisle market with his father, and, wishing to indulge himself with a penny loaf made of wheat-flour, he searched for it for some time, but could

* State of the Poor, i. 567. † See ante, p. 700.

* State of the Poor, i. 591.

† Political Conclusions, p. 53. Davenant's professed transcript is in his Essay on the Probable Methods of making a People Gainers in the Balance of Trade, in his Works, ii. 217.

not procure a piece of wheaten bread at any shop in the town."* These details relate, we believe, to the writer's own county. It appears, however, from the account of the first workhouses referred to in a former page, that in 1725, when that account was published, wheaten bread was used in many of these establishments in the southern counties. But the most minute and curious statement we find upon this subject is that given in the second edition of Mr. Charles Smith's Three Tracts on the Corn Trade and Corn Laws, which, although not published till 1766, may be regarded as referring rather to a date a few years earlier, when the inquiries upon which the calculation is founded were made. "It is certain," this writer observes, "that bread made of wheat is become much more generally the food of the common people since 1689 than it was before that time, but it is still very far from being the food of the people in general; and some, who have considered this matter with great attention, and are better informed in regard thereto than most inquirers generally be, were inclined to think that in the year 1764 one-half of the people could not be supposed to feed on such bread." To obtain all the certainty possible in the matter, inquiries were made in every direction; the supply of the several sorts of grain to the London market was taken into consideration; communications were opened with persons living in or travelling into each county; and in particular conversations were held with the labouring people themselves of various districts, as being best acquainted with their own circumstances and the food they lived upon. By combining the results of all these modes of investigation Mr. Smith and his coadjutors arrived at the following conclusions:—1. That in Wales, the number of inhabitants being calculated from the number of houses at 270,450, of these 29,344 eat wheat, 127,585 barley, and 113,521 rye; 2. That in the five northern counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and York, the entire population being 892,560, of these 283,996 eat wheat, 37,196 barley, 285,382 rye, and 285,986 oats; 3. That in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, out of a population of 738,150, there were 200,339 who eat wheat, 128,621 who eat barley, 118,795 who eat rye, and 290,395 who eat oats; 4. That in the midland counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, Oxford, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Northampton, Shropshire, Stafford, Leicester, and Rutland, the entire population being 1,024,476, the eaters of wheat were 691,258, of barley 159,136, of rye 156,237, and of oats 17,845; 5. That in the south-western counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, the population being 904,134, of these 682,815 eat wheat, and 221,319 barley; 6. That in the rest of England, out of a population of 2,089,122, wheat was the food of 1,866,405, barley of 36,741, and rye of 185,976. On the whole, then, according to this calculation, the entire population of England and Wales being taken, in round numbers, at 6,000,000, the eaters of wheat about the end of the present period would be 3,750,000, of barley 739,000, of rye 888,000, and of oats 623,000. In other words, fully five-eighths of the people of England at this time lived upon wheat; and of the remainder, rather more than an eighth upon rye, about an eighth upon barley, and rather less than an eighth upon oats. There is reason to believe that the entire population of the country must have been considerably greater than is here assumed; but probably the above proportions may, for all that, be tolerably correct. Wheat, it appears, already constituted the food of the great majority of the people in all the southern and midland counties; barley was consumed by the majority of the people only in Wales; rye was not eaten at all in the five south-western counties, but in the five northern counties was the ordinary food of about a third of the people; oats were the food of another third of the people in the northern counties, and of considerably more than a third of those of Lancashire and the rest of that group, but were only used to a very small extent in the midland counties, and not at all in any other part of the kingdom.

Respecting the prices of butcher's meat during this period, the following are the chief facts that have been collected. From 1660 to 1690 the mean price of mutton is stated to have been 2*d.* the pound; 2½*d.* from 1706 to 1730; and 3*d.* from 1730 to 1760. In 1710 beef is stated to have been $1\frac{1}{10}d.$ the pound; veal 2½*d.*; and lamb $2\frac{8}{10}d.$ The prices paid at the Victualling Office, from 1740 to 1760, were, for beef usually about 2½*d.* a pound; for pork from about 2½*d.* to 3½*d.*; for butter usually rather more than 5*d.*; for Cheshire cheese about 3*d.*; for Suffolk cheese about 1½*d.* or 1¼*d.* On the whole there was no rise in the price of any of these articles during that space. The prices paid by the Victualling Office, however, were always considerably lower than those charged to private consumers. The price of wool also underwent little variation throughout the present period, and certainly was not higher at its close than at its commencement. In 1681 wool was from 18*s.* to 19*s.* the tod; in 1707, 16*s.*; in 1711, 13*s.*; in 1713, 17*s.*; in 1717, 23*s.*; in 1722, 20*s.*; in 1732, 19*s.*; in 1738, 13*s.*; in 1744, 21*s.*; in 1754, 12*s.*; in 1755, 14*s.*; in 1760, 18*s.* 6*d.* Notwithstanding the progress which it can scarcely be doubted was made by the population of London in that time, there was scarcely any increase in the number either of the cattle or sheep sold at Smithfield for the last thirty years of this period. In 1733 the number of cattle was 80,169, of sheep 555,050; in 1737, of cattle 89,862, of sheep 607,330; in 1746, of cattle 71,582, of sheep 620,790; in 1748, of cattle 67,681, of sheep 610,060; in 1756, of cattle 77,257, of sheep 624,710; in 1759, of cattle 86,439, of sheep 582,260; in 1760, of cattle 88,594, of sheep 622,210. But in 1761 the

* State of the Poor, i. 564.

number of cattle again fell off to 82,514; that of the sheep, however, rising to 666,010.*

We have already noticed the fact of the apparently declining, rather than augmenting, consumption of beer between the Revolution and the close of the reign of George II., as indicated by the returns of the tax on malt, taken along with what may be fairly supposed to have been the increase in the numbers of the population in the course of that time. According to a table given in the Tracts on the Corn Laws, the average quantity of malt made for home consumption was, from 1703 to 1713, 2,959,063 quarters; from 1713 to 1723, 3,542,157 quarters; from 1723 to 1733, 3,358,071 quarters; from 1733 to 1743, 3,215,094 quarters; from 1743 to 1753, 3,404,026 quarters.† Even supposing the population to have remained stationary, this account would show no increase in beer-drinking, but rather the reverse, in the forty years from 1713 to 1753. But any abatement that might be taking place in the attachment of the people to their old national beverage was, if we may trust the chronicles of the time, abundantly made up for, in the case of some portions of them at least, by the passion that had seized them for the novel stimulant of ardent spirits in the shape of gin. It is towards the close of the reign of George I. that we first hear much of the excessive gin-drinking of the populace of our great towns; from about that date we have a succession of strong presentments by the grand juries of Middlesex against the practice, which they call upon the authorities and the legislature to put down as the great source of the crimes which came before the courts of law, as well as one of the main causes of the general poverty and wretchedness of the lower orders. But it was not till the year 1736 that the evil forced itself upon the notice of parliament. Smollett's somewhat rhetorical description, without being taken quite according to the letter, may give us a notion of the height to which it had risen by this time. "The populace of London," he writes, "were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called gin, which was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy."* That all this may have happened is probable enough: what alone is of much importance is the extent to which such corruption of manners prevailed among the lower orders, or the progress the habit of intemperance was making throughout that portion of the social body. If, however gross, it was confined to the very lowest grade of the populace, their conduct, like that of the drunken Helots among the Spartans, might be more likely to disgust than to seduce the rest of the community. However, this was not the general feeling at the time; the cry of all the more zealous and busy philanthropists was that the poison of gin-drinking was eating into the very vitals of society, and that no measures could be too strong to take against an evil which, if its progress was not arrested, would speedily leave us nothing but the mere dead and putrid carcase of a once great nation. It was under the excitement of these alarms, which, it may be fairly assumed, somewhat exaggerated the danger, that the legislature was called upon to act. On the 20th of February, 1736, a petition from the magistracy of the county of Middlesex was presented to the House of Commons, setting forth "that the drinking of Geneva, and other distilled spirituous liquors, had for some years past greatly increased, especially among the people of inferior rank; and that the constant and excessive use thereof had already destroyed thousands of his Majesty's subjects, and rendered great numbers of others unfit for useful labour and service, debauching at the same time their morals, and driving them into all manner of vice and wickedness; and that that pernicious liquor was then sold, not only by the distillers and Geneva-shops, but by many other persons of inferior trades; by which means journeymen, apprentices, and servants were drawn in to taste, and by degrees to like, approve, and immoderately to drink thereof; and that the petitioners apprehended the public welfare and safety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by it; and therefore praying that the House would take the premises into their serious consideration, and apply such remedy as the House should judge most proper." Three days after, in a committee of the whole House, Sir Joseph Jekyll moved a series of resolutions, declaring, in substance, that the low price of gin was the principal inducement to the excessive and pernicious use of it, and that the sale of that and other spirituous liquors ought both to be discouraged by a heavy duty, and restricted to persons keeping public brandy-shops, victualling-houses, coffee-houses, and alehouses, to innholders, and to such apothecaries and surgeons as should make use of the same by way of medicine only. These resolutions were agreed to without debate; but when, on the 8th of March, Jekyll moved in a committee of supply that there should be laid upon all spirituous liquors sold by retail the prohibitory duty of 20*s.* per gallon, the proposition encountered some re-

* See Eden's State of the Poor, iii. lxxxiii.—lxxxvii.
† 2nd Edit. p. 200.

* Complete History of England, 4to Edit. of 1758; vol. iv. p. 632.

sistance. Mr. Pulteney urged, among other things, that the business of distilling had been carried on in this country by royal authority for nearly a hundred years, and had been much encouraged by various acts of parliament passed since the Revolution; that even the retail of spirits had been hitherto so much encouraged, or at least connived at, that there was not now an inn, an alehouse, or a coffeehouse in the kingdom, but what owed a great part of its profits to the retail of such liquors; that, with respect to rum at least, there never had been any complaint of the excessive use of that liquor among the lower classes of the people; that the sugar colonies were now chiefly supported by the sale of their rum; that brandy and rum were more coveted by the common people, and might easily be made more palatable, than any sort of home-made spirit, and therefore the non-consumption of these liquors in any excess appeared to be completely ensured merely by the existing duties upon them, which were high, though far from prohibitory. Mr. Pulteney then alluded to a recent act which had imposed certain high duties upon gin also, but which had been repealed: "It cannot be said, sir," he proceeded, "that nothing but a total prohibition can be an effectual remedy against the evil complained of, because we all know that the late act against Geneva was effectual so far as it went; it was made, we know, to extend only to compound spirits; and with respect to them it was an effectual remedy, for it put an entire stop to the constant and excessive use of such spirits amongst those of inferior rank; but some of the distillers immediately began to make a sort of plain spirit, which, I believe, in derision of the act, they called parliament brandy, and this the common people made as constant and excessive an use of as they had before done of compound spirits: this was the case of that act; and, if it had been amended and made to extend to all home-made spirits, instead of being repealed, there would never have been occasion for any such complaint as that we have now before us." The act here alluded to by Mr. Pulteney, which has not been noticed in the common accounts of this gin legislation, appears to be the 2 Geo. II. c. 17, passed in 1729, entitled An Act for laying a Duty upon Compound Waters or Spirits; it was repealed in 1733 by the 6 Geo. II. c. 17, on the alleged ground that it had not answered the good purposes thereby intended, and had proved a discouragement to the distilling of spirits from corn in Great Britain. Neither Pulteney's speech, nor the silent but perfectly understood dislike of the minister himself, Sir Robert Walpole, to the extravagance of the proposition, prevented Jekyll's resolution from being agreed to by the House, or from being followed up by another, recommending that the sum of fifty pounds yearly should be paid for a licence by every person keeping a public brandy-shop, a public victualling-house, coffeehouse, or alehouse, or being an innholder, who should sell any spirituous liquors. A bill was accordingly brought in, founded upon these resolutions; and, notwithstanding the opposition made to it, principally by the West India interest, was eventually passed into a law (the 9 Geo. II. c. 23). Archdeacon Coxe has printed the following curious letter from Sir Robert Walpole to his brother Horace, written on the 30th of September (O.S.), the day after the new law came into operation, which, as a lively picture of the state of public feeling, and of the general civilization of the time, well deserves to be transcribed:—"Dear brother, I have forborne troubling you with the various surmises and apprehensions which of late at different times have filled the town with different fears and expectations concerning the first and immediate consequences that might attend the commencement of the gin act, because it was difficult at some times to form any probable opinion of what might happen; and at other times, and epecially lately, it appeared a great deal more reasonable that there would not be any trouble or disorder at all, until about the middle of last week; I then began to receive again accounts from all quarters of the town that the Jacobites were busy and industrious in endeavouring to stir up the common people, and make an advantage of the universal clamour that prevailed among the populace at the approaching expiration of this darling vice. The scheme that was laid was, for all the distillers that were able to give away *gratis*, to all that should ask for it, as much gin and strong waters as they should desire, and the great distillers were to supply all the retailers and small shops with as much as they should want, to be distributed and given away in like manner. The shops were to begin to be opened on Tuesday evening, the eve of Michaelmas day, and to be continued and repeated on Wednesday night, that the mob, being made thus drunk, might be prepared and ready to commit any sort of mischief; and, in order to this, anonymous letters were sent to the distillers and town retailers in all parts of the town, to instruct them, and incite them to rise and join their friends, and do as their neighbours did. Four of these letters have fallen into my hands, which the persons to whom they were directed discovered and brought to us; and by the excise officers that go round the town I am informed that letters to the same purpose were dropped, and directed to most of the distillers in all quarters. Those we have seen differ very little from each other in the tenor and substance; and the strong criminal expressions are in all the same, only transposed. In such as were less formal, and not so laboured, the word was given Sir Robert and Sir Joseph. Upon the information the queen was pleased to give such orders to the guards as you will have had an account of, which have had the designed effect, and, in the opinion of all mankind, are thought to have prevented the greatest mischief and disorders that have of late been known or heard of—at least we have the satisfaction to have our measures univer-

sally applauded. I must beg leave so say there has been infinite care taken to observe and watch all their motions for above a month past; and upon the turn that the Spitalfields riots took, I think I may affirm that the whole spirit was at once dashed, and seemed to have been totally laid aside; but, upon the contrary success at Edinbugh [the allusion is to the Porteous affair], the fire kindled anew, and nothing less than such vigorous measures could have prevented the evil, which I hope now is put an end to. But the murmuring and complaints of the common people for want of gin, and the great sufferings and loss of the dealers in spirituous liquors in general, have created such uneasiness, that they well deserve a great deal of attention and consideration. And I am not without my apprehensions that a non-observance of the law in some may create great trouble; and a sullen acquiescence and present submission in others, in hopes of gaining redress by parliament, may lay the foundation of very riotous and mobbish applications when we next meet." He adds, under date of the following day, October 1st.—"That last night is likewise passed over in perfect quiet, although the patrols in the streets were taken off."* But the act for the suppression of the gin-shops altogether failed of its intended effect. Within a few months after it had passed, Tindal tells us, the commissioners of excise themselves became sensible of the impossibility or unadvisableness of carrying it rigorously into execution; "policy, as well as humanity," says the historian, "obliged them to mitigate the severity of the law, which was now become odious and contemptible." Smollett, who has drawn so dark a picture of the state of things the act was designed to put down, has painted in colours equally strong the mischiefs which it produced:—"The populace," he writes, "soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets; informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution." In fact, in course of time, "it appeared," he adds, "that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed." In these circumstances, in 1743, the ministry that had newly come into office upon the expulsion of Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill into the House of Commons for the repeal of the law which had thus turned out so much worse than a dead letter. The bill passed the Commons without opposition; but in the Upper House it was not carried till after long and warm altercation. From the debates, which fill nearly three hundred columns of the Parliamentary History, we may glean a few additional particulars touching the working of the late act. The increased consumption of gin during the time it had been in force was admitted on all hands; Lord Lonsdale himself, one of the opponents of the repeal bill, produced an account from which it appeared that the quantity of gin distilled in England, which in 1684, when the business was introduced into this country, had been 527,000 gallons, had risen to 948,000 in 1694, to 1,375,000 in 1704, to 2,000,000 in 1714, to 3,520,000 in 1724, to 4,947,000 in 1734, and to not less than 7,160,000 in 1742. Lord Bathurst, who was in favour of the repeal, mentioned that in the whole kingdom during the seven years the high duties had been in force the number of licences taken out for the sale of spirits had only been two! The same noble lord remarked that the practice of gin-drinking had of late years extended much farther than was generally imagined; the class of farmers had hitherto been distinguished for their frugality and temperance, but even they had not escaped this infection, nor was anything now more common than to find gin drunk in those farmhouses in which a few years ago ale was the highest luxury that was thought of. The consequences that had followed from the late act, however, sufficiently showed the inefficacy of violent methods to cure or check the evil. "It is well known," said his lordship, "that by that law the use of spirituous liquors was prohibited to the common people; that retailers were deterred from vending them by the utmost encouragement that could be given to informers; and that discoveries were incited by every art that could be practised, and offenders punished with the utmost rigour. Yet what was the effect, my lords, of all this diligence and vigour? A general panic suppressed for a few weeks the practice of selling the prohibited liquors; but in a very short time necessity forced some, who had nothing to lose, to return to their former trade; they were suffered sometimes to escape, because nothing was to be gained by informing against them, and others were encouraged by their example to imitate them, though with more secrecy and caution; of those indeed many were punished, but many more escaped, and such as were fined often found the profit more than the loss. The prospect of raising money by detecting their practices incited many to turn information into a trade; and the facility with which the crime was to be proved encouraged some to gratify their malice by perjury, and others their avarice; so that the multitude of informations became a public grievance, and the magistrates themselves complained that the law was not to be executed. The perjuries of informers were now so flagrant and common, that the people thought all informations malicious; or, at least, thinking themselves oppressed by the law, they looked upon every man that promoted its execution as their enemy; and therefore now began to declare war against informers, many of whom they treated with great cruelty, and some they murdered in the streets." This account is supported by the testimony of several of the other speakers in the debate;* nor,

* Coxe's Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. iii. p. 360.

* "Even the very commencement of the law," said Lord Cholmondeley, "exposed us to the danger of a rebellion: an insurrection of the populace was threatened, nay, the government had information of its being actually designed, and very wisely ordered the troops to

indeed, are the facts denied or questioned by any opponent of the repeal. Lord Bathurst proceeded to state that, by their determination and violence, the people at last wearied out the magistrates, and intimidated all persons from lodging informations; so that the law had now for some years been totally disregarded. "The practice, therefore, of vending and of drinking distilled spirits," continued his lordship, "has prevailed for some time without opposition; nor can any man enter a tavern or an alehouse in which they will be denied him, or walk along the streets without being incited to drink them at every corner: they have been sold for several years with no less openness and security than any other commodity; and whoever walks in this great city will find his way very frequently obstructed by those who are selling these pernicious liquors to the greedy populace, or by those who have drunk them till they are unable to move." In short, the whole body of the lower orders appears to have been arrayed in opposition to the law, which in these circumstance could only have been maintained by a strong military force. The general sense of its despotic and oppressive character would unite against it many other persons beside the lovers of gin; gin-drinking itself would become in the common estimation less odious amid the hatred that was felt against the rash and mischievous means that had been taken to put it down; and in the unpopularity of this one law, and the contempt into which it had fallen, all law would be somewhat shaken and weakened. Meanwhile, the trade in spirits, abandoned by all respectable dealers, would be left in the hands of persons without either means or character, ruffians and desperadoes upon whom neither law nor public opinion could be brought to bear; and all the revenue that the sale of spirits might, under another system, be made to yield would be thrown away and lost in this wild and unseemly scene of universal illicit trading. In opposition to the repeal, the principal argument that was urged was, that the sale of gin, which was now carried on, not, certainly, in secret or with any attempt at concealment, but still without open proclamation by the dealers of the article they had to dispose of on their sign-boards and casks, would in future be thrust forward with an impudent exposure of the name as well as of the thing, which it seemed to be thought might not only tend to harden the victims of gin-drinking, but might throw more opportunity and temptation in the way of persons who had not yet fallen into the habit. In illustration of the extent to which the open retail of gin was carried before the imposition of the prohibitory duties (which had proved no prohibition and no duties at all), the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Thomas Sherlock) quoted a Report drawn up in the year 1736 by the justices of Middlesex, according to which the number of gin-retailers in the districts of Westminster, Holborn, the Tower, and Finsbury (exclusively of the city of London and Southwark) was then 7044, "besides 3209 alehouses that did not sell spirituous liquors, and besides a great number of persons who retailed gin privately in garrets, cellars, and back rooms, or places not exposed to public view." Every sixth house in the metropolis, it appeared by this Report, was then a licensed gin-shop; and the bishop apprehended that, with a reduction of the duties, this state of things, or a worse, would be brought back—that there would immediately be not fewer than 50,000 gin-retailers set up under the sanction of the government throughout the kingdom. However, although all the bishops, as well as most of the adherents of the late ministry, voted against it, the repeal bill was ultimately carried; "and we cannot help owning," says Smollett, "that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold." Although gin-drinking continued to prevail to a sufficiently lamentable extent among the lower orders of London and our other great towns, as it still does, we certainly no longer read of such a condition of things as is described to have been produced by the prohibitory act, or at least to have subsisted under that state of the law—when, as was stated in the debate to which we have been referring, by Lord Lonsdale, although an opponent of the repeal bill, whoever should pass along the streets of the metropolis would find wretches stretched upon the pavement, insensible and motionless, and only removed by the charity of passengers from the danger of being crushed by carriages, or trampled by horses, or strangled with filth in the common sewers. Better police arrangements have no doubt contributed something to the improvement that has taken place; but the mere restoration of the spirit-trade to the protection of the law, and thereby to the hands of persons of respectable character, appears to have had an immediately beneficial effect of itself. Indeed it was not till after this had been done that even the best possible police establishment could have been of any avail in preserving public decency or repressing disorder. No mere police could have made the law be obeyed against so unanimous a determination of the populace to set it at defiance.

In point of fact, however, the police of London continued exceedingly defective throughout nearly the whole of the present period; and constant evidence was furnished of its inefficiency by the commission of the most flagrant crimes at all hours in the open streets. Under the year 1702 Maitland notes that robberies and burglaries had be-

be drawn out and posted in the several places where the mob was likely to assemble, which perhaps prevented a great deal of bloodshed, and the law began to be executed without any forcible opposition. As there were multitudes of offenders, there was presently a multitude of informations; but as soon as any man was known to be an informer he was assaulted and pelted by the mob wherever they could meet with him. A noble peer was obliged to open his gates to one of these unfortunate creatures in order to protect him from the mob, who were in full cry, and would probably have torn him to pieces if they could have laid hold of him; for they had before actually murdered some of these informers. This was not the only difficulty; the magistrates themselves were in danger if they appeared zealous in the execution of this law; the prosecutions were vastly expensive, and, when the person was convicted, seldom anything could be recovered, so that it put the government to an infinite expense."

come very frequent in the city after the breaking up of the watch in the morning; upon which it was ordered by the justices of peace, met in quarter sessions at Guildhall, that thenceforth all the constables should, from the 1st of November to the 1st of February, set their several watches at ten o'clock at night, and continue them till six in the morning. It would appear, therefore, that before this the watch was not kept on even till sunrise in winter; and during the day there was no watch at all. In 1704 the common council passed an act appointing the number of constables for the different wards to be 583 in all, provided each with lanthorn and candle, and well and sufficiently armed with halberts; and it was at the same time ordered that they should be at their posts from nine at night till seven in the morning during the winter months, and from ten till five in the summer. Another act of the municipal parliament, passed in 1716, regulated the lighting of the city, by ordering that all housekeepers whose houses, doors, or gateways fronted or were next to any street, lane, or other public passage or place, should, every night between the second night after full moon and the seventh after new moon, set or hang out one or more lights, with sufficient cotton wicks, that should continue to burn from six o'clock till eleven. Under this economical arrangement, therefore, the town was left in total darkness all night after what we should now account the very early hour of eleven, and also, during nearly a third part of each month, for the whole of every evening on which the moon should, indeed, have shone, but did not. Meanwhile the desperate characters that infested the public thoroughfares seem to have very little minded either the lamps with their sufficient cotton wicks, or the watchmen with their halberts. Under date of 1728 Maitland writes—"The streets of this city, and those of Westminster, having for a considerable time been grievously pestered with street-robbers, their audacious villany was got to such a height that they formed a design to rob the queen in St. Paul's Churchyard, as she privately returned from supper in the city to the palace of St. James's, as confessed by one of the gang when under sentence of death. But, those execrable villains being busily employed in robbing Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an alderman of London, on his return in his chariot from the House of Commons, her majesty luckily passed them in her coach without being attacked." This incident, it seems, excited for the moment an extraordinary diligence on the part of the authorities; so that "the streets," adds Maitland, "were soon cleared of those wicked and detestable rogues, many of whom being apprehended, they were justly condemned and executed for their many enormous crimes." The next year we find the Middlesex grand jury including in their presentment, along with the gin-shops, "the unusual swarms of sturdy and clamorous beggars" that were to be seen in the metropolis, and also "the bold and frequent robberies in the streets"—"a wickedness," they add, "that till within these few years was unheard of among us." It was not till the year 1736 that lamp-posts and glass lamps were ordered to be put up in the city, and the lamps to be kept burning all the year through from sunset till sunrise. "Till this time," observes Maitland, "the streets of London were perhaps worse illuminated by night than those of any other great city, which was entirely owing to bad management; for, the same being lighted by contract, the contractors were annually obliged to pay to the city the sum of six hundred pounds for the liberty of lighting the same." These contractors, it seems, kept about a thousand lamps burning till twelve o'clock for a hundred and seventeen nights in the year, where the householders did not choose to hang out their own lights, receiving from each householder whose door they thus illuminated the sum of six shillings annually. But after a few years we find the old complaint of the insecurity of the streets as loud as ever. One day in April, 1744, it is related, a band of desperadoes, to the number of about twenty, attacked St. Martin's roundhouse about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, armed with cutlasses, bludgeons, and pistols, with the design of rescuing some of their comrades; nor could they be dispersed till a party of the horse-guards had been sent for. A few months after we read of an active peace-officer, who had distinguished himself in the pursuit of the perpetrators of some recent robberies, being assailed in the open street by twelve villains armed with cutlasses and two with pistols, and fired at and wounded by them. "The gang," says Maitland, "who committed these robberies were so insolent that they went to the houses of peace-officers, made them beg pardon for endeavouring to do their duty, and promise not to molest them. Some, whose lives they threatened, were obliged to lie in Bridewell for their safety." In an address to the king this same year the lord mayor and aldermen represent "that divers confederacies of great numbers of evil-disposed persons, armed with bludgeons, pistols, cutlasses, and other dangerous weapons, infest not only the private lanes and passages, but likewise the public streets and places of usual concourse, and commit most daring outrages upon the persons of your majesty's good subjects whose affairs oblige them to pass through the streets, by terrifying, robbing, and wounding them; and these facts are frequently perpetrated at such times as were heretofore deemed hours of security;" and "that the officers of justice have been repulsed in the performance of their duty, some of whom have been shot at, some wounded, and others murdered, in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons; by which means many are intimidated from duly executing their offices, and others put in manifest danger of their lives." The evil, however, continued unabated for some years after this. It was in 1751 that the celebrated Henry Fielding, then holding the office of a justice of peace for Westminster, published his "Inquiry into the Causes of

the late Increase of Robbers, &c., with some Proposals for Remedying this growing Evil." Fielding begins this treatise by observing that the great increase of robberies that had taken place within a few years of the time when he wrote, though already become so flagrant, did not seem to have yet arrived at the height it was likely to attain. "In fact," he says, "I make no doubt but that the streets of this town, and the roads leading to it, will shortly be impassable without the utmost hazard; nor are we threatened with seeing less dangerous gangs of rogues among us than those which the Italians call the banditti. . . . What, indeed, may not the public apprehend when they are informed, as an unquestionable fact, that there are at this time a great gang of rogues, whose number falls little short of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a treasury, and have reduced theft and robbery into a regular system? There are of this society men who appear in all disguises, and mix in most companies."* And in a subsequent page we find the following statements: "How long have we known highwaymen reign in this kingdom after they have been publicly known for such? Have not some of these committed robberies in open daylight, in the sight of many people, and have afterwards rode solemnly and triumphantly through the neighbouring towns without any danger or molestation? This happens to every rogue who is become eminent for his audaciousness, and is thought to be desperate; and it is in a more particular manner the case of great and numerous gangs, many of which have for a long time committed the most open outrages in defiance of the law. Officers of justice have owned to me that they have passed by such with warrants in their pockets against them without daring to apprehend them; and, indeed, they could not be blamed for not exposing themselves to sure destruction; for it is a melancholy truth, that at this very day a rogue no sooner gives the alarm, within certain purlieus, than twenty or thirty armed ruffians are found ready to come to his assistance."† And all this went on notwithstanding a frequency of executions, a destruction of life by the arm of the law, that of itself seems to us now to belong to the horrors of a state of semi-barbarism; when, to adopt Fielding's own expression, cartloads of our fellow-creatures were once in every six weeks carried to slaughter.‡

But we must not allow such statements as these to carry us too far in our conclusions as to the general condition of the people at this time. We must not, out of a few particular facts, too hastily make up for ourselves a picture of the whole department of the social system to which they belong; still less must we from such facts relating to one department draw our inferences as to all the others. Facts that are remarkable and exceptional are more apt to be recorded and commented upon by contemporary writers than such as more truly represent the ordinary course in which things proceed; and the same fact has not the same meaning, does not imply the same concomitants, at different epochs. Hence the difficulty, indeed the impossibility, of getting at a complete view of the state of society in any past age, even with the aid of the amplest statistical information. We look at it only as it were through so many long narrow tubes irregularly disposed, which permit us to see each of them little more than the small insulated portion of the field that chances to be directly opposite to it. Doubtless, what is strictly and distinctively to be called *civilization* has now been carried to a very considerably higher point in this country than it had arrived at by the middle of the last century: that is to say, along with a greatly improved condition of all material and mechanical arrangements, the moral dominion of law and order is more firmly established; crimes of violence, and violence in every shape, have diminished; human life has come to be held on all hands in higher estimation; great economical irregularities, such as famines and pestilences, have been much reduced in frequency and in severity; the general rate of mortality has been lessened; in short, the whole system of circulation upon which our existence as a community depends has been brought to act both with more freedom and with more efficiency. But our existence as a community is a different thing from our existence either as individuals or as families; and an advance in civilization is not necessarily the same thing with an advance either in happiness or in virtue. It does not even follow, as a matter of course, that, with a more submissive obedience to the law, and with actually a lower amount of what the law calls crime, we are in a more healthy condition, either socially or politically. With less crime there may be more vice; the spirit of legality, to borrow a phrase from the theologians, may have weakened the spirit of liberty. At the same time, while it is but fair to the past to keep these possibilities in mind, it would be the most fatal of all errors to assume that liberty and order, civilization and morality, might not all exist in the highest degrees together and in harmony. And certainly, in the case immediately before us—the comparison between our present condition and that of our ancestors of the earlier part of the last century,—it would be very difficult to show that the higher degree of morality and liberty really went along with the lower degree of civilization and order.

* Inquiry, p. 3. † Id. p. 94. ‡ Id. p. 127.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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617	Redwald, king of East Anglia, becomes a Bretwalda	id.
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621	Edilfrid, king of Northumbria, is slain, and Edwin, fifth Bretwalda, succeeds to his kingdom	146
625	Edwin styled "Rex Anglorum"	id.
634	Perida, prince of Mercia, and Cadwallader, king of North Wales, defeat and slay Edwin.	147
	Oswald defeats and slays Cadwallader at Hexham	id.
	He is acknowledged Bretwalda	id.
642	He is slain in battle by Penda, and is succeeded in his kingdom by Oswy	148
647	The Britons of Cornwall and Devonshire submit to the Anglo-Saxons	143
651	The kingdom of Northumbria again divided	148
652	Penda ravages Northumberland. Oswy sues for peace. The families of Penda and Oswy intermarry	id.
654	Penda is defeated and slain near York	id.
655	Oswy conquers Mercia, and assumes the title of Bretwalda	id.
656	Wulfere made king of Mercia, and becomes Bretwalda of parts south of the Humber	id.
	Alchfrid obtains part of Northumbria	id.
	The yellow plague rages over Britain	id.
670	Oswy dies, and Egfrid, his son, succeeds	149
	Egfrid defeats the Picts	id.
679	Egfrid invades Mercia	id.
685	He is slain in a war with Brude, King of the Picts	id.
737	Ethelbald, king of Mercia, rules the country south of the Humber, except Wales	id.
742	Wessex again becomes independent	id.
743	Donald III., king of Ireland, begins to reign, and continues king until 763	223
748	The Danes make their first incursion into Ireland	id.
757 to 794	Offa, king of Mercia, makes conquests in Sussex, Kent, and Oxfordshire; takes part of Mercia; defeats the Welsh; exacts tribute from the Northumbrians; builds a palace at Tamworth; and defeats the Danes, who invade England	149-50
791	Constantine, a Pictish king, reigns in Scotland	217
795	Offa the Terrible dies	150
800	Beortric, king of Wessex, is poisoned by his wife Eadburgha, who is expelled the kingdom and the title of queen abolished	id.
	Egbert becomes king of Wessex; defeats the Mercians, and takes possession of their kingdom; establishes sub-kings of Kent and East Anglia	id.
815	The Danes settle in Armagh	223
825	Egbert subdues Northumbria and makes King Eanred his vassal; assumes the title of Bretwalda	151
830	Ungus, king of Scots, dies	217
832	The Danish pirates land and ravage the Isle of Sheppey	151
833	They land again and are fought by Egbert at Charmouth	152
834	Egbert defeats the Danes and Britons of Cornwall and Devon at Hengsdown Hill	id.

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836	Kenneth II., Pictish king of Scots, begins to reign	217
	Egbert dies, and is buried at Winchester	152
	Accession of Ethelwulf, who gives Kent, Sussex, and Essex to Athelstane	id.
843	Kenneth II. acknowledged king of the Picts and Scots	217
845	Turgesius, the Dane, proclaimed king of all Ireland	223
851	The Danes defeated at Okeley by Ethelwulf and Ethelbald. Barhulf, king of Mercia, is slain. The Danes are again defeated at Wenbury, in Devon	152
853	Ethelwulf goes to Rome and stops a year; Alfred, his son, is anointed king by the pope. Ethelwulf marries Judith, daughter of the king of the Franks, and revives the title of queen	152-3
	He returns to England, and divides the kingdom with Ethelbald	153
857	Ethelwulf dies	id.
	Ethelbald succeeds, and marries his father's widow	id.
859	He dies and is succeeded by Ethelbert	id.
	Kenneth MacAlpine, king of Scots, dies at Forteviot	218
863	Donald III., successor of Kenneth, dies, and is succeeded by Constantine II.	id.
866-7	Ethelbert dies, and is succeeded by Ethelred, who fights nine battles against the Danes	153-4
871	Accession of Alfred the Great	154
875	The Danes under Halfden settle Northumbria	157
876	They invade Wessex, land in Dorsetshire, and take Wareham. Alfred beats their ships at sea, and they evacuate Wessex	id.
	A Saxon fleet destroys the Danish ships at the mouth of the Exe. Guthrun capitulates at Exeter, and gives hostages	id.
878	Alfred is surprised at Chippenham by the Danes under Guthrun, and is obliged to fly, and the Danes overrun Wessex. Alfred takes refuge in Athelney	158-9
	He fights the battle of Ethandune; defeats the Danes; and Guthrun embraces Christianity; and England is then divided between him and Alfred	160
	Asser made bishop of Sherburn	161
879	Guthrun the Dane baptized. An army of pagans land and winter at Fulham	id.
882	Constantine II., king of Scots, is defeated and slain by the Danes	219
	Accession and dethronement of Hugh, king of Scots	id.
	Alfred gains a naval victory over the Danes	162
885	He gains another naval victory, and the same year he drives the Danes from before Rochester, and compels them to retreat to their ships	id.
886	He rebuilds and fortifies London	id.
	The Danes besiege Paris during this and the two following years	id.
893	Grig and Etha, kings of Scots, dethroned, and Donald IV. succeeds	219
893-6	The Danes invade England and land at Romney Marsh. Another division under Hasting land at Milton. The Danes of England rise in their favour; Alfred defeats them at Farnham; he raises the siege of Exeter. Ethelred, earl of the Mercians, takes Hasting prisoner, whom Alfred liberates. The Danes are routed at Buttington and in various other	
897	battles. Hasting, abandoned by his followers, leaves England	162, 3, 4
901	Alfred dies at the age of fifty-three, and is buried at Winchester	167
	Edward and Ethelwald dispute the succession;	

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	the latter flies to Danelagh, and becomes king of the Danes	168
904	Donald IV., king of Scots, killed in battle near Forteviot, and is succeeded by Constantine III.	219
905	Ethelwald is slain in battle by Edward	168
911	Edward gains a signal victory over the Danes	*id.*
912	Ethelred dies, and leaves the care of Mercia to his widow Ethelfleda; she drives the Danes out of Derby and Leicester, compels many of the tribes to submit, and takes the wife of the Welsh king prisoner	*id.*
920	Ethelfleda dies; is succeeded in Mercia by Edward, who dies, and is succeeded by Athelstane	*id.*
925	Accession of Athelstane; reduces nearly all Wales; compels the Welsh to pay tribute, and drives the Cornish out of Devon	*id.*
934	North Britain called for the first time Scotland	218
937	Athelstane defeats Anlaf the Dane, and Constantine, king of Scots, at Brunnaburgh; assumes the title of king of the Anglo-Saxons	168
940	He dies, and is buried at Malmsbury	170
	Anlaf again invades England; takes a great part; Edmund Atheling regains possession of it	*id.*
944	Constantine III., king of Scots, becomes abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrew's, and Malcolm I. succeeds	219
	Kenneth is murdered by Fenella at Fettercairn	220
946	Edmund Atheling expels Dunmail, king of Cumbria, and gives the country to the king of Scots; puts out the eyes of Dunmail's sons; is stabbed by Leof; dies, and is buried at Glastonbury	170
	Accession of Edred. The Danes again infest England; are beaten; Edred obliges the Danes of England to pay a fine, and incorporates Northumbria with the rest of the kingdom; he dies	170-1
948	The Danes of Ireland embrace Christianity	223
953	Malcolm I., king of Scots, is killed, and succeeded by Indulf	219
955	Accession of Edwy; appoints Edgar sub-regulus of part of England; marries Elgiva; Dunstan insults him, and is banished. The Northumbrians and Mercians rise and declare Edgar king of England north of the Thames	172
956	Dunstan returns. Egilva cruelly treated and murdered	*id.*
958, 9	Edwy dies, and is succeeded by Edgar. Dunstan is made archbishop of Canterbury	*id.*
	Edgar is styled emperor of Albion and king of England	173
	He causes the extirpation of wolves	*id.*
961	Indulf, king of Scots, killed at the battle of the Bauds, and is succeeded by Duff	219
964	Edgar issues a new coinage. Athelwold marries Elfrida; he is murdered; Edgar marries the widow	173
965	Duff, king of Scots, is assassinated, and Culen succeeds	219
978	Culen is killed in battle, and is succeeded by Kenneth III.	220
973	Kenneth overcomes Dunwallon, king of Strathclyde, at the battle of Vacornar, and incorporates his kingdom with the rest of Scotland	218
975	Edgar dies, and is buried at Glastonbury	173
	Accession of Edward the Martyr	174
978	He is murdered near Corfe Castle by an attendant of Elfrida	175
979	Ethelred is crowned at Kingston by Dunstan	*id.*
981	Southampton is plundered and its inhabitants taken for slaves by Sweyn, a prince of Denmark, who afterwards takes Chester, London, and attacks many other places	176

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991	The Danes ravage all between Ipswich and Maldon, and slay Earl Brithnoth	176
992	A large fleet is collected at London, but Alfric, the principal commander, goes over to the Danes; the eyes of Elfgar, his son, are put out by Ethelred	*id.*
993	A Danish host land and take Bamborough Castle by storm	*id.*
994	Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway, ravage the south, and are bought off by the payment of 16,000 pounds of silver	*id.*
998	Ethelred prepares a large fleet	177
1001	The Danes again land and ravage the whole country; they are paid 24,000*l.* to depart. The Dane-geld becomes permanent	*id.*
1002	Ethelred marries Emma, the Flower of Normandy, the sister of Duke Richard	*id.*
	Nov. 13. The Danes throughout England are massacred in the feast of St. Brice; Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn is murdered	*id.*
	Sweyn invades England; lands near Exeter, which city he plunders and ravages Wiltshire	178
1003	Malcolm II. of Scotland defeats and slays Kennet the Grim, at the battle of Monivaird	221
	The Danes take, plunder, and burn Norwich, and destroy the other towns in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire	178
	Bryan the Brave, king of Ireland, begins to reign	223
1004	The Danes return to the Baltic	178
1006	Sweyn again ravages the kingdom, and is paid 36,000*l.* to retire	*id.*
1008	A large fleet is built and equipped, but rendered useless by treachery of the commanders; Wulfnoth takes twenty and ravages the south coast, and eighty are destroyed by a storm	178 9
1009, 1010, 1011	The Danes called "Thurkill's host" land in England, and ravage the country; Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, defends that city, but it is taken and the archbishop is murdered	179
	Thurkill accepts 48,000*l.* and the cession of some counties, and enters the service of Ethelred	*id.*
	The Danes under Sweyn sail up the Humber, and landing, devastate the country; many counties submit, and some of the Thanes do homage to him. Ethelred retires to Normandy	179, 180
1013	Sweyn is declared "Full King of England." He dies suddenly at Gainsborough, and Ethelred returns, but Canute is declared king by his Danish followers	180
1014	Bryan the Brave, king of Ireland, is killed by the Danes at the battle of Clontarf, and is succeeded by Malachi	223
1016	Ethelred dies, and Edmund Ironside is chosen king by the Saxons. England is again divided, Canute reigning over the north and Edmund the south. Edmund dies suddenly	180
1017	Canute succeeds to the whole kingdom of England; murders all the Saxon princes he can, except Edmund and Edward, who are sent to Sweden; he marries Emma, the widow of Ethelred; engages in foreign wars	180-1
1019	Compels the Cumbrians and Scots to submit	181
1020	Eadulf cedes to Malcolm, king of Scots, part of his dominions called Lodonia	221
1022	Malachi, king of Ireland, dies	223
1030	Canute goes on a pilgrimage to Rome; visits Denmark; and after two years' absence returns to England	182-3
1033	Malcolm II., king of Scots, dies, and is succeeded by Duncan	221
1034	Robert, Duke of Normandy, dies	192
1035	Canute dies and is buried at Winchester	184

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	The Wittenagemote declare that the kingdom shall be divided between Harold and Hardicanute	184
	Hardicanute remains in Denmark; Edward lands, but returns to Normandy; Alfred lands at Herne Bay, and is received by Earl Godwin; he is captured and cruelly treated; he dies	185
	Harold is declared full king over all the Island	*id.*
1039	Duncan, king of Scots, is murdered at Bothgouanan by Macbeth, who succeeds to the throne	221-2
1040	Harold dies and is buried at Westminster. Hardicanute arrives in England, and is accepted as king	186
1042	He dies at a feast, and is buried at Winchester	*id.*
	Accession of Edward the Confessor	*id.*
	He marries Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin	187
1043	The Danes, under King Magnus, threaten to invade England, but retire	188
1044	Sweyn II., son of Earl Godwin, violates an abbess and is exiled; he becomes a pirate and murders his cousin Beorn; he is pardoned and restored to his government	189
1051	A retainer of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, kills an Englishman at Dover, and the count and his followers are driven out; Earl Godwin is disgraced; he flies to Flanders; his sons Harold and Leofwin go to Ireland	191
	Edward seizes the jewels and money of his Queen Editha, and confines her in the monastery of Wherwell; William, Duke of Normandy, visits England at the king's invitation	191-2
1052	Earl Godwin lands on the south coast; he and his sons Harold and Leofwin sail up the Thames and stop at Southwark; the Normans and French are banished; the queen set at liberty; Wilnot, one of the sons, and Haco, a grandson of the earl, are given as hostages, and sent to Normandy; Sweyn is banished and goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; the Saxon authority is rendered supreme	193
	Earl Godwin dies at Windsor, and is succeeded in his titles and possessions by Harold, his eldest son	194

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1054	Siward, Earl of Northumbria, defeats Macbeth near Dunsinane	*id.*, 222
1056	Dec. 5. Macduff and Malcolm defeat and slay Macbeth	222
1057	April 3. Lulach, successor of Macbeth, is defeated and slain at the battle of Eassie by Malcolm III.	*id.*
1059	The Earl Algar dies	194
1063	Harold with his brother Tostig overcome the Welch, who decapitate their king Griffith, and send his head to Harold; the Welch give hostages and engage to pay the ancient tribute	195
	Edward, the outlaw, arrives in London and dies soon after, and is buried in St. Paul's	*id.*
1064	Turlogh becomes king of Ireland	223
1065	Harold is wrecked on the French coast; is taken prisoner; is ransomed by the Duke of Normandy; Harold swears to aid William to get possession of the English crown after Edward's death	198-9
	Tostig is expelled from Northumbria, and Morcar is appointed Earl in his stead; he flies to Bruges	200
	Nov. 30. Harold arrives in London	201
1066	Jan. 5. Edward the Confessor dies and is buried at Westminster	203
	Harold is proclaimed king; the foreign favourites are dismissed; Duke William demands by his ambassadors the fulfilment of Harold's oath; he refuses; the Pope sanctions the invasion of England	206-7
	Tostig ravages the Isle of Wight and the coast of Lincolnshire; sails up the Humber, but is beaten off; Hardrada, king of Norway, invades England, and with Tostig defeats Earls Morcar and Edwin, and takes York; Harold fights and beats them at Stamford bridge, and Hardrada and Tostig are slain	208-9
	Sept. 28. The Normans land at Bulverhithe, march to Hastings, and form a fortified camp	210
	They ravage the surrounding country	211
	Harold arrives in London from the north, and in six days marches against the Normans	209
	Oct. 14. The battle of Hastings; Harold is slain	212-15

BOOK III.

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	William takes Dover Castle	359
	Edgar Atheling is declared king, and Earls Edwin and Morcar appointed to military command	360
	William marches to Southwark; ravages the country; Edgar surrenders the crown to him; a fort, afterwards the Tower of London, built by William	361
	Coronation of William in Westminster Abbey	362
	William holds his court at Barking, where he receives Edgar Atheling	*id.*
	A castle is built at Winchester	363
1067	March. William goes over to Normandy, leaving Odo in command with certain councillors	364
	Insurrection in Kent; Dover Castle is attacked; Count Eustace, of Boulogne, comes over, but retires	365
	Edric rises in Herefordshire; the sons of Harold invade England from Ireland; are repulsed; the English rise in several parts	*id.*
	Dec. 6. William embarks at Dieppe for England	366

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	Keeps his Christmas in London; the Saxon laws to be observed	366
1068	William besieges and takes Exeter, and builds a castle there; he is crowned with his Queen Matilda at York, by Archbishop Aldred	*id.*
	Harold's sons again invade England; are defeated and seek refuge in Denmark	367
	William extends his conquests to Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxford, and many fortified cities	*id.*
	Earls Edwin and Morcar raise the people in the north	368
	William marches and gives them battle on the Ouse, and defeats them; he takes York and builds a citadel	369
	Aldred, Archbishop of York, curses William	*id.*
	Edgar Atheling and his family fly to Scotland	*id.*, 534
	Several Norman followers of William abandon England	370
	He sends his queen back to Normandy	*id.*
1069	William raises the siege of York and erects a second castle. Robert de Comine attacks	

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and takes Durham, but he and his followers are destroyed in the night . . . 370
1072 William advances into Scotland; subdues Malcolm III., who meets and gives hostages to William, and does homage at Abernethy . . . 378, 534, 536
1073 Aug. The Danes under Osbeorn invade England; land at the Ouse; are joined by Edgar Atheling; they besiege York; the Normans burn the city and cathedral, and 3000 of them are destroyed 371
William retakes York, and Edgar flies again to Scotland 372
William lays waste Northumbria; Egelwin, Bishop of Durham, retires to Lindisfarne; Durham is taken by William and fortified . 373
He is nearly lost on his way to York . . *id.*
The conquered country partitioned out to Normans 374, 5
Earls Edwin and Morcar are admitted to their estates 375
William enters Chester without resistance . *id.*
Hugh the Wolf, Earl of Chester, invades North Wales and builds Rhuddlan Castle . . 376
Hereward raises an insurrection in Lincolnshire, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. Edwin and Morcar fly from William; the former is killed and Morcar joins Hereward; the English make a fortified camp in the Isle of Ely; William besieges them for three months; the monks of Ely betray the camp; the English surrender, but Hereward escapes; he afterwards takes the oath of allegiance to William 376, 7, 8
William takes with him an English army and reduces Maine 379
Edgar Atheling goes to Rouen to William . 380
Some of the Norman barons raise an insurrection at Norwich; the Earl of Norfolk is defeated; Norwich Castle surrenders; William besieges Dol in Brittany unsuccessfully; he returns to England 381, 2
Earl Waltheof is executed near Winchester . 382
The abbot of Croyland is accused of idolatry and degraded . . . . . *id.*
1077-9 Robert of Normandy, William's eldest son, claims that province; he is refused; he revolts and attacks the Castle of Rouen; retires to Le Perche; again demands Normandy; is again refused; he goes to the French court; ravages Normandy; William besieges him in the Castle of Gesberoy; is wounded by Robert; he abandons the siege; Robert is reconciled to the king 384
1079 Malcolm III. makes an inroad into Northumberland . . . . . .
1080 Robert is sent to command against the Scots, but effects nothing 536
Robert finally leaves the king 384
Liulf having been robbed by Gilbert and other retainers of the Bishop of Durham, raises an insurrection; the people meet at Gateshead; they fire the church; Gilbert is put to death; the bishop and his retinue are slain . . 384, 5
1082 to 1085 Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, is sent by the king against the insurgents; lays waste the country; Odo aspires to the Popedom and leaves England 385
William arrests him at the Isle of Wight and sends him prisoner to Normandy . . 386
Queen Matilda dies . . . . . *id.*
The Danes again appear upon the coast, but return . . . . . *id.*
Sueno and his son Harold of Denmark die . *id.*
Canute succeeds to the Danish throne and prepares with Olaf, king of Norway, to invade England; imprisons his brother Sleswic; the invasion is abandoned 386, 7

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The Danegeld again laid on by the king . 387
He enlists many foreign soldiers; lays waste the lands near the sea-shore; encourages commerce . . . . . *id.*
William and Henry, the king's sons, disagree . *id.*
The king lays waste a circumference of ninety miles in Hampshire to make a hunting ground 387
He enacts the forest laws 388
1086 The king assembles all his vassals at Salisbury, who again take the oath of allegiance and do homage . . . . . *id.*
The king then departs for the continent with his sons William and Henry, to lay siege to Mantes . . . . . *id.*
July. Turlogh, king of Ireland, dies at Kinkora 458
1087 July. William lays siege to Mantes; it is taken and burned; he receives an injury by his horse stumbling; he is carried to Rouen; removes to the monastery of St. Gervas; liberates state prisoners; bequeathes Normandy to Robert, and gives 5000*l.* of silver to Henry 389
Sept. 9. Death of William the Conqueror . *id.*
His body is carried to Caen and is buried in St. Stephen's church 390, 1
Sept. 26. William Rufus is crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury 392
He again imprisons the English state prisoners liberated by his father 392, 3
The Bishop of Bayeux raises an insurrection in England in favour of Robert of Normandy . 394
The Normans are defeated at sea; Rufus calls the Saxons together; besieges Odo, the bishop, in Pevensey Castle; Pevensey and Rochester Castles are surrendered to the king, and Odo departs from England, and the insurrection is quelled 394, 5, 6
1089 Archbishop Lanfranc dies; Rufus seizes the revenues of Canterbury 396
1090 The Norman barons rebel against Robert and take many of his castles; they are garrisoned by Rufus; Henry assists Robert, and the adherents of Rufus are expelled; Henry gains some castles; Henry throws Conan, the leader of the Rebellion, over the battlements of a high tower 396, 7
1091. Jan. Rufus lands in Normandy at the head of an English army; a peace is concluded and Rufus retains many towns; Rufus and Robert attack Henry and lay siege to Mount St. Michael, which he evacuates and retires into Brittany 397, 8
Rufus engages in a war with Malcolm III. of Scotland; Rufus lays the foundation of a castle at Carlisle; and colonises that part; Rufus requires Malcolm to appear at Gloucester and do homage, which is refused . 398, 536, 537
Malcolm does homage; Edgar Atheling comes to England and lives in the court of Rufus . 398
Nov. 13. Malcolm III. and his son Edward killed at the siege of Alnwick Castle . 399, 537
Nov. 16. Queen Margaret his wife, the sister of Edgar Atheling, dies . . . 399, 538
1094 Donald Bain seizes the throne of Scotland . 538
May. Duncan offers to swear fealty to Rufus; invades Scotland; drives Donald Bain from the throne and becomes king . . . *id.*
1094-5 The Welch invade the English border; besiege and take Montgomery Castle, and overrun Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, and reduce the Isle of Anglesey; Rufus marches against them; goes into Wales, but retreats; orders the erection of forts along the frontier 399
Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, enters into a conspiracy against Rufus to place Stephen on the throne; the king marches against him; besieges him in Bamborough Castle; he is

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	taken prisoner; his wife delivers up the castle; the conspirators are variously punished	400
1094	Ireland is divided between Murtach, son of King Turlogh, and Domnal MacLochlin	459
1095	Donald Bain causes the assassination of Duncan, and again becomes king of Scotland	538
	He expels all foreign settlers, and abolishes all innovations on the customs of the country	*id.*
1096	Robert resigns Normandy to Rufus for a sum of money	400
	He sails to take possession of it	401
1097	Edgar Atheling marches into Scotland	538
1098	Defeats Donald Bain, and places his nephew Edgar on the throne	*id.*
1099	The town of Mans is delivered up to Rufus by the Lord of La Flêche	401
	July 15. Jerusalem is captured by the Crusaders	407
1100	Helie besieges Mans; Rufus instantly repairs to Barfleur; Mans is surrendered; Rufus is wounded; he ravages the country and returns to England	401
	May. Richard, son of Duke Robert, is killed by an arrow in the New Forest	*id.*
	Aug. 1. Rufus is slain by an arrow in the New Forest, shot by Sir Walter Tyrrell, who flies to Normandy, and afterwards departs for the Holy Land	403
	Rufus is buried in Winchester Cathedral	*id.*
	Henry attempts to seize the treasures in Winchester Castle; is opposed by Robert de Breteuil	404
	Aug. 5. Accession of Henry I.; he is crowned in Westminster Abbey by Maurice, bishop of London	405
	Henry grants a charter of liberties; restores the rights of the church; and promises to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor	406
	Nov. 11. Henry marries Maud, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots	406, 7
	He expels the favourites of Rufus	407
1101	Ralf Flambard, bishop of Durham, escapes from the Tower of London and goes to Normandy	*id.*
	Robert prepares to invade England	408
	The English fleet desert to him; he lands at Portsmouth; peace is concluded, and Henry cedes all his castles in Normandy to Robert	409
	Henry goes to war with some of his barons; siege of Arundel Castle; of Bridgenorth; it is captured; capitulation of Shrewsbury	*id.*
	Robert comes to England, and is made prisoner	410
	Robert is liberated and returns to Normandy	*id.*
1102	Sibylla, the wife of Robert, dies	*id.*
1103	Murtach, one of the kings of Ireland, is defeated by MacLochlin the other king, at Cobha, in Tyrone	459
1106	Henry invades Normandy; lays siege to Tenchebray; Robert marches to its relief; is defeated and taken prisoner, and Normandy falls into the possession of Henry	410-12
	Edgar Atheling is taken prisoner at the same place; is brought to England, and a pension is allowed him	411
	Duke Robert is committed to prison for life; he attempts to escape; is blinded by order of Henry	*id.*
	Henry takes Falaise, and there secures William, the infant son of Robert; commits him to the custody of Helie de St. Saen	412
1107	Jan. 8. Edgar, king of Scotland, dies, and is succeeded by Alexander I.	538
	Cumberland is severed from the kingdom of Scotland, having been bequeathed by Edgar to his brother David	*id.*

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1109	July 30. Turgot is consecrated bishop of St. Andrew's by the Archbishop of York	539
1110	Matilda, the daughter of Henry, affianced to Henry V., emperor of Germany, and a tax laid on the country to pay the marriage portion	412
	The Welsh are defeated; and a colony of Flemings established at Haverfordwest	*id.*
	Henry obliges the barons and prelates to swear fealty to his son William at Salisbury	413
1113	The King of France and Fulk, Earl of Anjou, attack the frontiers of Normandy; peace is restored	412
1115	Turgot, bishop of St. Andrew's, dies	539
1117	Thomas à Becket is born	446
1118	Maud the Good, queen of Henry, dies. The Earl of Mellent, Henry's chief minister, also dies	413
	Henry is engaged in a war with his Norman barons	*id.*
	Baldwin, earl of Flanders, dies of his wounds	*id.*
	The Order of the Templars founded	746
1119	Murtach, one of the kings of Ireland, dies	459
	Aug. 20. The battle of Brenville fought between Henry and Louis, king of France	413
1120	Eadmer elected bishop of St. Andrew's, but is not consecrated	539
	Nov. 25. Henry sets sail from Barfleur for England	414
	The Blanche-nef, the ship in which Prince William embarked, is wrecked and all perish	415
	The Norman barons again revolt	416
	Henry marries Alice, daughter of Geoffry, duke of Louvain	*id.*
1121	MacLochlin, king of all Ireland, dies	459
1124	The Emperor Henry V. dies	416
	Robert, Prior of Scone, is made bishop of St. Andrew's, and consecrated by the Archbishop of York	539
	April 27. Alexander I., king of Scotland, dies, and is succeeded by David, earl of Cumberland	*id.*
1126	Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., and daughter of Henry I., is declared the next heir to the throne	416
	Fulk, earl of Anjou, goes to the Holy Land, and renounces his government in favour of his son, Geoffry Plantagenet	417
1127	Matilda is married to Geoffry Plantagenet at Rouen	*id.*
	Henry causes his barons again to swear to support the succession of Matilda; David, king of Scots, is the first to do so	540
1128	July 27. William of Normandy, the son of Robert, dies at St. Omer, of a wound in the hand	417
	Matilda leaves her husband and comes over to England; she returns	418
1133	Matilda is delivered of a son at Mans, who is afterwards Henry II. of England	*id.*
	Henry again causes his barons to swear to support the succession of Matilda and her children	*id.*
1133	Geoffry, another son of Matilda, is born	*id.*
1134	William, a third son, is born	*id.*
1135	Robert of Normandy dies in Cardiff Castle	411
	Nov. 25. Henry is taken sick while in Normandy	418
	Dec. 1. He dies, leaving all his territories to his daughter Matilda	*id.*
	His bowels are buried at St. Mary's, Rouen, and his body brought over and buried at Reading Abbey	*id.*
	Stephen arrives in London, and is acknowledged king by the citizens	421

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	Dec. 26. He is crowned at Westminster	422
	He calls a meeting of the barons and clergy at Oxford, who swear to obey him so long as he preserves the church discipline; the pope confirms his election as king	*id.*
	Stephen grants a charter of liberties; he allows his barons to fortify their castles	*id.*
1136	Stephen goes to Normandy and is received as the lawful successor	*id.*
	David, king of Scotland, invades England in favour of Matilda; a peace is concluded	423
	Feb. Henry, David's son, is created earl of Huntingdon; David again invades England; a truce is made	423-540
	Turlogh O'Conner, king of Connaught, is acknowledged king of all Ireland	459
1137	Robert Earl of Gloucester comes to England; swears fealty to Stephen; raises an insurrection in favour of Matilda; is aided by the King of Scots; Norwich and other royal castles are taken; Stephen regains them	423
	Eleanor, daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine, is married to Louis VII. of France	439
1138	March. David, king of Scots, invades England a third time	423-541
	June 9. Defeats the English at Clitherow	541
	Aug. 22. The battle of the Standard is fought at Northallerton	424-5-6, 541
	Stephen seizes Roger, bishop of Sarum, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln	426
	Keeps them without food till their castles are given up	427
	Stephen is summoned to appear before the pope's legate and a synod of bishops at Winchester; but refuses	*id.*
	Dec. Roger, bishop of Sarum, dies	428
1139	Peace concluded at Durham between David, king of Scots, and Stephen; David made earl of Northumberland	541
	Sept. 1. The synod of Winchester dissolved	428
	Matilda lands in England; Stephen surprises her in Arundel Castle; she is allowed to depart; the barons of the north and west join Matilda	428
	Stephen defeats the barons at Ely and other places	429
1140	Dermond MacMurrogh, king of Leinster, seizes seventeen of his nobility and puts out their eyes	
1141	Feb. 2. Robert Earl of Gloucester takes Stephen prisoner before Lincoln	430
	March 2. The Bishop of Winchester abandons Stephen, and the following day gives his benediction to Matilda in Winchester Cathedral; she assumes royal authority	*id.*
	April 7. Matilda convenes a meeting of churchmen, who, the following day, ratify her accession	430-1
	— 9. The deputies from London object; Christian, the chaplain of Stephen's queen, demands the liberation of the king; the legate Winchester excommunicates the adherents of Stephen	431
	June. Matilda enters London; insults the queen and Bishop of Winchester	*id.*
	Matilda is driven from London by Queen Maud, and retires to Oxford; she attempts to seize the Bishop of Winchester; he fortifies his palace; Matilda enters the castle of Winchester, and lays siege to the palace	432
	Aug. 1. The bishop besieges Winchester Castle	433
	Sept. 14. Matilda makes her escape from the castle, and reaches Devizes Castle; is carried as a corpse from that place to Gloucester	*id.*
	Her adherents, the Earl of Gloucester, and others, are taken prisoners; but the King of Scots escapes and returns to Scotland	*id.*, 541

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	Nov. 1. Stephen is set at liberty in exchange for Robert Earl of Gloucester	433
	Dec. 17. The Bishop of Winchester summons an ecclesiastical council, when Stephen is formally restored by them	434
1142	Stephen marches to Oxford and invests the citadel and fires the town, after three months' siege	
	Dec. 20. Matilda escapes in the snow; is joined by the Earl of Gloucester and her son, Prince Henry, at Wallingford; Oxford Castle surrenders	435
1143	Stephen is defeated at Wilton by the Earl of Gloucester	*id.*
1147	Matilda's son, Prince Henry, is sent back to Normandy	*id.*
	Oct. Robert Earl of Gloucester dies of a fever	*id.*
	Matilda quits England	*id.*
1148	Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, is exiled	*id.*
	The churches in half the kingdom are closed	*id.*
1149	Prince Henry lands in Scotland and is met by King David at Carlisle, where he knights him	436-451
	David and his son Henry invade England and advance to Lancaster	541
	Thomas à Becket goes to Rome and obtains a prohibition against the anointing of Prince Eustace	446
1150	Prince Henry succeeds as duke of Anjou	436
	Stephen requires the Archbishop of Canterbury to anoint Prince Eustace, his son, but he refuses	435
1151	Ireland is divided between two princes by Turlogh O'Connor, after the battle of Moinmor	459
	Wimund, an adventurer in Scotland, is taken prisoner and has his eyes put out	541
	Maud, the queen of Stephen, dies, and is buried at Faversham	438
1152	Eleanor, wife of Louis VII. of France, is divorced	439
	Prince Henry marries her, and attains Poictou, Guienne, and Aquitaine	436-9
	He lands in England with an army; he is met by Stephen at Wallingford; a truce is agreed upon	437
	Prince Eustace dies	*id.*
	June 12. Henry, son of David, king of Scotland, dies	541
1153	May 24. David, king of Scotland, dies, and is succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV.	542
	Nov. 7. A peace is concluded at Winchester between Stephen and Prince Henry; the latter is adopted as his son; appointed his successor, and has the kingdom given to him after the king's death	437
	MacMurrogh, king of Leinster, carries off Dergorvilla, the wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc	460
1154	Prince Henry returns to the continent	437-8
	Oct. 25. King Stephen dies, and is buried at Faversham Monastery	438
	Dec. Henry arrives in England and enters Winchester	440
	—19. He is crowned with his queen in Westminster Abbey by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury	440-1
	He makes the barons and bishops swear fealty to his two sons, William and Henry	441
	The Earl of Leicester is appointed grand justiciary of the kingdom; a new coinage issued; the foreign companies of adventurers are expelled	*id.*
	The king summons a great council, and obtains their sanction to resume the castles granted by Stephen and Matilda	*id.*
	Eleven hundred of them are levelled	442

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	At the siege of Bridgenorth Henry's life is saved by Hubert de St. Clair	442
	Geoffry, Henry's younger brother, lays claim to the earldom of Anjou	*id.*
1156	Henry goes to France and does homage to Louis VII. for Normandy and other provinces	442, 3
	He reduces Anjou and grants Geoffry a pension	443
	Turlogh O'Connor, king of Ireland, called O'Connor the Great, dies, and is succeeded by Murtoch O'Lochlin as supreme king	459
	Thomas à Becket is made chancellor of England, preceptor to the prince, and warden of the Tower	446
1157	Henry invades Wales; he is defeated with great loss at Coleshill Forest; he cuts down forests; erects forts; the Welsh, after a few months, do homage and give hostages	443
	Malcolm IV. of Scotland resigns at Chester his claim to territory north of the Tyne and all his right to Cumberland, and all other possessions in England except the earldom of Huntingdon	542
1158	Malcolm attends at Carlisle to be knighted by Henry, but quarrels, and returns home	*id.*
	Geoffry, Henry's younger brother, dies	443
	Henry claims Nantes, and takes possession of that and several other places at the head of a powerful army	*id.*
	Thomas à Becket goes as ambassador to Paris	444
	Henry soon after goes there in person	*id.*
	He commutes the personal services of his vassals for a sum, and raises a large army	444, 5
1159	He embarks for Toulouse with Malcolm, king of Scotland, whom he knights in France, à Becket and others	445-542
	Malcolm returns to Scotland; his nobles attempt to seize him	542
	Henry takes Cahors and returns to Normandy	445
	Becket fortifies Cahors; takes three castles, and returns to Normandy	*id.*
1160	Peace is concluded between Henry and Louis	446
	Constance, queen of France, dies; Louis marries Adelais, niece of King Stephen; Prince Henry is married to Margaret, daughter of Louis; Louis exiles the Knights Templars	*id.*
1161	Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, dies	448
1162	Thomas à Becket made primate of England	*id.*
1163	The Welsh rise in arms, but are defeated	451
	Becket lays claim to Rochester Castle and other castles and several baronies	448
	He excommunicates William de Eynsford, but at the command of Henry absolves him	*id.*
	July 1. Malcolm IV. of Scotland renews his homage to King Henry at Woodstock	
1164	Jan. 25. Becket and the clergy sign a series of articles rendering the clergy subject to the civil courts for felony at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, called the Constitutions of Clarendon	449
	Becket is cited before the council at Northampton	*id.*
	Oct. 11. Becket appears before the king with his pastoral staff; is renounced as primate by the bishops	449, 450
	He is accused of magic; sentenced to imprisonment	450
	— 26. He leaves Northampton and flies to Gravelines	*id.*
	He is reinvested by the pope as archbishop	451
	Henry banishes his relations and friends, and seizes his goods and possessions	*id.*
	Malcolm IV. routs the army of Somerled, thane of Argyle, who with his son is slain	543
1165	Henry commands in person a campaign against the Welsh, and commits great cruelties upon his hostages	451

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	Dec. 9. Malcolm IV. dies at Jedburgh, and is succeeded by William the Lion	543
1166	Insurrection in Brittany. Henry, accompanied by William, king of Scots, passes over and reduces the country to submission; he keeps his court at Mount St. Michael	451-2, 543
	Dec. Murtoch O'Lochlin, king of Ireland, is killed in battle, and is succeeded by Roderick O'Connor	459
1167	Henry orders a tax to be levied for the support of the war in the Holy Land	452
	May. Becket excommunicates in the church of Vezeley the supporters of the constitutions of Clarendon; and several of the favourites of Henry	452
1167	Dermond MacMurrogh, king of Leinster, acknowledges himself vassal to Henry, at Aquitaine, and Henry grants him protection; he comes to England; engages with Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, called Strongbow, and Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, for aid in his restoration; returns to Ireland	461-2
	The Empress Matilda dies at Rouen	452
1169	Dermond is defeated by Roderick and O'Ruarc, and accepts part of his former territory as O'Ruarc's vassal	462
	Peace is concluded between the kings of England and France; Henry's sons do homage for their several fiefs, &c. Marriage is agreed between Prince Richard, and Alice, a daughter of Louis	452
	Dec. 1. Becket lands at Sandwich; proceeds to Canterbury	*id.*
	Excommunicates Ranulf and Robert de Broc and the rector of Harrow	*id.*
	The excommunicated bishops appeal to the king	454, 5
1170	An English army and the Irish, under the command of Dermond MacMurrogh, besiege Wexford, which surrenders	462
	Fitzstephen overcomes the district of Ossory	*id.*
	MacMurrogh is acknowledged king of Leinster	463
	Maurice Fitzgerald arrives from England. Dublin is reduced	*id.*
	May. Raymond le Gros lands in Waterford; he defeats the inhabitants	464
	June 14. Prince Henry is crowned during his father's lifetime by the Archbishop of York; William, king of Scots, and David, his son, do homage to the prince	453, 543
	July 22. A congress is held on the borders of Touraine, when Henry and Becket are reconciled	*id.*
	Becket sends into England letters of excommunication against the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury	454
	Sept. Strongbow embarks at Milford Haven with a large force and lands near Waterford; the city is attacked and taken; Strongbow marries Eva, the daughter of MacMurrogh; Dublin is taken; Meath is overrun	464
	The English slaves in Ireland set at liberty	465
	Proclamation of Henry for the return of the English	*id.*
	The Danes invade Ireland; attack Dublin, but are defeated	*id.*
	Dermond MacMurrogh dies, and Strongbow assumes the title of king of Leinster in right of his wife	*id.*
	Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin, causes a confederacy of native princes under the command of Roderick to invest Dublin; Strongbow cuts his way through the army of Roderick, which he routs	465, 6
	Fitzstephen is besieged in Wexford and surrenders	466

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1170 Strongbow repairs to Newnham, in Gloucestershire, at the command of Henry; he surrenders Dublin and other forts to the king, and holds the remainder in subjection to the English crown 466
Becket is murdered in St. Augustine's Church, Canterbury 455, 6
1171 Oct. 18. Henry, attended by Strongbow and a large army, lands at Crook, near Waterford 466
Henry receives the submission of many princes and Chieftains, and all Ireland, except Ulster, is subjugated 467
1772 April 17. Henry appoints Hugh de Lacy governor of Dublin and sails from Wexford, and the same day lands at Portfinnan, in Wales . . . . . *id.*
May. Henry is absolved from the murder of Becket by the pope's legates at Avranches . 458
Prince Henry is again crowned; his consort Margaret, daughter of Louis of France, is crowned with him 467
Prince Henry demands the sovereignty of either England or Normandy 468
He flies to the French court . . . . *id.*
The Irish rise against the English . . . 546
1173 March. Richard and Geoffry, the king's other sons, *go to* the French court, and Queen Eleanor abandons her husband, but is retaken and imprisoned 468
Prince Henry is acknowledged sole king of England by Louis of France; the three princes swear that they will not make peace with Henry without the consent of the barons of France . . . . . *id.*
Henry declares that England belongs to the jurisdiction of the pope 469
June. The war commences in Normandy, but the rebels and invaders are repulsed; and a meeting takes place between the kings of England and France. The Earl of Leinster insults Henry . . . . . *id.*
Richard de Lucy repulses the Scots; burns Berwick 470
William the Lion is created Earl of Northumberland by Prince Henry 543
The Earl of Leinster taken prisoner by De Lucy 470
1174 Louis and Prince Henry again attack Normandy; Prince Richard leads the insurgents in Poictou and Aquitaine . . . . *id.*
Roger de Mowbray revolts in Yorkshire; the Scotch invade England; Hugh Bigod takes Norwich Castle . . . . . *id.*
July 8. Henry returns to England, and lands at Southampton, bringing as prisoners his own and Prince Henry's wife; does penance at the grave of Becket . . . . . *id.*
He is scourged in the church 471
July 12. Ranulph de Glanville takes William the Lion prisoner with sixty Scottish lords; William is sent to Falaise . . . *id.*, 472
Henry subdues the revolt in England, and leads his army into Normandy, where he raises the siege of Rouen 471-544
Henry is reconciled to his children, and peace is restored . . . . . *id.*
Dec. William the Lion is released, on doing homage to Henry, by the treaty of Falaise 472-544
1175 Henry again at variance with his eldest son; they are reconciled 472
Ireland is subjected to England by treaty; the King of Ireland does homage 546
1177 March. Henry arbitrates the dispute between Alfonso, king of Castile, and Sancho, king of Navarre . . . . . *id.*
1178 The chapter of St. Andrew's elect John Scot their bishop 544

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1178 William seizes the revenues, and causes Hugh to be consecrated; Pope Alexander III. cancels the appointment 544
1179 John Scot is consecrated; is banished . . *id.*
1181 William is excommunicated, and Scotland laid under an interdict; Pope Alexander dies; Pope Lucius III. reverses the decree, and appoints Hugh, bishop of St. Andrew's, and John, bishop of Dunkeld . . . . *id.*
1183 Prince Richard refuses to do homage to his brother Henry for the duchy of Aquitaine; war commences between them 473
1183, 4 King Henry and Prince Geoffry are at war with Prince Henry and Prince Richard; Prince Henry submits to his father; King Henry is nearly assassinated at Limoges . 474
Prince Henry falls sick at Château Martel . *id.*
June 11. He dies 475
Henry takes Limoges by assault; takes several castles; captures Bertrand de Born; pardons him . . . . . *id.*
Prince Geoffry is reconciled to his father; Queen Eleanor is released from captivity . *id.*
Geoffry demands the earldom of Anjou; is refused; flies to the French court; prepares for war 475, 6
1186 He is killed at a tournament 476
Is buried by Philip II., king of France; Prince Richard goes to the French court; seizes his father's treasures at Chinon; heads another revolt in Aquitaine; submits to his father, and swears obedience . . . . *id.*
William the Lion marries Ermengarde, daughter of Viscount Beaumont; Henry restores the castle of Edinburgh to him . . 544
Henry, son of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, marries Constance, aunt of William the Good, king of Sicily 486
1187 Donald Bane or MacWilliam, grandson of King Duncan, invades Ross and Moray, but is repulsed 544
Sept. Jerusalem is retaken by the Mahomedans . . . . . *id.*
1188 Jan. Peace between Henry and Philip; they meet and agree to march to the Holy Land . 476
Feb. Henry calls a council at Gidington, in Northamptonshire; money is raised; the Jews are persecuted, and more money raised for the holy war 476, 7
Nov. Prince Richard does homage to King Philip for his father's continental territories 477
Philip and Richard take many of Henry's towns . . . . . *id.*
1189 June. Henry sues for peace; a meeting between him and Philip appointed; a treaty is prepared 478
July 6. King Henry dies at Chinon, and is buried at Fontevraud 479
Queen Eleanor is liberated and made regent . 482
Richard I. returns to England, accompanied by Prince John . . . . . *id.*
Sept. 2. Proclamation forbidding Jews to be present at the coronation 484
Sept. 3. Richard is crowned at Westminster by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury . . 483
Massacre of the Jews in London . . . 484
Richard raises money for the crusade . . 485
Releases William the Lion from his obligations to the crown of England . . 472, 485, 545
He appoints a regency . . . . . *id.*
Gives John various earldoms; and some lands to Queen Eleanor 486
Nov. William the Good, king of Sicily, dies . 489
1190 Tancred is crowned, at Palermo, king of Sicily 490
Feb. Richard holds a great council in Normandy; he exchanges oaths with Philip of France 486

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1190	The English and French armies are assembled at Vezelai and march to Lyons; the English fleet sails from Dartmouth; the ships are dispersed in the Bay of Biscay; sixty-three reach the Tagus and land; commit excesses; depart and reach Messina	487, 8
	Richard visits many parts of Italy	488
	The Jews are massacred in several parts of England	504
	March 16. A great massacre of the Jews at York	*id.*
	Sept. 23. Richard arrives at Messina	489
	Seizes the town of Bagnara; and takes Messina	490, 1
	He receives a large sum from Tancred; affiances his nephew, Prince Arthur, to an infant daughter of Tancred	492
	Richard confers with Giovacchino of Calabria	*id.*
	Meets Tancred; has disputes with Philip	492, 3
	March 30. Philip sails for Acre	493
	Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre, arrives in Brindisi; and sails in the English fleet from Acre	493, 4
	Prince John takes the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and is acknowledged heir to the throne	507
	Richard arrives at Rhodes; he sails for Cyprus, reduces the island, and levies tribute, and sends the emperor to a castle at Tripoli; he marries Berengaria at Limasol; embarks for Acre; he captures a large ship and massacres the crew	944, 5
	June 8. Richard arrives at Acre; the siege of the castle proceeds. The kings of England and France quarrel	495
1191	June 12. Acre is surrendered	496
	Philip quits Acre and returns to France	497
	The Crusaders massacre the hostages given at the capitulation of Acre	*id.*
	Naples is besieged by the Emperor Henry	503
	Aug. 22. Richard marches towards Jerusalem	497
	Sept. 7. Defeats Saladin near Azotus and takes possession of Jaffa	498
	Oct. 9. Prince John is declared chief governor of England; Longchamp, the justiciary, is deposed; John obtains possession of the Tower	507, 8
	Nov. Richard marches from Jaffa; retreats to Ascalon	498
	Richard and his followers repair the fortifications	499
	Quarrel between the Duke of Austria and Richard	*id.*
	He negotiates for peace with Saladin	500
	Gives Guy of Lusignan the island of Cyprus	*id.*
	Conrad of Montferrat, titular king of Jerusalem, is murdered at Tyre	*id.*
	Henry of Champagne takes possession of Tyre; marries the widow of Conrad; and is acknowledged king of Jerusalem	500, 1
1192	Saladin takes the town of Jaffa all but the citadel; Richard retakes it; battle of Jaffa	501
	Truce is made for three years between the Crusaders and Saladin; and the former go to Jerusalem as pilgrims	501, 2
	Oct. Richard sails from Acre	502
	Nov. Reaches Corfu; he is driven on shore on the coast of Istria; he is discovered; flies as far as Erperg, and is captured by the Duke of Austria and confined in the castle of Tiernsteign	503
	John goes to France and does homage to King Philip for his brother's dominions on the continent	509
	John takes Windsor and Wallingford castles; demands the crown in London; is repulsed	*id.*
	Philip prepares to make war on Normandy; John is betrothed to Alice, the French king's sister. Philip is defeated in Normandy by the Earl of Leicester	509
1193	The Duke of Austria sells King Richard to the Emperor Henry; he is confined in the Tyrol	503, 4, 9
	The emperor and the duke are excommunicated	509
	Richard is brought before the diet of the empire	510
	Sept. 22. Terms are agreed upon for the liberation of Richard; 70,000 marks are raised for the ransom	*id.*
1194	Feb. Richard is liberated	*id.*
	March 13. He lands at Sandwich	511
	Marches to London; Nottingham Castle surrenders	*id.*
	— 30. Holds a great council at Nottingham	*id.*
	He is again crowned, but at Winchester	*id.*
	Prince John massacres the officers of the garrison of Evreux	*id.*
	May. Richard lands at Barfleur. John submits and is forgiven. Philip is defeated in several engagements	*id.*
	July 23. Truce is agreed on for one year	*id.*
	The Duke of Austria dies	512
1195	Hubert Walter is appointed grand justiciary	*id.*
1196	William FitzOsbert heads a secret society; he is arrested; he stabs Geoffry, a citizen; is hanged in West Smithfield	*id.*
	A great famine and plague in England	*id.*
	William the Lion seizes the Earl of Orkney and Caithness	515
1197	The barons of Brittany and Aquitaine revolt; join the French king; Richard marries his sister Joan to the Earl of Toulouse	513
	Richard takes the Bishop of Beauvais prisoner, who is committed to a dungeon in Rouen Castle	*id.*
	Sept. The Emperor Henry dies at Messina	513
	Truce again agreed upon	*id.*
1198	Richard defeats Philip near Gisors	*id.*
1199	April 6. Death of King Richard; is buried at Fontevraud	514
	— 25. John is inaugurated at Rouen	515
	May 25. He lands at Shoreham	*id.*
	— 27. He is crowned at Westminster	515, 16
	— 28. The barons and prelates do homage to him	516
	The French king demands for Arthur of Brittany all John's continental possessions except Normandy	*id.*
	The troops of John ravage Brittany	517
	Arthur is knighted by Philip	*id.*
1200	Peace concluded, and Arthur disinherited	*id.*
	John marries Isabella, the wife of the Count de la Marche	*id.*
	He is recrowned at Westminster with his queen	*id.*
	Nov. 22. William the Lion does homage to John at Lincoln	*id.*
1201	Constance, mother of Arthur of Brittany, dies	*id.*
1202	Arthur invests the town of Mirebeau; takes it; Queen Eleanor, widow of Henry II., defends the citadel; John marches to her relief	518
	July 31. John obtains possession of the town and takes Arthur, the Count de la Marche, and others, prisoners	*id.*
	Arthur is confined at Falaise and afterwards in the castle of Rouen	*id.*
1203	April 3. Death of Arthur	519, 20
	A general insurrection takes place in Brittany; many of John's territories are taken	520
	Dec. John flies from Rouen to England	521
1204	Rouen, Verneuil, and Château Gaillard surrender to Philip, and Normandy is re-annexed to the French dominions	*id.*
	Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poictou acknowledge Philip	*id.*

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1206	John invades Brittany; takes Rochelle; burns Angers; lays siege to Nantes; peace made for two years	521
1207	John disputes with the pope the right of appointing bishops; John de Gray is appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; the pope appoints Stephen Langton; John expels the monks of Canterbury; seizes their effects	522
1208	March 23. The kingdom is laid under an interdict	*id.*
1209	John is excommunicated	*id.*
	He applies for aid to the Mahommedans of Spain	*id.*
	He advances as far as Norham against William the Lion, but a truce is concluded	545
1210	June 6. John lands in Ireland; receives the homage of many chieftains; reduces some castles; establishes English laws; appoints that the same money shall be current in both countries	523
1211	The Jews are again persecuted; John leads an army into Wales; obtains tribute and carries away hostages	*id.*
1212	The Welsh rise; John hangs the hostages; the barons of England revolt	*id.*
1213	John is deposed by the pope. Philip collects a large fleet for the invasion of England; John sends out ships; they destroy the principal part of the French fleet; John encamps on Barham Downs; the pope's legate arrives, and John submits	324
	May 15. John swears fealty to the pope and surrenders his kingdom	*id.*
	John orders Peter the Hermit to be murdered	*id.*
	An English fleet sails from Portsmouth to aid the Earl of Flanders; great naval victory gained over the French at Damme	525
	The Barons refuse to embark in an *expedition* against France; John makes war on them	526
	Aug. 25. Langton swears the barons at London to maintain the charter of Henry I.	*id.*
	Sept. 29. John again swears fealty to the pope	*id.*
1214	John again marches an army against the French	*id.*
	July 17. Battle of Bouvines	*id.*, 527
	Oct. 19. A truce is made between England and France	127

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1214	Oct. 20. John returns to England	127
	Nov. 20. The barons meet at St. Edmund's Bury, and swear to assert their rights	*id.*
	Dec. 4. William the Lion, king of Scotland, dies at Stirling	545, 6
	— 10. Accession of Alexander II.	546
1215	Jan. The barons demand the Great Charter	527
	Feb. 2. John swears to engage in the holy war	528
	The barons meet at Stamford; march to Oxford; they present the heads of their demands; they elect Robert FitzWalter their leader	*id.*
	May 24. They enter London; John agrees to their terms	*id.*
	June 15. Meeting at Runnymead; John grants the Great Charter	528, 9
	John invites an army of foreign mercenaries, and takes Rochester Castle; the barons are excommunicated by the pope; John ravages the country; the King of Scots assists the barons; John pursues him as far as Edinburgh, and devastates Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick	530
	Dec. 16. The barons are again excommunicated and London laid under an interdict	531
	The English crown is offered to Louis, son of Philip, king of France, by the confederate barons	*id.*
1216	May 30. The French army lands at Sandwich; Louis takes Rochester Castle	*id.*
	June 2. He enters London, and the barons do homage and swear fealty to him in St. Paul's Cathedral	*id.*
	Louis besieges Dover Castle; the barons besiege Windsor Castle. The Viscount Melun dies	532
	Oct. John marches through Peterborough; his baggage and army are nearly all swallowed up by the wash at Fossdike; he repairs to Swineshead Abbey	*id.*
	— 15. John is seized with fever; he appoints his son Henry his successor; the barons with him swear fealty to the prince	533
	— 18. King John dies; is buried in Worcester Cathedral	*id.*

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	Accession of Henry III.	671
	Oct. 26. Henry is crowned at St. Peter's Church, Gloucester; does homage to the pope for England and Ireland	*id.*
	Louis raises the siege of Dover Castle	672
	Nov. 6. The Tower of London is given up to him	*id.*
	— 11. Great council at Bristol; the Earl of Pembroke chosen Rector Regis et Regni; Magna Charta is revised	671
	Dec. 6. Louis takes Hertford Castle	672
	Takes Berkhampstead Castle	*id.*
	Truce agreed upon	*id.*
1217	The Earl of Pembroke besieges Mount Sorel Castle	673
	May 20. The battle called "The Fair of Lincoln" fought	*id.*
	June. Louis offers terms of accommodation	*id.*
	Aug. 23. French fleet sails from Calais	*id.*
	— 24. Hubert de Burgh takes or destroys the whole	*id.*
	Sept. 11. Louis agrees to abandon his claim on England	674

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1217	Sept 14. He sails for France	674
	Oct. 2. The barons who had adhered to Louis are received at court	*id.*
	— 4. New charter granted to the city of London	*id.*
	Dec. 1. Alexander II., king of Scots, surrenders to Henry the town of Carlisle, and does homage for his English possessions	700
	Treaty of commerce concluded with Norway	*id.*
	The queen-mother is remarried to the Count de la Marche	*id.*
	Magna Charta again confirmed	674, 5
	The Charter of Forests is granted	675
1219	May. The Earl of Pembroke, the regent, dies, and is buried in the Temple Church	675
	Hubert de Burgh and the Bishop of Winchester are appointed regents	*id.*
	Pandulph is made legate	*id.*
1220	May 17. Henry is again crowned	*id.*
1221	June 25. Joanna, his sister, is married to Alexander II.	*id.* 700
1223	Henry is declared of age	675

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1224	Most of the disputed castles are surrendered to Henry	675
1225	A parliament is summoned at Westminster; money is granted on condition of the ratification of the two charters	*id.*
	April. Richard Earl of Cornwall goes with an army to Guienne; a truce agreed upon	*id.*
1229	War declared against France	676
1230	Henry embarks from England and lands at St. Malo, in Brittany	*id.*
	Louis takes several towns belonging to Henry	*id.*
	Oct. Henry returns to England	*id.*
	Parliament refuses fresh supplies	*id.*
1232	Hubert de Burgh is disgraced; sent to the Tower; his lands are forfeited; he escapes into Wales	*id.*, 677
	Des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and his foreign associates, are banished	677
1233	The people of Galloway break out into revolt	700
1234	Again break out, but are suppressed	*id.*
	Hubert de Burgh restored to his honours	677
1236	Henry marries Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence; her relations are all appointed to high places	678
1237	Sept. A conference is held at York to settle the claims of the kings of Scots and England	700, 1
1238	March 4. Queen Joan of Scots dies at Canterbury	701
	Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, marries Eleanor, countess-dowager of Pembroke, sister of King Henry	681
1239	May 15. Alexander marries Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci	701
1241	Sept. 4. Alexander, son of the king of Scots, is born at Roxburgh	702
1242	Henry confides the care of the northern border to the King of Scots	701
	Henry sails from Portsmouth and lands on the Garonne; Louis defeats him near Taillebourg; again at Saintes; Henry flies to Blaye; truce agreed upon	678
	The Earl of Athole is murdered at Haddington	701
1244	Parliament vote twenty shillings on every knight's fee for the marriage of the king's daughter. The Jews are persecuted and plundered	678, 9
	Henry proclaims war against Scotland	701
	Aug. 13. Peace concluded at Newcastle	702
1248	The parliament remonstrate with Henry; and refuse supplies; Henry establishes a fair in Westminster	679
	Alexander of Scots claims homage for the western islands from the Lord of Argyle	702
1249	July 8. Alexander dies at Kerarry	*id.*
	— 13. Alexander III. is crowned at Scone	*id.*
1250	Frederick II., king of the two Sicilies, dies	680
1251	Dec. 26. Alexander III. is married at York to Margaret, daughter of King Henry. He does homage for his English possessions	703
1252	Henry quarrels with the Earl of Leicester	681
1253	May 3. Henry solemnly swears in Westminster Hall to observe the charters, and obtains money	679
	Prince Edward marries Eleanor, daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile	680
	Prince Edward is declared king of Sicily	*id.*
1255	Sept. 20. Henry meets Alexander III. and his queen at Roxburgh; and a regency for Scotland is framed	703
1256	Richard earl of Cornwall is elected king of the Romans; is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle	681
1257	Alexander III. is seized by some nobles; and a new regency for Scotland is appointed	703
1258	A great scarcity in England	681
	May 2. Parliament is assembled at Westminster; the barons appear armed	*id.*

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1258	June 11. The parliament called the "Mad Parliament" meet at Oxford; committee of government appointed, and three sessions appointed to be held yearly; the king takes oaths to observe these acts	682
1259	The king of the Romans returns to England	683
1260	The king and queen of Scotland come to London	704
1261	Feb. 2. Henry dismisses the committee of government; seizes the Tower and the Mint; Prince Edward joins the barons; the king publishes a dispensation from the pope absolving him from his oaths taken at Oxford	683
	The Queen of Scots is delivered of a daughter, Margaret, at Windsor	704
1263	March. The Earl of Gloucester raises his retainers	683
	April. The Earl of Leicester returns to England	*id.*
	The Queen takes refuge in St. Paul's, and Prince Edward at Windsor	*id.*
	July. The foreigners are banished, and peace restored. The Earl of Ross invades the Hebrides; the King of Norway arrives	704
	Aug. 5. An annular eclipse seen at Ronaldsove	*id.*
	The battle of Largs is fought	704, 5
	Oct. Henry defeats the barons, and Prince Edward joins him	684
	— 29. The King of Norway retreats to Orkney	705
	Dec. 15. He dies at that place	*id.*
1264	Jan. 21. Alexander, son of Alexander III., is born at Jedburgh	*id.*
	The king and the barons refer their differences to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France; the civil war again rages; the Jews are again massacred and plundered throughout England	684
	May 12. Battle of Lewes; the king, the King of the Romans, and Prince Edward, are taken prisoners; the truce of Lewes is concluded	685
1265	Parliament is called, in which for the first time representatives appear	*id.*
	Prince Edward escapes; battle at Kenilworth	*id.*
	Aug. 4. The battle of Evesham; the Earl of Leicester is slain	686, 7
	Parliament at Winchester; London deprived of its charter; dictum of Kenilworth	687
	Battle of Alton	688
1266	Battle of the Grandella is fought near Benevento	689
1267	Parliament at Marlborough; the dictum of Kenilworth accepted	688
1269	Louis IX. of France dies at Carthage	690
1270	July. Prince Edward sails for the Holy Land	688
1271	Henry d'Almaine, son of the king of the Romans, is murdered by Simon and Guy de Montfort	*id.*
	Edward lands at Acre; takes Nazareth; the Moslems are massacred; returns to Acre; is wounded by an assassin	690
	Dec. Richard, king of the Romans, dies	688
1272	Nov. 16. King Henry dies at Westminster, and is buried in the abbey	*id.*
	— 20. Edward I. proclaimed by the barons at the New Temple, and a regency appointed	*id.*
1273	Feb. Edward arrives at Rome; goes to Paris and does homage to Philip III. for the lands in France	691
1274	He receives a challenge at Guienne, from the Count de Chalons; the "little war of Chalons" is fought	691, 2
	The trade with the Flemings is renewed	692
	Aug 2. Edward lands at Dover	*id.*

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1274	Aug. 19. He is crowned with his queen at Westminster	693
	Alexander III., king of Scots, does homage to Edward	705
	He persecutes and plunders the Jews, hanging two hundred and eighty in London	693
1275	Margaret, queen of Scotland, dies	705
1277	Edward invades Wales	697
	Nov. 10. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, cedes the greater part of the country to Edward; does homage for the remainder	*id.*
1278	The king of Scotland again does homage to Edward for his English possessions	705
1281	The Princess Margaret of Scotland is married to Eric, king of Norway	*id.*
1282	March 22. David, brother of the prince of Wales, takes Hawardine Castle; Llewellyn takes several places; the English are defeated at Menai Strait	698
	Nov. 6. Edward is defeated; Llewellyn is slain	698, 9
1283	Margaret, queen of Norway, dies	705
	David is taken prisoner by Edward	699
	Sept. At a parliament held at Shrewsbury, he is sentenced to death; he is executed	*id.*
1284	Jan. 28. Alexander, prince of Scotland, dies	706
	Feb. 5. The succession of Scotland is settled on the "Maiden of Norway"	*id.*
1285	April 15. Alexander, king of Scotland, marries Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux	*id.*
1286	March 16. He is killed	*id.*
	April 17. A regency appointed	*id.*
	Sept. 20. The adherents of Robert Bruce meet	*id.*
1287	The Jews are again persecuted and robbed	693
1290	July 18. The treaty of Bridgeham is concluded, securing the integrity of the kingdom of Scotland	707
	Sept. The Maiden of Norway dies	*id.*
	The Jews are expelled the kingdom and their property seized	693
1291	May 10. The Scotch barons appear at Norham, and Edward claims to be lord paramount of Scotland	707, 8
	June 2. The several competitors for the crown of Scotland admit Edward's title as lord paramount	708
	— 3. Commissioners appointed to examine and report to Edward	*id.*
	— 11. The regents of Scotland surrender the kingdom to Edward; the castles are delivered up	*id.*
	— 15. Baliol and Bruce swear fealty to Edward	709
	Aug. 3. The commissioners meet at Berwick	*id.*
1292	June 2. The consideration adjourned for the opinion of parliament	710
	Oct. 15. Baliol and Bruce attend the parliament at Berwick; parliament decide in favour of Baliol	*id.*
	Nov. 6 and 17. Edward adjudges the kingdom of Scotland to Baliol	*id.*
	— 30. Baliol is crowned at Scone	*id.*
	Dec. 26. He does homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle	*id.*
	Edward suppresses an insurrection in Wales, and is said to have hanged the Welsh bards	711
	Edmund, the king's brother, makes conquests in France; Dover and its priory are burnt	712
1293	Edward compels Baliol to attend at Newcastle the appeals before him	*id.*
	Baliol releases Edward from the treaty of Bridgeham	*id.*
	Oct. 15. Baliol appears before the parliament; three of his castles and towns are taken from him for contempt	713
1294	At a parliament at Scone the English of the court are dismissed	*id.*

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1294	The English parliament is compelled to grant a tenth on lay property, and a half on the incomes of the clergy	719
1295	Oct. 23. Treaty between Scotland and France	713
	Edward obtains a grant of a tenth from the clergy	719
1296	March. A Scottish army invade Cumberland	713
	— 30. Edward takes Berwick and massacres the inhabitants	*id.*
	April 5. Baliol renounces his allegiance to Edward	*id.*
	— 28. Earl Warenne takes Dunbar Castle	714
	May 18. Roxburgh Castle is surrendered to Edward by James, the Stewart of Scotland, who does homage	*id.*
	Edinburgh and Stirling are taken	*id.*
	July 7. Baliol does penance before the Bishop of Durham at Strathkathro	*id.*
	The coronation stone is removed from Scone to Westminster	*id.*
	Aug. 28. The Scotch do fealty to Edward at Berwick	*id.*
	Edward outlaws the clergy and seizes their goods	719
1297	Wallace heads a revolt and takes Scone	715
	July 9. Some of the adherents of Wallace submit	716
	Aug. Edward lands at Sluys; gains some towns	720,
	Sept. 4. Wallace gains a victory; the castles of Edinburgh, Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Berwick surrender; he is made guardian of the kingdom	717
	Parliament, under Prince Edward, pass the statute "De Tallagio non Concedendo"	721
	Dec. Edward at Sluys confirms the same and the two charters	*id.*
1298	Jan. An English army is collected at York	718
	Truce for two years between Edward and Philip	721
	March. Edward arrives in England	718
	July 22. The battle of Falkirk; Edward ravages Scotland	718, 19
	Sept. Edward returns to England	719
1299	March. Edward attempts to introduce a new clause into the charters	722
	The charters are re-confirmed	*id.*
	July. Baliol is released from the Tower and goes to Normandy	724
	Sept. Edward marries Margaret of France; the Prince of Wales is contracted to Isabella of France	723
	Nov. An army is collected at Berwick	724
	The pope claims Scotland	*id.*
1300	Edward devastates Annandale	*id.*
1301	Parliament denies the authority of the pope in temporal matters	*id.*
	Edward marches against Scotland	*id.*
1302	Truce with the Scotch	*id.*
1303	John de Segrave is defeated by the Scotch	725
	May 20. A treaty of commerce is concluded; the treaty of Montreuil is ratified	723
	Edward goes to Scotland; receives the homages of many barons; Brechin surrenders	725
1304	He demands a tallage on all cities and boroughs	722
	Feb. Comyn and other nobles submit at Strathorde	725
	April 22. Edward besieges the castle of Stirling	726
	July 20. It surrenders	*id.*
	Wallace is captured and brought to London	*id.*
	Robert Bruce dies	727
1305	Aug. 23. Wallace is executed as a traitor	726
1306	Feb. 10. Robert Bruce the younger slays Comyn	728

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1306	March 27. He is crowned king of Scotland at Scone	728
	May 22. The prince of Wales is knighted	*id.*
	June 19. Battle of Methven; Bruce and his army are routed by the earl of Pembroke; he flies to Ireland	729
	Nigel Bruce surrenders Kildrummie, and is hanged at Berwick	*id.*
1307	Feb. Thomas and Alexander Bruce are captured; they are executed at Carlisle	730
	May 10. Battle of Loudon Hill; Bruce defeats the earl of Pembroke; defeats the earl of Gloucester	
	July 7. Edward dies at Burgh-upon-Sands	730
	— 8. Edward II. is acknowledged king at Carlisle	*id.*
	Oct. 13. The Templars are seized throughout France	746
	— 27. Edward I. is buried at Westminster	731
	Gaveston is made earl of Cornwall	*id.*
1308	Jan. 25. Edward marries Isabella of France at Boulogne	732
	Feb. 24. He is crowned at Westminster	*id.*
	Gaveston is expelled, but made governor of Ireland	*id.*
	May 22. Bruce gains the battle of Inverary	735
	He extends his conquests, and a truce is made	*id.*
	The Templars are seized throughout England and Ireland	747
1309	Gaveston returns	732
	Oct. The barons refuse to attend a parliament summoned to meet at York	733
	The Templars of England are tried and condemned, and the order suppressed	747
1310	The barons meet at Westminster, and appoint a committee of ordainers	733
	May 12. Many of the Templars are executed in Paris, and the order is suppressed	746
	Sept. Edward marches into Scotland	735
1311	July. Edward returns to England; Bruce ravages as far as Durham	*id.*
	Aug. Parliament recals the grants made by Edward to Gaveston; he is banished; parliament to be holden once every year	733
	Dec. Gaveston again returns; his honours re-granted	*id.*
1312	Jan. Perth Castle is taken by Bruce	735
	May 19. Gaveston surrenders at Scarborough to the earl of Pembroke	733
	He is beheaded at Blacklow Hill	734
1313	March 1. Bruce takes Roxburgh Castle	736
	— 14. Randolph takes Edinburgh Castle	*id.*
	Bruce again ravages Cumberland	*id.*
	June 11. Edward marches into Scotland	*id.*
	— 23. Battle of Bannockburn; the English are driven out of Scotland	736-8
1314	The Scotch ravage the north of England	738
1315	May 25. Edward Bruce lands at Carrickfergus; takes and burns Dundalk and other towns	*id.*
1316	Jan. 26. He gains victories over the English	*id.*
	May 2. He is crowned king of Ireland at Carrickfergus	*id.*
	Bruce arrives and overruns the south of Ireland	739
1317	May. The two Bruces return to Ulster	*id.*
1318	March 28. Berwick is taken by the Scotch	*id.*
	Bruce makes two invasions of England	*id.*
	Oct. 5. Edward Bruce is defeated and killed at Fagher, and the Scots are expelled from Ireland	*id.*
1319.	Edward marches an army into Scotland; the Scotch invade England; ravage Yorkshire	*id.*
	Sept. 28. The battle called the Chapter of Mitton fought	*id.*
	Dec. Truce agreed upon for two years	*id.*
1321	The barons destroy the castles of the Despencers	740

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1321	Aug. The Despencers are banished by parliament	740
	Oct. They return to England	*id.*
1322	The earl of Lancaster is defeated and taken prisoner at Boroughbridge	741
	He is condemned and executed for treason	*id.*
	The elder Despencer is created earl of Winchester	*id.*
1323	May 30. A suspension of arms for thirteen years agreed upon between England and Scotland	*id.*
	Roger Mortimer escapes from the Tower	*id.*
	Charles IV., king of France, overruns some of Edward's continental possessions	742
1325	March. Queen Isabella goes on a mission to Paris; Guienne and Poictiers are surrendered to France; the prince of Wales goes to France; Mortimer repairs to Paris; Edward demands her return; the prince of Wales is affianced to Philippa, daughter of the Count of Hainault	742
	Sept. 24. Isabella and the prince of Wales land with a small army at Orwell; she is joined by the barons; Edward flies, and takes ship with Despencer, and is driven on the coast of Wales	743
	The elder Despencer is taken at Bristol; tried, sentenced, and executed as a traitor	*id.*
	— 26. The prince of Wales declared by the barons guardian of the kingdom	744
	Edward and the younger Despencer are captured; Despencer is executed at Hereford as a traitor; the king is sent to Kenilworth castle	*id.*
1327	Jan. 7. Parliament meets at Westminster	*id.*
	— 8. Edward is deposed and the Prince of Wales proclaimed king	*id.*
	— 13. Edward III. presides in parliament	*id.*
	— 20. Edward II. resigns the crown	*id.*
	— 24. Edward the Third's peace is proclaimed	745
	— 29. He is crowned at Westminster	*id.*
	Edward II. is removed to Berkeley castle	*id.*
	Feb. 3. The Scotch make an inroad into England; march as far as York; Edward marches against them	749
	Aug. The English and Scotch forces after skirmishes severally retire	749, 750
	Sept. Edward II. is murdered at Berkeley castle, and buried in the Abbey at Gloucester	746
	Parliament grants the queen 20,000*l.* a year	748
	Dec. Philippa of Hainault arrives in England	751
1328	Jan. 24. Edward marries her at York	*id.*
	Peace is concluded with the Scots; the independence of Scotland recognised	*id.*
	July 22. The Princess Joanna, Edward's sister, is married to David, prince of Scotland	*id.*
	Oct. Mortimer is created Earl of March	*id.*
	Charles IV. of France dies	757
1329	Edward does homage to Philip VI. of France	*id.*
	June. Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, dies at Cardross	751
1330	March 11. Parliament meets at Winchester; the Earl of Kent is accused of treason	752
	— 16. He is convicted	*id.*
	— 19. He is executed near Winchester	752, 3
	June. Edward the Black Prince is born at Woodstock	753
	Sept. A joust held in Cheapside by the king	*id.*
	Oct. 19. Mortimer is dragged from Nottingham castle by Edward and his followers	754
	Nov. 26. Parliament is assembled; Mortimer is impeached of murder and other crimes; found guilty	754, 5
	— 29. He is hanged at the Elms, and queen Isabella is committed to custody	755
1331	Lord James Douglas is killed in Spain	*id.*
	Edward again does homage to the king of France for his continental possessions	757

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1332 July. Murray, the regent of Scotland, dies . 755
Aug. Edward Baliol, son of king John Baliol, invades Scotland, and gains a victory at Dupplin-moor . . . . . *id.*
Sept. 24. He is crowned king of Scotland at Scone 756
He renews his oaths of fealty to Edward . . *id.*
Dec. 16. He is obliged to fly from Scotland . *id.*
1333 May. The English army invest Berwick . . *id.*
July 13. Battle of Halidon-hill . . . . *id.*
King David and his queen are removed to France; Edward Baliol is reinstated as king *id.*
He does homage; surrenders Berwick and other places to Edward . . . . . *id.*
He is again driven across the border . . . *id.*
1335 Aug. Edward marches with an army into Scotland; is joined by Baliol; returns to England . . . . . *id.*
1336 Edward twice again marches into Scotland . *id.*
1337 Oct. 7. Edward sends a commission to the Earl of Brabant, and others, to demand the French crown as his right 758
1338 July 15. He sails from Orwell for Antwerp . *id.*
He grants trading privileges to the Flemings and Brabanters . . . . . *id.*
Baliol is again expelled from Scotland . . 759
1339 Sept. Edward marches with his army into France; is abandoned by his allies . . 758
He assumes the title of king of France, and quarters the French arms . . . . *id.*
1340 Feb. Edward returns to England . . *ib.* 759
June 22. He sails with a fleet for Sluys . 759
— 24. Destroys the French fleet; is joined by his allies; challenges the French king to single combat; returns to England . . . . *id.*
Nov. Edward imprisons three of the judges and other officers . . . . . *id.*
1341 May 14. David, king of Scots and his queen return from France; Edward concludes a truce with him . . . . . *id.*
John III. duke of Brittany dies . . . . *id.*
The English fleet relieve Hennebon in Brittany 761
Edward sails to Hennebon 762
Philip VI. beheads Olivier de Clisson and 12 other knights without trial . . . . *id.*
1345 The Earl of Derby drives the French out of Guienne 763
John Van Arteveldt is murdered at Ghent . *id.*
1346 July. Edward lands at Cape La Hogue with an army of English, Welsh, and Irish; he takes several towns; burns St. Germain, St. Cloud, and Neuilly; he forces the passage of Blanche-Taque 764
Aug. 26. Battle of Crecy gained by the Black Prince 765-7
Death of the King of Bohemia . . . 768
— 31. Edward begins the siege of Calais . *id.*
Sept. David of Scotland invades England; takes several places . . . . . *id.*
Oct. 17. Battle of Nevil's Cross . . . . *id.*
King David is taken prisoner, and sent to London . . . . . *id.*
1347 June 18. The English drive the French from before Roche-Derrien; capture Charles de Blois, and send him prisoner to England 768, 9
Aug. 3. Calais is surrendered to Edward 769, 770
Margaret of Calais is born 770
1348 The French attempt to recover Calais . . 771
Nov. The plague ravages London . . *id.*
1349 Edward gains a naval victory over the Spaniards *id.*
1350 Philip King of France dies, and is succeeded by John I. . . . . *id.*
1355 Edward opens the campaign in France; he ravages a great part of the country. The Scots retake Berwick. Edward returns to England . . . . . *id.*
1356 Jan. Edward recovers Berwick . . . 772

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1356 Jan. 20. Purchases all Baliol's rights to the Scotch throne. He burns Haddington and Edinburgh, and wastes the country. "The burnt Candlemas" 772
July. The Black Prince ravages as far as Berri
Sept. 19. Battle of Poictiers. King John and his son Philip are taken prisoners . 772, 3
1357 April 24. The Black Prince, King John, and Prince Philip enter London 773
Oct. 3. The Scots ransom King David . . 774
Nov. He returns to Scotland . . . . *id.*
1358 Stephen Marcel heads an insurrection in Paris 774, 5
1359 Edward goes to France with a great army; lays siege to Rheims; raises it and retires to Burgundy 775
A French fleet take and plunder the town of Winchelsea . . . . . *id.*
1360 March 31. Edward encamps before Paris . *id.*
April. Marches to Brittany . . . . *id.*
May. The peace of Bretigny concluded. Edward renounces his pretensions to the crown of France . . . . . *id.*
King John is sent to Calais to ratify the treaty *id.*
Oct. 24. The two kings swear to the treaty. King John is set at liberty, and Edward returns to England . . . . . *id.*
1362 Queen Joanna of Scotland dies . . . 774
1363 David proposes to the Parliament of Scotland that the Earl of Cambridge should succeed to the crown . . . . . *id.*
Edward Baliol dies . . . . . *id.*
1364 The Duke of Anjou breaks his parole and leaves Calais 776
King John returns to England . . . *id.*
April. Dies at the Savoy Palace . . . *id.*
1365 Truce agreed on between England and Scotland 774
1366 Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, is expelled from his kingdom 776
Richard of Bourdeaux, son of the Black Prince, is born 780
1367 April 3. The Black Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and Peter the Cruel, defeat Don Enrique, and Peter is reinstated on the throne . 777
July. The Black Prince returns to Guienne . *id.*
Don Enrique stabs Peter and regains the throne *id.*
Charles V., of France, invades Aquitaine . *id.*
Edward re-assumes his title of King of France 778
1369 Queen Philippa dies 779
The Black Prince besieges Limoges and massacres the inhabitants. He returns to England 778
1371 David, king of Scotland, dies . . . 774
Accession of Robert II. . . . . *id.*
1372 June. The English fleet, under the Earl of Pembroke, captured by the Spaniards near Rochelle 778
1374 Truce concluded between England and France 779
1376 Several of the ministers are removed and imprisoned . . . . . *id.*
Women forbidden to be guilty of "maintenance" *id.*
June 8. The Black Prince dies . . . *id.*
He is buried in Canterbury Cathedral . . *id.*
Prince Richard is acknowledged by Parliament heir to the throne 780
The Speaker of the Commons is arrested, and William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, dismissed the court . . . . . *id.*
1377 The Duke of Lancaster supports Wycliffe, and causes a riot in London. The Savoy Palace is plundered . . . . . *id.*
Feb. General amnesty proclaimed . . *id.*
June 21. King Edward dies . . . 781
June 22. Accession of Richard the Second . 782
July 16. Richard is crowned at Westminster . . . . . *id.*
August. The French and Spaniards plunder and waste the Isle of Wight, Hastings, and Rye . *id.*
Alice Perrers is banished 783

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1378	Cherbourg is taken by the English; fourteen of the Spanish ships are captured; the harbour of Brest is ceded to the English	783
	John Mercer takes all the English ships in the port of Scarborough. John Philpot recovers the ships; takes the Spanish fleet, and captures Mercer	*id.*
	October. Parliament grants the king a new aid	*id.*
	Some parts of Kent and Essex refuse to pay a poll-tax	785
	The people of Fobbing drive away one of the commissioners	*id.*
	The peasants drive away the chief justice of the pleas, and behead the jurors sent to try the rioters	*id.*
	Jack Straw raises an insurrection in Essex, Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk	*id.*
	A tax-gatherer killed by Wat Tyler	*id.*
1381	He enters Canterbury	*id.*
	June 11. The rebels encamp at Blackheath	786
	— 12. Richard goes to the Tower	*id.*
	The rebels plunder several places, and enter London; the prisons are demolished, and murders are committed	*id.*
	— 14. Richard meets the rebels at Mile-End; the rebels of Kent enter the Tower	787
	Wat Tyler is slain in Smithfield	*id.*
	The rebellion is repressed, and a general pardon is granted	788
	Philip Van Arteveldt raises the siege of Ghent	790
1382	Richard is married to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.	789-790
	Nov. Philip Van Arteveldt is defeated at the battle of Rosebecque, and is slain	790
	The Bishop of Norwich invades Flanders	*id.*
1384	The duke of Lancaster is accused of treason by John Latimer; Latimer is murdered	791
1385	A French army lands in Scotland; an inroad is made into England; Richard defeats the French and Scots; burns Edinburgh, Perth, and other towns; the king's mother dies; Henry of Bolingbroke is made earl of Derby; the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham created dukes of York and Gloucester; Pole created earl of Suffolk; Robert de Vere created duke of Ireland; Roger earl of March declared successor to the crown	*id.*
	July. The duke of Lancaster invades Castile; gains many battles; his daughter is married to the heir of the king of Castile	*id.*

A.D.	BOOK IV.	Page
1385	The French prepare to invade England; several of their ships are taken	792
1386	The earl of Suffolk is dismissed; the duke of Gloucester is appointed head of a regency	*id.*
1387	Aug. The commission of regency declared illegal	*id.*
	Nov. 17. The duke of Gloucester enters London; appeals the king's adherents of treason	*id.*
1388	The "wonderful parliament" confirm the impeachments; the duke of Gloucester causes the execution of Sir Simon Burley, and three other knights	793
	Aug. 15. The battle of Otterbourne (Chevy Chase)	*id.*
1389	May. Richard assumes the government	793, 4
1390	April 19. Robert II., king of Scots, dies, and is succeeded by Robert III.	794
	Gloucester is reconciled; Lancaster is created duke of Aquitaine for life	*id.*
1394	Truce with France concluded for four years	*id.*
	June. Queen Anne dies at Shene	*id.*
	Richard marches into Ireland	*id.*
1396	October. Richard goes to France, and marries Isabella, daughter of Charles VI.	*id.*
1397	July. Richard arrests Warwick, Arundel, and Gloucester; Gloucester is sent to Calais	*id.*
	Sept. Arundel is impeached and beheaded	795
	Gloucester dies at Calais; Warwick is imprisoned	*id.*
	Bolingbroke is created duke of Hereford; the earl of Nottingham and John Holland are created dukes of Norfolk and Exeter	*id.*
	Parliament grants the king a subsidy on wool for life	*id.*
1398	January. Norfolk challenges Hereford	796
	Sept. 16. Norfolk is banished for life, and Hereford for ten years	*id.*
	Dec. The duke of Lancaster dies, and Richard seizes his estates	*id.*
1399	May. Richard sails for Ireland	797
	July. Hereford lands at Ravenspur	*id.*
	The duke of York goes to St. Albans; Hereford is received in London; he takes Bristol Castle; Richard lands at Milford Haven; flies to Conway; he is captured and taken to Flint; he is carried prisoner to Chester	*id.*
	He escapes from Lichfield; is retaken; sent to the Tower	798
	Sept. 30. Parliament meets; Richard renounces the crown; an act of deposition is passed; Hereford is acknowledged king	799-800

BOOK V.

A.D.	BOOK V.	Page
	Henry calls a parliament in six days	4
	Oct. 1. A deputation wait upon Richard in the Tower to renounce fealty to him	5
	— 6. Parliament meets	*id.*
	— 13. Henry IV. is crowned in Westminster Abbey	*id.*
	The attainders of Arundel and Warwick are reversed. The Dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, and the Earl of Gloucester are reduced to their former rank of Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Somerset, and Lord le Despencer	
	— 23. The lords agree that Richard shall be privately removed to safe custody	6
	He is removed to Leeds and several other castles	*id.*

A.D.	BOOK V.	Page
	Prince Henry is created Prince of Wales, Duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, and is declared heir apparent to the throne	*id.*
	Edmund Mortimer and his brother are lodged in Windsor Castle	*id.*
	The Earl of Salisbury plots the restoration of Richard	*id.*
	A statute for burning heretics is passed	23
1400	Jan. 3. A tournament is held at Oxford, at which it is intended to assassinate Henry and his sons	6, 7
	— 4. The conspirators surprise Windsor Castle; they raise different parts of the country and proclaim King Richard; they are all captured and killed	7
	King Richard is murdered at Pontefract Castle	*id.*

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1400	The Dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy endeavour to unite the continental dominions of Henry to France	8
	Charles V. of France demands his daughter, the widow of Richard, and her dower and jewels	9
	She is sent to Calais to the Duke of Burgundy	*id.*
	Henry collects an army; demands of the King of Scots to do him homage; he marches to Edinburgh, but is repulsed by the Duke of Rothsay	*id.*
	Owen Glendower heads an insurrection in Wales	9, 10
1401	Feb. Henry goes into Wales against Glendower	10
1402	Feb. 10. The Count de Ligny sends a letter of defiance and hostility to Henry	*id.*
	Sir Roger de Clarendon and others are executed as traitors for asserting Richard to be alive	11
	March. The Duke of Rothsay is imprisoned and murdered in Falkland Castle	19-131
	June. A Scottish army enter England; are defeated at Nesbit Moor; Earl Douglas ravages England as far as Newcastle	11-131
	Aug. The Duke of Orleans challenges Henry and a hundred knights	12, 13
	Sept. 14. Battle of Homildon Hill; Douglas is captured	11-131
	Glendower gains the battles of Wurnwye and Knyghton, and captures Sir Edmund Mortimer	*id.*
1403	Insurrection of the Percies of Northumberland	13
	Douglas is liberated; the right of the Earl of March first insisted on	14
	July 21. Battle of Shrewsbury; Hotspur is killed	14, 15
	The Earl of Northumberland submits	15
	The Prince of Wales defeats Glendower in some skirmishes	*id.*
	The French ravage the coast: take Guernsey and Jersey, and attack and burn Plymouth	
1404	Ward, a Scotchman, personates Richard; a plot is formed against Henry; it is suppressed; Serle, the contriver of it, is hanged	16
	Oct. 6. The "Parliamentum indoctorum" held; the king wishes to alienate a portion of the church property	*id.*
1405	The Earl of March and his brother escape from Windsor Castle; they are retaken; the Duke of York is seized and his estates sequestered	*id.*
	An insurrection again breaks out in the north	17
	Prince John defeats the rebels	*id.*
	The Archbishop of York, the Earl of Nottingham, and others, captured at Shipton-on-the-Moor; they are beheaded at Pontefract	*id.*
	The Lords Hastings, Falconbridge, and others tried, convicted, and executed for treason at Durham	*id.*
	Berwick surrenders to Henry, who puts the governor and others to death	*id.*
	Henry seizes the castles of the Earl of Northumberland	*id.*
	March. The Prince of Wales defeats the Welsh at Grosmont; takes Lampeter Castle	*id.*
	— 30. Henry captures the heir apparent of Scotland, and sends him to Pevensey Castle	19-131
	A French fleet appear in Milford Haven; the English destroy many of the ships; the French burn Haverfordwest; take Carmarthen; the French abandon the Welsh and return to their ships	18
	The Prince of Wales subdues South Wales	*id.*
1406	April 4. Robert III., king of Scotland, dies at Rothsay Castle	131
	James Earl of Carrick is declared king, and Albany regent	*id.*

A.D.	BOOK V.	Page
1406	The French take sixty castles and fortresses in Guienne and Saintonge; Isabella, widow of Richard II., is married to the Count of Angouleme; the French endeavour to retake Calais	19, 20
	Nov. 23. The Duke of Orleans is murdered in Paris	20
1408	The Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph take several castles in Northumberland	19
	Feb. 28. They are defeated and slain at Branham Moor	*id.*
	June. The Duke of Burgundy is expelled	20
	Isabella, ex-queen of England, wife of the Duke of Orleans, dies	21
1409	The quarrel of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans is arranged	20, 21
1411	Henry sends a force to aid the Duke of Burgundy; his partisans enter Paris	21
	July 24. The Earl of Mar defeats the Lord of the Isles at the Battle of Harlaw	132
	The treaty of Lochgillip; the Lord of the Isles acknowledges himself a vassal of the Scottish crown	132
1412	Henry is acknowledged lawful Duke of Aquitaine	21
	The Duke of Clarence lands with an army in Normandy; he marches through France	22
	May 17. Truce concluded between England and Scotland	132
1413	March 20. Henry dies in the Jerusalem Chamber	23
	— 21. Accession of Henry V.; he is proclaimed	24
	April 9. He is crowned	*id.*
	The body of Richard II. is removed from the Friar's Church, Langley, and buried in Westminster Abbey. Henry releases the Earl of March	25
	Sir John Oldcastle is accused of heresy	*id.*
	Is committed to the Tower; is sentenced to be burnt; escapes from the Tower; endeavours to take the king at Eltham palace	*id.*
	The butchers of Paris raise an insurrection	26
	July 1. They behead the provost of Paris	*id.*
1414	Jan. 7. The king takes some of the Lollards in St. Giles's Fields and at Harengay Park	25
	—13. The Lollards are hanged and burnt in St. Giles's Fields	26
	Others are captured and many executed	*id.*
	Murdoch, the son of the Duke of Albany, is liberated	132
	Henry demands the crown of France	26
1415	April 16. He announces to a council at Westminster his determination to invade France; appoints the Duke of Bedford regent	28
	The Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Masham are executed for treason	29
	Henry sails from Southampton	*id.*
	Aug. 14. lands near Harfleur	*id.*
	— 17. Besieges Harfleur	*id.*
	Sept. 22. It is surrendered to him; challenges the dauphin	*id.*
	Oct. 6. Henry begins his march; passes through Normandy	*id.*
	— 12. He reaches the ford of Blanche Taque	29, 30
	— 14. Attempts to pass the Somme at Port St. Remy; is repulsed; is several times repulsed	30
	— 19. Passes between Betencourt and Voyenne	*id.*
	Oct. 25. The battle of Agincourt	30, 1, 2, 3, 4
	Henry marches to Calais	34
	The dauphin dies	36
	Henry sails for England	34
	Parliament grant him for life a subsidy on wool and leather	*id.*

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1416	Sigismund, king of the Romans, and the Count of Holland, visit England	34, 5
	The French besiege Harfleur	35, 6
	Aug. 15. The Duke of Bedford sails from Rye; he gains a victory over the French and Genoese fleets; raises the siege of Harfleur; returns to England	35
	Sept. Henry, the king of the Romans, and the Count of Holland, hold a congress at Calais	36
1417	The dauphin dies at Compeigne	37
	Aug. Henry lands at Tonque; conquers many places in Normandy; the French sue for peace	38
	The Scotch invade England; "the foul raid"	38, 132
	Sir John Oldcastle is captured; tried as a traitor before the House of Lords	38
	Dec. He is hanged and burnt in St. Giles's fields	*id.*
1418	Henry besieges and takes various towns	39
	July. Henry completes the conquest of Lower Normandy	*id.*
	— 14. The Queen of France and the Duke of Burgundy enter Paris	42
	— 30. Henry commences the siege of Rouen	39
1419	Jan. 16. He enters Rouen; completes the conquest of Normandy	43
	May 30. He meets the Queen of France and the Duke of Burgundy near Meulan; agreements entered into for peace	44
	The Duke of Burgundy and the dauphin join against the English	44, 5
	The Duke of Burgundy is assassinated at Montereau	46
	July 27. Henry takes Pontoise	45
	Sept. 3. The Regent Albany dies at Stirling palace	132
1420	Negotiations are again entered into with Henry	47
	The treaty of Troyes is executed	*id.*
	June 2. Henry is married to the Princess Catherine of France	*id.*
	— 4. He marches to Sens, which he reduces	48
	Takes Montereau, Villeneuve-le-Roy, and besieges Melun	*id.*
	Nov. 18. Melun surrenders	*id.*
	Dec. Henry and King Charles enter Paris; the two queens enter Paris	*id.*
	— 6. The treaty of Troyes is ratified	*id.*
1421	Jan. Henry leaves Paris; returns to London	*id.*
	Catherine is crowned Queen of England at Westminster	*id.*
	March 22. The Duke of Clarence is slain in Anjou	*id.*
	The Earl of Buchan is made constable of France by the Dauphin Charles	49
	The English parliament ratify the treaty of Troyes	*id.*
	James, king of Scotland, is released from Windsor Castle	*id.*
	June 12. The English and Scottish army land at Calais; several victories are gained	*id.*
	The King of Scots besieges Dreux	*id.*
	Oct. Henry besieges Meaux	*id.*
	Dec. 6. The Queen is delivered of a son at Windsor	50
	Jacqueline, countess of Hainault, takes refuge in England	57
1422	May. Meaux is taken, and the bastard of Vaurus hanged	50
	— 21. Queen Catherine lands at Harfleur	*id.*
	June. Henry and Catherine keep their court at the palace of the Louvre	*id.*
	July. Henry marches to relieve Cosne; is carried back to Corbeil	*id.*
	Aug. 31. Henry dies at Vincennes	51
	His body is carried in state through France; is embarked at Calais; landed at Dover, and buried at Westminster	*id.*
	The Duke of Gloucester is appointed protector	52

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1422	The Duke of Bedford is appointed regent of France	53, 4
	Oct. Charles VI. of France dies	54
	The dauphin is proclaimed by his party Charles VII.	*id.*
	He is crowned and anointed at Poictiers	*id.*
	The Duke of Bedford proclaims Henry VI. at Paris, and fealty is sworn to him as king of France	*id.*
	The Duke of Bedford marries Anne of Burgundy	*id.*
	He gains a victory over the French and Scotch before Crevant	*id.*
	The English under John de la Pole are defeated at La Gravelle	55
	The Count de Richemont deserts from the English	56
1423	The dauphin's army is increased by further Scotch troops; the Earl of Douglas is created Duke of Touraine	*id.*
1424	Feb. 24. James, king of Scotland, marries Lady Joanna Beaufort	132
	He is released from his imprisonment in England	56
	April 5. He arrives in Scotland	133
	May 21. He is crowned with his queen at Scone	*id.*
	The Duke of Bedford besieges and takes Ivry in Normandy	58
	Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, dies	89
	Aug. 17. Battle of Verneuil	56, 7
	The Duke of Gloucester, and Jacqueline of Hainault, his wife, take possession of Mons	58
1425	Gloucester returns to England; the Duke of Brittany abandons the English; he is defeated, and forced to swear to the treaty of Troyes	*id.*
	Queen Catherine marries Owen Tudor	89
1427	The Duke of Brabant, first husband of Jacqueline, dies	59
	The King of Scotland executes several highland chiefs	133
1428	The Duke of Gloucester's marriage is declared void; he marries Eleanor Cobham	59
	March 21. The King of Scotland arrests several great lords	133
	May. They are executed	*id.*
	Oct. 12. The siege of Orleans is commenced by the Earl of Salisbury	60
	— 23. Takes the fortress of Tournelles	*id.*
	Nov. The Earl of Salisbury is wounded, and dies	1
1429	Feb. The battle of Herrings fought at Rouvrai	*id.*
	The Maid of Orleans is introduced to Charles at Chinon	62
	She carries succours into Orleans	65
	She heads a sortie; the bastile of Saint-Loup is carried; she attacks Tournelles; is wounded; Tournelles is captured; the siege is raised	66, 7
	May 8. The fortress of Jargeau is taken; Suffolk is made prisoner	68
	The English are defeated at the battle of Patay	68
	Troyes is surrendered to Charles	69
	July 15. He enters Rheims with the Maid of Orleans	*id.*
	— 17. He is anointed and crowned in the cathedral	*id.*
	Many places submit to him	70, 71
	The army of Charles attack Paris; they are repulsed; the Maid is wounded	73
1430	May 25. The Maid relieves Compeigne; makes a sortie; she is captured by the troops of the Duke of Burgundy	73, 4
	Henry is crowned at Westminster	77
1431	The Maid is sent to Rouen; she is tried for heresy, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment	75, 6
	May 24. She abjures	*id.*

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1431	May 31. She is burnt in the market-place	76, 7
	Nov. Henry is crowned in Notre Dame in Paris by Cardinal Beaufort	77
1432	Many of the Highland captives are put to death by the King of Scots	133
	Nov. The Duchess of Bedford, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, dies	77
1433	May. The Duke of Bedford marries Jacquetta of Luxembourg	*id.*
1434	Sept. 14. The Duke of Bedford dies at Rouen	79
1435	A congress is held at Arras, and a treaty of peace signed between the king of France and the Duke of Burgundy	78
1436	Isabella, the queen-mother, dies	79
	April. Paris and other towns surrender to the French king	79
	The Duke of York is appointed regent of France	*id.*
	The Earl of Shrewsbury reduces the revolted towns of Normandy; takes Pontoise	*id.*
	The Duke of Gloucester raises the siege of Calais	80
	The Scotch besiege Roxburgh; king James suddenly returns to Scotland	134
1437	The Duke of Burgundy is defeated before Crotoy	80
	The Duke of York is recalled; the Earl of Warwick is appointed to command	*id.*
	The King of Scotland is assassinated	134
1439	The Earl of Warwick dies; York is reappointed	80
	The Earl of Shrewsbury recovers Harfleur	*id.*
	The plague and famine ravage England and France	*id.*
1431	The Duchess of Gloucester is accused of treason and sorcery; is condemned to perpetual imprisonment	83
	Roger Bolingbroke and Margery Jourdain are executed	*id.*
1442	The Earl of Shrewsbury relieves Pontoise	*id.*
1444	Truce agreed on for two years	*id.*
	Anjou and Maine are agreed to be given up to the Duke of Anjou on the marriage of his daughter Margaret with King Henry; the Earl of Suffolk is made a marquis	81
1447	Feb. 11. The Duke of Gloucester is arrested for treason	83
	— 28. He is found dead in bed	*id.*
	The Marquis of Suffolk seizes his estates	84
	James II. of Scotland marries Mary of Gueldres	135
	April 11. Cardinal Beaufort dies at Walvesey	84
1449	Rouen is taken by the Count of Dunois	85
	Nov. 4. The citadel surrenders	*id.*
	The power of the Livingstons is destroyed in Scotland	135
	The Duke of York suppresses an insurrection in Ireland	89
1450	Jan. The Duke of Suffolk is committed to the Tower	86
	March. He is impeached; is banished by the king	87
	May 5. He is beheaded in a boat in the Channel	*id.*
	The English are defeated at Fourmigni	85
	Aug. 12. Cherbourg is besieged; surrenders to the French; the whole of Normandy is lost	*id.*
1451	Various towns surrender to the French; Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Fronsac capitulate	*id.*
	Jack Cade raises an insurrection in Kent	88
	June. He encamps on Blackheath	*id.*
	— 24. He defeats the royal troops at Sevenoaks	*id.*
	July 4. He beheads the Lord Say in Cheapside	*id.*
	Cade is slain by Alexander Iden	89
	Aug. The Duke of York returns to England	*id.*
	Nov. It is proposed in parliament that he shall be declared heir to the throne	90
1452	Feb. The Earl of Douglas is assassinated at Stirling	135
	York levies an army; he disbands it; is made prisoner and sent to London	90
	March 10. He makes his submission; retires to Wigmore	*id.*

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1452	The people of Guienne revolt against the French; the Earl of Shrewsbury goes to Bourdeaux; makes the garrison prisoners	91
1453	Queen Margaret is delivered of a son; he is created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester	92
	The earl gains many victories; he is slain; Bourdeaux is retaken; the English return	91
	The Duke of Somerset is sent to the Tower	*id.*
1454	Feb. The Duke of York opens Parliament as lieutenant for the king; he is elected protector	91, 2
	The king resumes his authority; liberates the Duke of Somerset	92
	May 22. The Duke of York takes St. Albans, and captures Henry; the Duke of Somerset and many other nobles are slain	*id.*
	York is again declared protector	93
1456	Henry again resumes his authority	*id.*
	March 25. The Lancastrians and Yorkists are reconciled	*id.*
1459	Sept. The Yorkists gain a great victory at Blore-heath	94
	Oct. 13. Sir Andrew Trollop deserts to the king	*id.*
	— 14. York breaks up his camp and retreats to Ireland	*id.*
	Nov. 20. He and his adherents are attainted in parliament	*id.*
	The sailors of the fleet at Calais desert, and take their ships to the Earl of Warwick; he sails to Dublin	*id.*
1460	June. Warwick lands in Kent; he enters London with the son of York	95
	Battle of Northampton; Henry is taken prisoner	*id.*
	July. James II. of Scotland is killed at the siege of Roxburgh	135
	Oct. 16. The Duke of York returns to London; he demands the crown	95
	— 23. It is agreed in the upper house that Henry shall continue king, and on his death York shall succeed	95, 6
	Dec. 31. Battle of Wakefield; York is slain	96
	The earl of Rutland, his second son, is stabbed by lord Clifford	*id.*
1461	The earl of March succeeds his father as Duke of York	*id.*
	Feb. 1. Battle of Mortimer's Cross; Owen Tudor is taken, and with others is beheaded	*id.*
	Queen Margaret defeats the earl of Warwick	97
	Feb. 17. Battle of Barnet; second battle of St. Albans; King Henry is retaken by the queen	*id.*
	— 25. The Duke of York enters London	*id.*
	Mar. 1. He is elected king in St. John's field	*id.*
	— 4. He claims the crown at Westminster; he is proclaimed king	98
	— 10. The bishop of Exeter is made chancellor	102
	— 28. Battle of Towton; Henry, Queen Margaret, and the Prince of Wales, fly to Scotland	98, 9
	June 29. Edward IV. is crowned at Westminster; his brothers, George and Richard, are created dukes of Clarence and Gloucester	99
	The Scots besiege Carlisle; they are defeated	*id.*
	Nov. 4. Parliament assemble; Edward's title is declared valid, and the Lancastrian kings pronounced usurpers; their adherents are attainted, and their estates bestowed upon Yorkists	99, 100
	Queen Margaret goes to France; she returns to England with a small army; takes Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh castles; she is driven off by the Earl of Warwick	100
	Dec. Bamborough and Dunstanburgh surrender	*id.*
1463	Jan. Alnwick Castle capitulates to Warwick	*id.*
	Henry is conveyed to Wales; Margaret goes to Flanders	*id.*
1464	April 25. King Henry is brought back to England; the Lancastrians again take the field; they are defeated at Hedgley Moor	101

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1464	May 1. Edward marries the widow of Sir John Gray	101
	— 15. Battle of Hexham; Sir Ralph Gray is degraded and beheaded; other Lancastrians are executed	id.
	Sept. 29. At a meeting of the great council at Reading, Edward acknowledges his marriage	id.
	Dec. The Council at Westminster settle 4000 marks a-year on her	id.
1465	The Duke of Luxemburg comes to England to the coronation of his niece	id.
	May 25. Elizabeth is carried through the streets of London	102
	— 26. She is crowned at Westminster	id.
	The queen's relations are advanced	id.
1467	The Earl of Warwick goes to Normandy to negotiate a marriage between the son of Louis XI. of France and the Princess Margaret	103
	Edward marries his sister Margaret to the Duke of Burgundy	id.
	The Nevils are expelled from court	id.
1468	Warwick again appears at court	id.
1469	The duke of Clarence marries Isabella, daughter of Warwick, at Calais	104
	Insurrection in Yorkshire; Edward advances against the insurgents; retreats to Nottingham Castle	id.
	July 26. Battle of Edgecote; the Earl of Pembroke is slain; the father and brother of Queen Elizabeth are captured and beheaded at Northampton	id.
	Warwick returns to England; Edward is confined in Middleham Castle	id.
	Nov. The Scotch rise in favour of King Henry; Edward is released; an amnesty is agreed on	id.
1470	The faction of the Boyds are banished from Scotland by James III.	135
	Mar. 12. The battle of Erpingham; Edward defeats the Lancastrians; Warwick and Clarence take refuge in Normandy	104, 5
	June. Queen Margaret and Warwick meet at Amboise	105
	The Prince of Wales is married to Anne, the second daughter of Warwick	id.
	Sept. 13. Warwick lands on the coast of Devonshire	106
	Edward takes ship and sails for Holland; he runs ashore at Alkmaar; he proceeds to the Hague	107
	Oct. 6. Warwick enters London; releases King Henry from the Tower; Queen Elizabeth takes refuge in the Sanctuary at Westminster; is there delivered of a son	id.
1471	March 12. Edward appears with a fleet off the Wash in Lincolnshire	108
	— 16. He lands at Ravenspur; he swears not to attempt to gain the crown; he reaches London	id.
	April 30. Second battle of Barnet; Warwick is slain; King Henry is again sent to the Tower; Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales land at Plymouth	id., 109
	May 4. Battle of Tewkesbury; the queen and prince are taken prisoners; the prince is murdered	id.
	— 14. Thomas Nevil attempts the release of King Henry	110
	— 21. Edward enters London	id.
	— 22. King Henry is found dead in the Tower	id.
	He is buried at Chertsey	id.
1472	Prince Edward is created Prince of Wales, and acknowledged heir to the throne	111
	The Duke of Gloucester marries the widow of the Prince of Wales, slain at Tewkesbury	111
	The king divides the property of Warwick between Clarence and Gloucester	id.
1474	This division declared valid by parliament	id.

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1475	Edward contracts an alliance with the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy; he demands the crown of France of Louis XI.	111
	Edward raises money by benevolences	112
	June 22. He lands at Calais with a great army	id.
	Aug. 22. He meets Louis on a bridge across the Somme, at Picquigny; a treaty is concluded	id., 113
1476	The Duchess of Clarence dies; some of the duke's servants are executed for sorcery	114
	Clarence is committed to the Tower	id.
1478	Jan. 16. Parliament is summoned. Clarence is accused of witchcraft and other crimes	id.
	Feb. 7. He is found guilty, and sentenced to death	id.
	— 18. He dies, or is killed, in the Tower	id.
1480	The Duke of Gloucester commands the army in Scotland	115
	The Earl of Mar is accused of witchcraft	135
1482	The Duke of Albany, after escaping to France, returns; assumes the title of Alexander, king of Scotland; agrees to accept the crown as a gift from King Edward	136
	June. Treaty of Fotheringay is executed between Edward and Albany. The Duke of Gloucester takes the town of Berwick. The Earl of Angus hangs the nobles of King James at the bridge of Lauder; James is taken to Edinburgh	115, 136
	July. Albany and Gloucester march into Edinburgh	115
	Aug. King James is liberated; Albany is appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom	115, 136
	Louis XI. affiances the dauphin to the daughter of the Duchess of Burgundy	116
1483	April 9. King Edward dies; is buried at Windsor	id.
	Gloucester returns from Scotland; he collects the nobility and others at York; they swear fealty to Edward V.	118
	— 22. He arrives at Northampton; the Lord Richard Gray, Earl Rivers, and the Duke of Buckingham meet him	id.
	— 23. He places Rivers, Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan under arrest	id.
	Sends them to Pontefract Castle	id.
	Queen Elizabeth takes sanctuary with the Duke of York and her daughters at Westminster	id.
	The mayor and sheriff meet King Edward	119
	May. Edward is conveyed to the Tower	id.
	— 22. Gloucester is appointed Protector	id.
	June 13. Lord Hastings is arrested	120
	He is beheaded; others of the council are thrown into prison	121
	— 14. Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan are beheaded	id.
	— 16. The Duke of York is carried to the Tower	id.
	Jane Shore does penance	id.
	Dr. Shaw preaches at Paul's Cross	id.
	June 25. The crown is offered to Gloucester at Baynard's Castle	122
	— 26. He appears in Westminster Hall; rides to St. Paul's, and is received by the clergy	123
	July 6. Gloucester is crowned King of England as Richard III., with his wife Anne, at Westminster	124
	They are again crowned at York	id.
	Edward V. and the Duke of York are murdered	125, 311
	The Earl of Richmond is invited into England	126
	Aug. 30. Louis XI. of France dies, and is succeeded by Charles VIII.	293
	Oct. Richard summons a meeting of his adherents at Leicester	126
	— 18. The insurrection in favour of Richmond breaks out; he is proclaimed king in Exeter and other places	id.

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1483	Oct. The Duke of Buckingham is captured and beheaded	127
	Nov. 11. Parliament recognises Richard's title; his son Edward is declared Prince of Wales	*id.*
1484	The Prince of Wales dies suddenly at Middleham Castle	*id.*
	Queen Elizabeth appears at the court of Richard	*id.*
1485	Queen Anne dies	128
1485	The Earl of Richmond collects a fleet at Harfleur: Richard issues a proclamation against him	128
	Aug. 7. Richmond lands at Milford Haven	
	— 22. Battle of Bosworth Field; Richard is slain	129
	Henry VII. is crowned on the field of battle	*id.*
	Richard is buried at the Grey Friars in Leicester	130

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1485	The Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, is removed from Sheriff-Hutton to the Tower	281
	Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., is removed from the same place to London	*id.*
	Aug. 27. Henry enters London	*id.*
	Sept. 21. The sweating sickness breaks out in London	282
	Oct. 28. Jaspar, earl of Pembroke, is made Duke of Bedford; Lord Stanley and Sir Edward Courtney are made Earls of Derby and Devonshire	282
	Oct. 30. Henry VII. is crowned at Westminster	*id.*
	The yeomen of the guard established	283
	Nov. 7. Parliament meets; the king's title is admitted	*id.*
	Attainders are passed on Richard and his adherents. Henry dates his reign from the day before the battle of Bosworth	283, 4
	Catesby and others are executed	284
	The crown is settled on Henry VII. and the heirs of his body	*id.*
	All grants from the crown since 34 Henry VI. are resumed; an act of grace is published by the king	285
1486	Jan. 18. Henry marries Elizabeth of York; union of the houses of York and Lancaster	*id.*
	Pope Innocent III. gives a dispensation for the marriage, acknowledging Henry's title	286
	Humphrey and Thomas Stafford are executed for treason	287
	Henry goes to York and other towns	*id.*
	June. Treaty of peace with Scotland	*id.*
	Sept. 20. The queen is delivered of a son, he is named Arthur	*id.*
	Nov. Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick, appears in Dublin, with Simon, the priest of Oxford	*id.*
	The king proclaims a general pardon	288
	The queen dowager is committed prisoner to the monastery of Bermondsey	*id.*
	The Marquis of Dorset is sent to the Tower	*id.*
	The Earl of Warwick is paraded through the streets of London	*id.*
	John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, flies to Flanders	289
	Lambert Simnel is crowned in Dublin as King Edward VI.	*id.*
	Simnel, with the Earl of Lincoln and others, and an army of Germans and Irish, lands at the pile of Foudray	289, 90
1487	June 16. Battle of Stoke; the rebels are defeated; Simnel and Simon are taken; the Earl of Lincoln is slain	290
	James III. of Scotland is driven from Edinburgh	302
	— 18. Battle of Cangler Moor; James III. is killed; is buried at Cambuskenneth Abbey	302, 3
	— 26. James IV. is crowned at Scone	203
	Nov. 20. The Queen is crowned at Westminster	291
1488	July 20. The English and Breton army under Sir Edward Woodville and the Duke of Orleans are defeated between Andouillé and St. Aubin du Cormier; Woodville is slain; the Duke is taken prisoner; several are executed	294
	Aug. The Duke of Brittany signs the treaty of Verger	295
	Sept. 7. Francis, duke of Brittany, dies	*id.*
	James IV. gains the battle of Talla Moss	303
1489	Parliament grant 75,000*l.* to carry on the war in Brittany; Lord Willoughby de Broke lands with a small army	295
	An insurrection breaks out in the northern counties of England; it is suppressed by the Earl of Surrey	196
	John à Chambre and his confederates are hanged at York	*id.*
	Sir Andrew Wood beats the English in sea-fights off Dunbar and St. Abbs	303, 4
1490	Maximilian, king of the Romans, marries Anne, duchess of Brittany, by proxy	196
1491	Dec. 6. She is married at the castle of Langeais, in Touraine, to Charles VIII. of France	298
	Perkin Warbeck lands at Cork, and declares himself the Duke of York, son of Edward IV.	299
1492	Henry proceeds to France; lays siege to Boulogne	
	Oct. 27. A council is held, and peace proposed with France	
	Nov. The treaty of Estaples is signed	298, 9
1494	Many persons are arrested for countenancing Warbeck	300
	Charles VIII. of France marches into Italy to enforce his claim as King of the Two Sicilies	311
1495	Feb. 15. Sir William Stanley is executed for treason	301
	July 3. Warbeck lands at Deal; the people rise against him; his adherents are sent to London; he escapes to Flanders; the rebels are all executed	*id.*
1496	Treaty of commerce signed between England and Flanders; Warbeck retreats to Scotland	*id.*, 304
	Warbeck is married to Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley	305
	A treaty is concluded between King James and Warbeck	*id.*
	King James invades England with Warbeck and an army of Scots, Germans, and Flemings; they retire	306
	The western counties break out into rebellion; the insurgents march to Blackheath	*id.*
1497	June 22. Battle of Blackheath; Lord Daubeny and the Earl of Oxford defeat them; Lord Audley is taken and beheaded; others are hanged	307
	July. Warbeck and his wife sail from Scotland; he lands in Ireland, but retires	*id.*
	Sept. He lands at Whitsand Bay, Cornwall; assumes the title of Richard IV.	*id.*

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1497	He attacks Exeter; is repulsed; marches to Taunton Dean; he flies to the sanctuary at Beaulieu; the ringleaders of the insurrection are hanged; the Lady Catherine Gordon is taken to London	308
	Warbeck surrenders; Henry proceeds to Exeter; returns to London	*id.*, 309
1498	June. Warbeck escapes; he is captured; he is placed in the stocks in various places; reads his confession; is recommitted to the Tower	309
	Charles VIII. of France dies, and is succeeded by Louis XII.	311
1499	Ralph Wilford personates the Earl of Warwick; raises an insurrection with Patrick, an Augustine friar	309
	Mar. Wilford is taken and executed; the friar is imprisoned for life	*id.*
	Louis XII. conquers Lombardy, and takes possession of Naples	311
	July. A plot is formed to liberate the Earl of Warwick and Warbeck	309
	Nov. 16. Warbeck is tried for treason, and convicted	310
	— 23. He is executed, with the mayor of Cork, at Tyburn	*id.*
	— 24. The Earl of Warwick is beheaded for treason	*id.*
	Prince Arthur is affianced to Catherine of Aragon	312
1500	A plague rages in London	310
	Henry goes to Calais	*id.*
1501	Henry sends an embassy to Scotland; James asks the hand of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter	311
	Nov. 6. Arthur is married to Catherine of Aragon	312
1502	Jan. 29. The Princess Margaret is married by proxy in London	*id.*
	April. Arthur, prince of Wales, dies at Ludlow	*id.*
	Elizabeth, Henry's Queen, dies in the Tower	*id.*
1503	Henry, prince of Wales, is affianced to the widow of his brother Arthur	*id.*
	July. Margaret, queen of Scotland, proceeds from London	*id.*
	Aug. 7. She enters Edinburgh	*id.*
	— 8. She is married	*id.*
	Empson and Dudley exact money from various persons	313
1504	Sir James Tyrrel and Sir John Wyndham are executed	314
	Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, flies to Burgundy	*id.*
1505	Prince Henry is knighted; the King obtains 30,000*l.* from Parliament	*id.*
1506	Jan. The Archduke Philip, and his wife, Joanna queen of Castile, are driven by stress of weather into Weymouth	*id.*, 315
	— 17. Henry meets Philip on Elworth Green, near Windsor	315
	April. Philip and Joanna are permitted to depart	*id.*
1507, 8	Philip dies; Joanna becomes insane	316
	Henry releases some prisoners; several persons are heavily fined and committed to prison; Empson and Dudley continue their extortions for the king	317
	Anne Boleyn is born	363
1509	Apr. 21. Henry dies at Richmond; is buried in his chapel at Westminster	317
	Accession of Henry VIII.	318
	— 22. He is proclaimed	*id.*
	June 3. He is married to Catherine of Aragon, at Greenwich	319
	June 24. He is crowned, with his queen, Catherine, at Westminster	318
	Empson and Dudley are brought before the council and committed to the Tower	320

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1509	They are convicted and sentenced to death as traitors	320
1510	Aug. 17. Empson and Dudley are beheaded	*id.*
1512	Henry demands the crown of France; sends a large army into Guipuscoa; the expedition returns	320, 1
1513	Henry obtains supplies from Parliament; prepares for a war with France; arms his northern towns	321, 2
	April. The English fleet is defeated in the harbour of Brest; Sir Edward Howard, the lord admiral, is slain	322
	May. Henry sends the vanguard of his army to Calais; the Earl of Suffolk is beheaded; appoints the Queen governor of the realm; Henry sails for France	323
	June 30. He lands at Calais; marches to the siege of Terouenne; the Emperor Maximilian joins him; the battle of the Spurs	325
	August. Terouenne surrenders	*id.*
	— 22. James, king of Scotland, crosses the borders; besieges Norham Castle; it surrenders; takes Wart and Ford Castles	326
	Sept. Tournay surrenders to Henry	*id.*
	— 9. Battle of Flodden-field; James is slain	327-330
	— 22. Henry enters Tournay in triumph	326
	Oct. 21. He returns with his army to England	*id.*
	He creates the Earl of Surrey duke of Norfolk	330
	Queen Margaret of Scotland is appointed regent	331
1514	May. She marries the Earl of Angus; forfeits the regency; the Duke of Albany arrives and is appointed regent	349
	Aug. 7. The Princess Mary, sister of Henry, is married by proxy to Louis XII. of France	331
	Oct. She departs for France, and is remarried	*id.*
	Anne Boleyn is appointed maid of honour to Mary	*id.*, 363
	Nov. 5. Mary is crowned at St. Denis	332
1515	Jan. 1. Louis XII. dies, and is succeeded by Francis I.	*id.*
	March. Queen Mary marries Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk	*id.*
	Wolsey is created a cardinal	*id.*
	He is made chancellor and legate	334
	Queen Margaret of Scotland comes to England	351
	The Regent Albany suppresses an insurrection raised by the Earl of Arran; he and his confederates are executed	351, 2
	Albany leaves Scotland; Queen Margaret returns to Scotland	352
1516 to 1518	Francis I. marches with an army for the recovery of Milan; the battle of Marignano; Milan surrenders; he returns to France	335, 6
	Oct. 4. A treaty of alliance is ratified between Henry and Francis	356
1519	Jan. The Emperor Maximilian dies	*id.*
	March. Francis I. proposes himself as a candidate for the empire	*id.*
	May. Henry announces himself a candidate	*id.*
	June 2. The Archduke Charles, king of Spain, is elected emperor, under the title of Charles V.	357
1520	May 26. The emperor visits Henry at Dover; proceeds to Canterbury; he re-embarks at Sandwich	338
	— 31. Henry, the queen, and his retinue embark for Calais, to meet Francis I.	*id.*
	June 4. Henry proceeds to Guisnes	*id.*
	— 7. The two kings meet at the Field of Cloth of Gold	340-3
1521	April 16. The Duke of Buckingham is arrested for treason, and taken to the Tower	344
	May 13. He is tried and condemned	*id.*
	— 14. Orders are issued by Wolsey for the seizure of heretical books	345
	— 17. Buckingham is beheaded on Tower Hill	*id.*
	July 30. Wolsey is sent ambassador to mediate the emperor and Francis I.	*id.*

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1521	Oct. A league is made by Henry with the pope and the emperor	346
	Henry's defence of the seven sacraments is sent to Leo X., who confers on him the title of Defender of the Faith	345
	The French are expelled from Italy	346
	Nov. The Duke of Albany resumes the regency of Scotland	353
	Dec. 1. Pope Leo X. dies	347
	— 27. Adrian, cardinal of Tortosa, is elected pope by the title of Adrian VI.	*id.*
1522	Francis seizes the goods of English merchants in his ports	348
	May 26. The Emperor lands at Dover; a treaty is concluded between him and Henry for the invasion of France	*id.*
	The Earl of Shrewsbury makes inroads into Scotland	353
	Forced loans are raised in London	348, 349
	August. The Earl of Surrey opens the campaign; returns to Calais	*id.*
	The Earl of Kildare is appointed lord-deputy of Ireland for the third time	425
	The Regent of Scotland declares war against England; a truce is concluded	354
	The regent again returns to France	*id.*
1523	The Earl of Surrey with a great army destroys Merse and the abbey of Jedburgh	429
	Parliament is assembled; Sir Thomas More is chosen speaker of the Commons; Wolsey demands in person in the House of Commons 800,000*l.* for the recovery of France; a property-tax is agreed to	355
	The Duke of Albany arrives with a French fleet in Scotland; the Scotch ravage the English border; Albany returns to France	429
	The Duke of Suffolk opens the campaign in France	355
	He returns to Calais	357
	Sept. 14. Pope Adrian VI. dies	*id.*
	Cardinal Giulio dei Medici is elected by the title of Clement VII.	*id.*
	Bonnivet, the commander of the French army, overruns Piedmont and the Milanese	358
1524	The emperor retakes all the conquests of the French; death of the Chevalier Bayard	*id.*
	Siege of Marseilles; it is raised; the plague at Milan; siege of Pavia	358, 9
1525	Feb. 24. Battle of Pavia; Francis is taken prisoner	359
	Henry attempts to levy money by benevolences for the conquest of France; it is refused; an insurrection is raised; the benevolence is not insisted on	360
	June 18. Sir Thomas Boleyn is created Viscount Rochford, and Henry Fitzroy, the king's natural son, is created duke of Richmond	364
	Henry and Wolsey disagree concerning the suppression of some monasteries	362
	Henry concludes an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France	361
	Francis abdicates in favour of his son, the dauphin	*id.*
	Queen Margaret obtains possession of King James	430
1526	Jan. 14. The concord of Madrid is signed; Francis is set at liberty and returns to France	361
	Moncada seizes Rome; plunders the Vatican; the pope takes refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo	362
	Sept. 21. A treaty of peace is signed, and the Spaniards leave Rome	*id.*
	Dec. The Spaniards again invade the Roman States	*id.*
	Queen Margaret, of Scotland, is divorced from Angus and marries Henry Stewart	430
1527	March. The pope executes another treaty	363

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1527	May 5. Rome is assaulted, taken, and sacked by the Spaniards; the Constable Bourbon is killed; the pope and some of the cardinals are besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo	363
	Henry's marriage with Catherine of Aragon questioned	364
	Aug. Cardinal Wolsey goes on an embassy to France	365
	Henry writes a treatise upon the unlawfulness of his marriage with Catherine	366
	The pope is captured, but escapes to Orvieto	*id.*
	He authorises Wolsey and another cardinal to decide the question of divorce; grants a dispensation for Henry's marriage with any other woman	367
1528	Henry demands a decretal bull from the pope	*id.*
	Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio are authorised to determine the divorce	368
	May. The sweating sickness breaks out in London	*id.*
	July. King James, of Scotland, obtains his freedom; banishes Angus	430
	Aug. The plague rages in Italy	368
	Sept. The French army in Italy surrender to the Imperialists	*id.*
1529	May 30. Henry issues a licence for the cardinals to proceed with the question of the divorce	369
	— 31. The court is opened in the hall of the Black Friars	*id.*
	June 21. The king and queen both appear before the cardinals; the queen withdraws and refuses again to appear	*id.*
	She is pronounced contumacious	370
	July 15. The pope revokes the legatine commission	371
	— 23. Campeggio adjourns the cause	*id.*
	Wolsey has two bills filed against him in the court of King's Bench, for exercising the functions of pope's legate	*id.*
	He refuses to deliver the great seal to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk	372
	He delivers them up	*id.*
	Sentence is pronounced against him in the court of King's Bench	*id.*
	Dec. 1. A bill of impeachment against him in parliament is thrown out	*id.*
1530	He is deprived of all but the bishopries of York and Winchester	373
	He receives a free pardon from the king	*id.*
	Nov. 4. He is arrested for high treason	*id.*
	He is taken sick at Leicester	*id.*
	— 29. He dies at Leicester Abbey, and is buried in the Lady's Chapel of the monastery	374
	The marriage of Henry is declared illegal by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge	375, 6
	The foreign universities differ	376
1531	March. The pope publishes a breve, forbidding Henry to contract a new marriage under pain of excommunication	*id.*
	Thomas Cromwell advises the king to act on the opinion of the English universities, and to obtain the sanction of parliament	377
	He advises Henry to declare himself supreme head of the church	*id.*
	The whole body of the clergy are involved in a præmunire for abetting Wolsey in acting as the pope's legate	377, 8
	The convocation offer 100,000*l.*, and acknowledge the king to be protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England, as far as may be by the law of Christ; they are pardoned	378
	Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, and some peers, attend in the House of Commons, and declare the king's proceedings touching his marriage	*id.*

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1531	May. Catherine refuses to abide by the decision of four bishops and four lay peers; is removed from Greenwich to Moor in Hertfordshire; she removes to Ampthill	378
	Thomas Bilney is burned in Smithfield, as a heretic, for attempting to expose the errors of popery	*id.*
1532	The war with Scotland again breaks out on the borders	430
	May 16. Sir Thomas More retires	378
	June 4. Sir Thomas Audley is appointed chancellor	*id.*
	Parliament abolishes annates or first-fruits	*id.*
	Anne Boleyn is created Marchioness of Pembroke	379
	She goes with Henry to Calais; they meet Francis I. at Boulogne	*id.*
	Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, is arrested by order of Henry	384
1533	Nov. 15. The pope signs a breve, declaring Henry and Anne excommunicated, unless they should separate	378, 9
	Jan 4 or 25. Henry is married to Anne Boleyn, at Whitehall	379
	Cranmer is made Archbishop of Canterbury	380
	Feb. 22. The pope signs a bull, ratifying the election	*id.*
	March 30. Cranmer is consecrated, and takes the oaths of canonical obedience to the pope	*id.*
	Appeals to Rome prohibited by parliament	*id.*
	Queen Catherine declared by parliament to be only Princess Dowager of Wales	
	May 8. Catherine is cited before a court at Dunstable; refuses to attend; is pronounced contumacious	380, 1
	— 23. Cranmer pronounces her marriage with Henry null and void	381
	The Earl of Kildare is recalled from Ireland, and committed to the Tower	425
	— 28. Cranmer declares to the clergy the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn, and confirms the same	381
	June 1. Anne is crowned at Westminster by Cranmer	*id.*
	Lord Thomas Fitzgerald raises an insurrection in Ireland	425
	July 11. The pope annuls the judgment of Cranmer, and publishes his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne	381
	Sept. 7. Anne is delivered of a girl, the Princess Elizabeth	383
	Queen Catherine refuses to remove from Ampthill	*id.*
	Oct. The pope visits Francis at Marseilles; Bonner appeals on behalf of Henry from the pope to a general council of the church; the pope returns to Italy	382
	Nov. The Maid of Kent and her abettors are condemned by the Star Chamber to confess their imposture	384
1534	Parliament prohibits every kind of payment or appeal to the pope; confirms Henry's title as supreme head of the church; vests in the king only the right of appointing to all bishoprics; of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes	384
	March 23. The consistory of Rome decides on the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine; the pope gives sentence	*id.*
	Parliament declares the marriage between Henry and Anne lawful; sets aside the Princess Mary as illegitimate; settles the succession on the issue of Anne; declares it to be high treason to question the second marriage	*id.*
	The Maid of Kent and her abettors are attainted of high treason, and others of misprision of treason	385

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1534	April 21. They are executed at Tyburn	385
	Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, are committed to the Tower	*id.*
	May 12. Treaty of peace signed with Scotland	430
	July 22. Frith and Hewet are burnt in Smithfield for heresy against the church of Rome	386
	— 27. David Straiton and Norman Gourlay are burnt at Edinburgh as heretics	431
	— 31. Allen, archbishop of Dublin, is murdered by the Fitzgeralds	425
	Nov. Parliament imposes new oaths; annexes first-fruits and tenths to the crown; empowers the king to punish heresies	386
1535	May 5. Several Catholic priests are executed for treason for denying the supremacy	*id.*
	— 25. Some Dutch anabaptists are burned for denying the actual presence in the Eucharist	*id.*
	June 14. Interrogatories are administered to Sir Thomas More	387
	— 18. Other Catholics are executed for denying the supremacy	388
	— 22. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, is beheaded for the same offence	*id.*
	July 6. More is also executed for the same	389
	Aug. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald is sent to England, and committed to the Tower	426
	— 30. Pope Paul III. signs a bull against Henry, citing him to appear at Rome; in default declares him to have forfeited the crown; and his children by Anne incapable of inheriting	389
	Sir Thomas Cromwell is appointed vicar-general of the king; he proposes the suppression of some monasteries, convents, and abbeys	390
	Henry issues a commission to inquire into the conduct of the religious houses	*id.*
1536	Jan. 8. Queen Catherine dies at Kimbolton	*id.*
	— 29. Anne Boleyn is delivered of a son still-born	390, 1
	Feb. The five Fitzgeralds, uncles of Lord Thomas, are captured and sent to the Tower	426
	May 1. A tournament is held at Greenwich	391
	— 2. Anne is arrested for treason and committed to the Tower; Viscount Rochford, her brother, Norris, Smeaton, Brereton, and Weston, are committed also	*id.*
	Anne is examined before the privy council	392
	Smeaton confesses his guilt	*id.*
	— 10. Bills of indictment are found against all but Lord Rochford	*id.*
	— 12. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, are arraigned and convicted of treason and adultery	*id.*
	— 15. Anne and Lord Rochford are tried in the Tower, and condemned to death	393
	— 17. Smeaton is hanged, the others are beheaded	394, 5
	Cranmer pronounces the marriage of Anne to have been always null and void	395
	— 19. Anne is beheaded in the Tower	393, 4
	— 20. Henry marries Jane Seymour	394
	— 29. Jane publicly appears as queen	*id.*
	June. Parliament passes an act of succession entailing the crown on Henry's issue by Jane Seymour; with power to Henry to bequeath the crown by letters patent or will	395
	Wales is united to England and governed by the same laws	425
	The Duke of Richmond dies	395
	The lesser monasteries are suppressed	396
	The king reduces the number of sacraments to three	397
	An English translation of the bible ordered to be printed	*id.*
	Oct. An insurrection breaks out in Lincolnshire; the Duke of Suffolk negotiates	*id.*

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1536	Oct. The king answers the articles of complaint	398
	— 9. A priest and a butcher are hanged at Windsor by martial law for speaking about the insurgents	*id.*
	An insurrection breaks out in the northern counties	*id.*, 399
	— 30. The insurgents of Lincoln disperse; fifteen of them are given up	398
	Lords Darcy, Lumley, and others, and the Archbishop of York, join the northern insurgents, who are called the Pilgrims of Grace; Robert Aske is appointed leader	399
	The Duke of Suffolk treats with them	*id.*
	The king offers terms; they are rejected	400
	Reginald Pole is created a cardinal	401
1537	The insurgents endeavour to take various places; disperse; Aske, Darcy, and others are taken	400, 1
	Martial law is proclaimed in the north, and many executions take place	401
	Jan. James of Scotland marries Marie de Bourbon	431
	Feb. The six Fitzgeralds are beheaded in the Tower	426
	May. King James and his queen land at Leith	431
	July. The queen dies	*id.*
	The Bible is published in English; the Bishops' Book	424
	Oct. 12. Queen Jane Seymour is delivered of a son	402
	— 24. She dies; the prince is created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. Edward Seymour is created Earl of Hereford	*id.*
	Some of the larger monasteries are suppressed and the abbeys are seized by the king	*id.*
	Thomas à Becket is cited to appear at Westminster	403
1538	The Protestant princes of Germany send over a deputation to convert Henry to the Protestant faith	409
	The papist nobles and bishops are invited to court	*id.*
	George Wishart preaches at Bristol against the worship of the Virgin	446
	June 18. A truce is concluded at Nice for ten years between the emperor, Henry, and Francis	407
	James of Scotland marries Mary of Guise	431
	Nov. Thomas à Becket is declared a rebel and a traitor	406
	A man and a woman, Anabaptists, are burnt in Smithfield	*id.*
	John Lambert is tried for heresy in denying the real presence; Henry presides as supreme head of the church; Lambert is condemned to be burnt; he is executed in Smithfield	406, 7
	Lord Montacute, Sir Geoffry Pole, the Marquess of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, and others, are committed to the Tower	408
1539	They are tried and condemned for treason	*id.*
	Jan. 9. Montacute, Exeter, and Neville are beheaded	*id.*
	April 28. Parliament passes bills of attainder against the Countess of Salisbury and others	408
	They are all condemned to death by bill in parliament without trial	409
	May 18. Six questions are proposed concerning the Eucharist and other matters for the consideration of parliament	410
	— 20. Henry disputes in parliament upon them; they are adopted and called the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute	*id.*
	Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer resign their sees	*id.*
	Parliament passes an act declaring the king's proclamation to have the force of a statute	411

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1539	May 22. Forest, a friar, is burnt alive as a relapsed traitor and heretic	403
	June 11. Thomas à Becket is tried and convicted of treason, rebellion, and contumacy; his bones to be burnt; the riches of his shrine to be forfeited to the crown	403
	July 8. The Vicar of Wandsworth and Friar Ware are executed for treason	411
	— 10. Sir Adam Fortescue and Sir Thomas Dingley are beheaded	409
	James Beaton is made primate of Scotland	431
	Queen Margaret dies	430
	Aug. All the jewels and plate of the shrine of Becket are taken from Canterbury	403
	Nov. 14. Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury, is tried for treason	411
	— 15. He is hanged and quartered at Tor Hill	412
	Dec. Ann of Cleves arrives at Dover	413
1540	Jan. 5. She is married to Henry	414
	The remaining monasteries and other religious houses are suppressed; their lands divided amongst courtiers and favourites	404
	Cromwell is created Earl of Essex	414
	Feb. Henry sends an embassy to the King of Scotland recommending the sequestration of the property of the monasteries	431
	June 10. Cromwell is arrested for treason and taken to the Tower	415
	— 19. He is attainted as a traitor and heretic	*id.*
	July 9. Henry is divorced from Ann of Cleves	*id.*
	— 16. She addresses Henry as her brother	416
	Henry is married to Catherine Howard	417
	— 28. Cromwell is beheaded on Tower Hill	*id.*
	— 31. Dr. Barnes and five others are executed	*id.*
	Aug. 8. Catherine Howard is publicly acknowledged queen	*id.*
	The Prior of Doncaster and six others are hanged for defending a monastic life	*id.*
1541	Ireland is devastated by civil war	428
	May 27. The Countess of Salisbury is beheaded in the Tower	409
	An attempt is made to revive the Pilgrimage of Grace	417
	June 28. Lord Leonard Gray is beheaded for treason	426
	Severe statutes are passed in Scotland against heresy	431
	Aug. The king proceeds on a progress in the north	417
	Catherine Howard is accused to the king	*id.*
	The matter is investigated by commissioners	418
	They report to the king	419, 20-23
	The accomplices of Catherine are imprisoned for life for misprision of treason	422, 3
1542	Henry resolves to raise Ireland to the rank of a kingdom; creates several of the native chiefs peers; Ulliac de Burgh, Murrock O'Brien, and O'Neil, are made Earls of Clanrickarde, Thomond, and Tyrone	428
	The chiefs do homage for their lands to Henry, and hold them by military service; letters patent are granted them for securing the possession of the lands	*id.*
	Feb. 11. Catherine is attainted by parliament, with Lady Rochford	423
	— 13. They are both beheaded in the Tower	*id.*
	Aug. The English invade the Scottish border; they are defeated at Haddenrig	433
	Oct. Henry claims the sovereignty of Scotland; the Duke of Norfolk marches with a powerful army; the Scotch are routed on Solway Moss; many of the Scottish nobility are carried prisoners to England	*id.*
	Dec. 7. The Queen of Scots gives birth to a daughter	434
	James V. dies	*id.*

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1542	Dec. 22. The Earl of Arran becomes Regent of Scotland	431
1543	Jan. 10. The Douglases return to Scotland	*id.*
	Feb. The English parliament restore the Princess Mary to her place in the succession	438
	A treaty of peace is signed between Henry and the emperor	*id.*
	Cardinal Beaton is seized and carried to Blackness Castle	434
	The Reformation is supported by Arran	*id.*
	The churches are shut up by the Catholic clergy	435
	Henry demands that Beaton shall be delivered up to him, and that the Scotch castles shall be put into his hands	*id.*
	The Earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray demand certain articles, one of which is that the New Testament shall not be allowed to be circulated in the vulgar tongue	*id.*
	March 12. The lords meet in parliament; they recommend the marriage of the infant queen with the Prince of Wales	*id.*
	Cardinal Beaton regains his liberty	436
	The treaty of Greenwich is executed by Henry and Angus and others of the regency	*id.*
	Aug. It is ratified by the nobles	*id.*
	The ships of Scotch merchants are seized in the English ports, whither they were driven by stress of weather	437
	July. Henry is married to Catherine Parr	438
	Three sectarians or Protestants are burnt in Smithfield	*id.*
	Sept. Arran publicly abjures his heresy and is reconciled to the Church of Rome	*id.*
	Queen Mary of Scotland is crowned at Stirling	*id.*
	The Earl of Angus and his associates execute a bond at Douglas Castle to serve King Henry	*id.*
	Marco Grimani, the pope's legate, lands in Scotland	*id.*
	Angus and his confederates are accused of treason. The treaty of marriage is declared void	438
	Sir Thomas Wallop with an English army besiege Landreci; returns to winter quarters	438
	George Wishart goes to Scotland and preaches against popery	446
1544	May 4. An English army land at Leith, which they plunder; the Scotch evacuate Edinburgh; the Earl of Hertford attacks the castle; is defeated; burns the town and lays waste the country; he retreats from Leith, burns the shipping, and retreats to Berwick; the Catholics and Protestants coalesce against the English	440
	July. Henry proceeds from Dover to Calais; besieges Boulogne	439
	Sept. Boulogne surrenders, and Henry returns to England	*id.*
1545	*Lennox* with a fleet takes the Isles of Arran and Bute, and ravages the coast of Scotland.	440, 1
	Sir Ralph Evre lays waste the country about Jedburgh and Kyle	441
	Battle of Ancrum Moor; the English are defeated; Sir Ralph Evre is slain	*id.*
	July 16. A French fleet cast anchor at St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight; the English fleet in Portsmouth harbour is prevented going out by Henry	442
	The French fleet returns to Brest	443
	Nov. Parliament grants Henry a subsidy and the disposal of all colleges, charities, and hospitals. George Wishart is seized; is tried as a heretic and burnt at St. Andrew's	446
	May 28. Cardinal Beaton is assassinated	446, 7
	June. Treaty of Campes; Henry agrees to give up Boulogne on payment of money by Francis	447

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1545	Sept. The Earl of Hertford again marches into Scotland; burns and destroys the villages; attacks the abbey of Kelso; murders the monks; plunders the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh; he retreats	447
	Anne Askew is condemned for heresy	448
	She is examined before the council in the Tower; is put to the torture and burned with others in Smithfield	448
	Dec. 12. The Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey are sent to the Tower	449
1547	Jan. 13. The Earl of Surrey is arraigned for treason at Guildhall for using the royal arms of Edward the Confessor quartered with his own; he is found guilty of an attempt upon the throne	450
	— 19. He is beheaded	*id.*
	The Duke of Norfolk makes a confession; a bill of attainder is brought in which passes both houses in six days	451
	— 27. The royal assent is given to the bill by commission; orders are sent to the Tower for his execution on the following morning	*id.*
	— 28. Henry dies early in the morning	*id.*
	The Duke of Norfolk is respited	*id.*
	— 31. The death of Henry is announced to parliament	45
	King Edward VI. enters London and proceeds to the Tower	451
	Feb. 1. King Henry's will is read, appointing sixteen executors to be governors of King Edward till he should be sixteen years of age; the Earl of Hertford is appointed sole governor by the others	453
	He is made Duke of Somerset	45
	— 16. King Henry is buried at Windsor	4
	— 18. The chancellor, the Earl of Southampton, issues a commission under the great seal enabling the masters of the court to make decrees	457
	— 20. King Edward VI. is crowned at Westminster, the ceremony being shortened	456, 7
	March 6. The chancellor is dismissed by the council	457
	Somerset is appointed sole governor of the king and protector of the kingdom	*id.*
	— 31. Francis I. dies at Rambouillet, and is succeeded by his son Henry II.	458
	June. Lord Seymour, the Duke of Somerset's brother, marries Queen Catherine Parr	471
	July. The adherents of Cardinal Beaton are besieged in St. Andrew's Castle: surrender to the French fleet	458
	John Knox with other prisoners is carried to France	*id.*
	The Castle of St. Andrew's is demolished	459
	The protector marches with an army for the invasion of Scotland; Lord Clinton commands the fleet	*id.*
	The army take possession of Douglas Castle	*id.*
	Sept. 10. Battle of Pinkey, at Salt Preston; Black Saturday; the Scotch army are routed	460, 3
	The Scottish camp is plundered	463, 4
	The fleet take the Island of Inchcolm; the town of Kinghorn; plunder and ravage the coast	464
	— 17. Leith is set on fire	*id.*
	— 18. The army marches back towards the border	*id.*
	Clinton assaults and takes Broughty Castle	*id.*
	— 21. The protector takes possession of Hume Castle	46
	— 29. The English army recross the Tweed	4
	Visitors of each diocese are appointed; an English copy of the Bible is ordered to be deposited in every parish church; other regulations are made	46

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1517	Bonner and Gardiner are committed to the Fleet	466
	Nov. 4. Parliament repeals the act of Henry giving proclamations the force of laws, and many other statutes of the late reign	46, 7
	Abolishes the congé d'élire: orders the sacrament to be delivered to the laity; vests all chantries, colleges, and free chapels in the king	467
	It also passes an act for the punishing of vagabonds and the relief of poor and impotent persons	*id.*
	Proclamations are issued against carrying candles on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and palms on Palm Sunday	468
	All images are ordered to be removed from churches and chapels; the rich shrines are forfeited to the crown; act of general pardon published	*id.*
	New order of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper proclaimed; the elevation of the Host forbidden; the service to be in English	*id.*
	Cranmer publishes a catechism in English	*id.*
1548	Jan. 8. Gardiner is brought before the council and discharged	*id.*
	April. Lord Gray of Wilton is sent into Scotland with a powerful army; he takes the town of Haddington and fortifies it; Dalkeith and Musselburgh are burnt	469
	Bishop Gardiner is committed to the Tower	468
	June. A fleet with an army of French and Germans arrives at Leith; Arran and the Scotch with the French and Germans encamp before Haddington; a treaty of marriage between Queen Mary and the dauphin is here ratified	469
	The queen goes on board the French fleet at Dunbarton	*id.*
	Aug 13. She reaches Brest; proceeds to St. Germain-en-Laye; is contracted to the dauphin	*id.*
	Haddington is relieved	*id.*
	The English are defeated in attempting again to relieve the town	470
	The Earl of Shrewsbury relieves Haddington	*id.*
	Lord Clinton, the admiral, lands at several places, but is repulsed	*id.*
	Lord Grey makes an incursion as far as Tiviotdale and Liddlesdale	*id.*
	Sept. 30. The queen dowager, wife of Seymour, dies, after giving birth to a daughter	476
	Oct. 9. D'Esse attempts to surprise Haddington; is repulsed	470
	— 15. The plague rages in London	*id.*
	Nov. 24. Parliament *meets*; bill introduced in the Commons permitting the marriage of the clergy	*id.*
	Dec. 13. It is passed and carried to the House of Lords	471
	The English are driven out of Jedburgh; the castles of Hume and Furnhaist are retaken; the Scotch, assisted by the French, gain other successes and ravage the English border	488
1549	Jan. 19. The Lord Admiral Seymour is committed to the Tower for high treason	478
	Feb. 9. The bill allowing the marriage of the clergy is considered in the House of Lords	471
	— 19. The bill is read a third time and passed	*id.*
	An act is passed establishing the use of the reformed liturgy, and another "touching abstinence from flesh in Lent," &c.	*id.*
	— 23. The whole council proceed to the Tower and exhibit articles of charge against the lord admiral	479
	— 27. A bill of attainder against him is passed in the House of Lords	*id.*

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1549	March 4. The bill passes the House of Commons	479
	— 14. The royal assent is given to the bill	*id.*
	— 26. He is beheaded on Tower Hill	480
	June. An insurrection breaks out in various parts of England against the Reformation and the use of the reformed liturgy	481-3
	Siege of Exeter by the rebels	483, 4
	Lord Russell defeats the rebels at Fennington Bridge	485
	Ket's insurrection in Norfolk; the Tree of Reformation	485,6
	The Marquess of Northampton marches against Ket; he is driven out of Norwich by the rebels; Lord Sheffield is killed; Northampton retreats to London	487
	Aug. 6. Lord Russell and Lord Grey raise the siege of Exeter; the rebels of the west are executed	485
	— 27. The Earl of Warwick defeats the Norfolk rebels at Dussingdale; Ket and all the principal rebels are executed	487
	Bishop Bonner is reprimanded by the council	493
	Oct. 1. The English evacuate Haddington	489
	The lords meet in London to complain of the lord protector; the king is hastened to Windsor	490, 1
	— 12. The council meet at Windsor	491
	— 14. The protector is brought before them; articles of impeachment are exhibited against him; he is sent to the Tower	*id.*
	Nov. 4. Parliament again *meets*; passes laws against prophecies and repeals the act relating to vagabonds	492
	Dec. 13. Somerset confesses before the king and council	*id.*
1550	Jan. 2. A bill of pains and penalties is passed against him; he is fined and deprived of his offices	*id.*
	Feb. 6. He is released from the Tower	*id.*
	— 16. He receives a royal pardon	*id.*
	Warwick is made lord high admiral and great master of the household	
	March. Peace is concluded between England and France; Boulogne is agreed to be surrendered to the French	*id.*
	April. Bonner having been reproved and committed to the Tower, Ridley is made bishop of London	493
	— 10. The Duke of Somerset is again sworn in of the privy council	492
	May 2. Joan of Kent is burned in Smithfield for heresy	*id.*
	July. John Hooper is nominated bishop of Gloucester	493
	Aug. A fleet is sent to sea to prevent the escape of the Princess Mary	494
	Dec. Two of her chaplains are indicted for performing mass	*id.*
1551	Jan. John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, is committed to the Fleet	493
	March 18. The Princess Mary is brought before the council	494
	— 19. The emperor threatens war	*id.*
	— 20. The princess is allowed to follow Roman Catholic worship	*id.*
	April 6. Von Paris, a Dutchman, is burned in Smithfield for heresy	493
	May. An agreement for marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, the French king's daughter, is made	495
	June 3. Lord Lisle, the Earl of Warwick's eldest son, is married to the Duke of Somerset's daughter Anne	*id.*
	— 4. His third son, Sir Robert Dudley, is married to the daughter of Sir John Robsart	*id.*
	July. The sweating sickness rages in London	*id.*

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1551	Aug. The chief officers of the household of the Princess Mary are committed to the Tower .	494
	The chancellor and other members of the council confer with her at Copthall, respecting the mass; she refuses to relinquish it .	*id.*
	Sept. Warwick is made Warden of the Scottish Marches	495
	Oct. 11. He is created Duke of Northumberland	*id.*
	— 16. The Duke of Somerset is arrested for conspiracy and treason, and committed to the Tower	*id.*
	An indictment is presented and found against him, by the Grand Jury, at Guildhall .	496
	Dec. 1. He is tried in Westminster Hall by some peers; is found guilty of felony only	496, 7
1552	Jan. 22. He is beheaded on Tower Hill .	497, 8
	— 23. Parliament meets; acts are passed for the enforcing the use of the books of Common Prayer; for amending the law of treason; for the relief of the poor; for legalising the marriage of priests; and for other purposes	498
	Feb. 26. Some of the accomplices of the Duke of Somerset are executed	*id.*
	Parliament is dissolved	*id.*
	April. The King is afflicted by small-pox and measles	499
1553	March 1. Parliament meets; the Bishopric of Durham is suppressed	499
	April. Durham is created into a County Palatine	*id.*
	May. Lord Guilford Dudley is married to Lady Jane Grey	*id.*
	June 11. The king requires the crown lawyers to draw a bill, entailing the crown on Lady Jane Grey	500
	— 21. The will, after being executed by the king, receives the signature of the Lords of the council	*id.*
	July 6. The king dies at Greenwich . .	*id.*
	— 8. The Lord Mayor of London, and others of the citizens, swear allegiance to Lady Jane Grey	502
	— 10. Lady Jane is conveyed to the Tower; the king's death is publicly announced, and Jane is proclaimed queen . . .	*id.*
	— 12. Queen Mary sends an order from Framlingham Castle for her proclamation at Norwich	503
	— 13. She is proclaimed there . . .	*id.*
	The Duke of Northumberland marches against Queen Mary	503
	Ridley preaches at Paul's Cross in favour of Queen Jane	*id.*
	July 19. The council quit the Tower; proceed to Baynard's Castle, and declare for Mary	*id.*
	They proclaim Queen Mary; they proceed to the Tower; take possession of it . .	
	— 20. The Duke of Northumberland proclaims Mary at Cambridge . . .	504
	— 21. Northumberland is arrested for treason; he is conveyed to the Tower; many of the nobility, with the Duke of Suffolk, are also committed there	*id.*
	— 30. The Lady Elizabeth rides through London to meet Mary	*id.*
	— 31. The Duke of Suffolk is discharged from the Tower, and soon after receives a pardon	*id.*
	Aug. 3. Queen Mary enters London; proceeds to the Tower; the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and others, are liberated; Bonner and Tunstall are liberated from the Fleet .	505
	— 9. A mass is performed in the Tower for the obsequies of King Edward; the same day he is buried in Westminster Abbey, according to the Protestant rite . . .	*id.*

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1553	Aug. 18. The Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton are arraigned for treason in Westminster Hall; they are all condemned .	505
	— 19. Others are condemned by the same court	*id.*
	— 20. A sermon is preached in favour of the mass at Paul's Cross	506
	— 22. Northumberland and two others are beheaded	*id.*
	— 23. Gardiner is made chancellor; the mass is performed in St. Paul's Church . .	*id.*
	Sept. 14. Cranmer is arrested and sent to the Tower	507
	Oct. 1. Mary is crowned at Westminster with the ancient formalities	*id.*, 508
	— 6. Parliament assembles; mass is performed; the Bishop of Lincoln, Taylor, refuses to kneel, and is thrown out of the House of Lords	508
	The queen is declared legitimate; the law of treason restored; all the statutes of Edward VI. respecting religion repealed . .	*id.*
	Gardiner assembles the convocation; the Book of Common Prayer declared an abomination; they recommend the suppression of the reformed English Catechism	508, 9
	Many of the bishops are deprived and sent to prison	509
	Nov. 13. Lady Jane Grey, her husband, and Lord Ambrose Dudley, with Cranmer, are tried and condemned for treason; they are sent back to the Tower; Cranmer is respited but detained for heresy	510
	The attainder of the Duke of Norfolk is reversed	*id.*
	Parliament petitions against the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain	511
	Dec. 21. The church service begins to be performed in Latin throughout England .	510
	The queen issues an order that no one shall preach without a license	*id.*
	Judge Hales remonstrates; is thrown into prison; he kills himself	*id.*
	Edward Courtenay is restored to the Earldom of Devon	*id.*
1554	Jan. 14. The Chancellor Gardiner announces the queen's intended marriage with the Prince of Spain	511
	Robert Dudley, son of Northumberland, is condemned as a traitor	*id.*
	Sir Peter Carew raises an insurrection in Devonshire against the Spanish match . .	512
	Sir Thomas Wyatt raises a rebellion in Kent against the same	*id.*
	— 25. The Duke of Suffolk flies to Warwickshire and raises the people there . .	*id.*
	— 29. The Duke of Norfolk marches against Sir Thomas Wyatt; the London trained bands desert to Wyatt at Rochester bridge; Wyatt marches to Southwark; retires to Kingston; marches to London; is met at Hyde Park by the royal forces; he surrenders, and is committed to the Tower .	513, 14
	Many of the rebels are hanged	514
	The Princess Elizabeth is arrested and brought to London; is examined before the council; returns into Buckinghamshire . .	515
	Feb. 12. Lady Jane Grey and her husband are beheaded	517, 18
	— 17. The Duke of Suffolk is tried and condemned for treason	518
	— 23. He is beheaded	*id.*
	March 14. Elizabeth Croft plays the Spirit in the Wall	519
	— 15. The Princess Elizabeth is again arrested, and sent to the Tower	515, 16

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1554	Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are removed from the Tower to Oxford	524
	April 11. Sir Thomas Wyatt is beheaded	518
	— 14. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are questioned before the commissions at Oxford	525
	— 15. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton is tried and acquitted	518
	— 16. Cranmer argues before the Consistory	525
	— 17. Ridley does the same	*id.*
	— 18. Latimer does the same	*id.*
	— 24. William Branch is burned in the Sanctuary, at Westminster, for stabbing a priest, and for heresy	524
	— 28. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are condemned to be burnt	525
	May 19. The Princess Elizabeth is removed from the Tower to Richmond, under the charge of Sir Richard Bedingfield	519
	The Earl of Devon is sent to Fotheringay Castle	*id.*
	July 14. Elizabeth Croft is placed in the pillory for playing the part of the Spirit in the Wall	*id.*
	— 19. The Prince of Spain arrives in Southampton water	*id.*
	— 23. Mary meets him at Winchester	520
	Aug. They are married there; go to Windsor; enter London	*id.*
	Oct. 26. Some of the jury who acquitted Sir Nicholas Throgmorton are fined in the Star Chamber. They are committed to prison	519
	Nov. 12. Parliament meets; Cardinal Pole gives absolution; the acts against heretics are revised	520, 21
	— 27. A Te Deum is sung in St. Paul's for the hope of an heir to the crown	521
	Dec. 12. The jurymen, who were committed for acquitting Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, pay their fines, and are discharged	519
1555	Mary sends an embassy to the pope to confirm the reconciliation of England with the church	522
	A commission of ecclesiastics sits for the trial of Protestants; John Rogers is tried; he is condemned to be burnt	522, 3
	Feb. 4. He is burned in Smithfield	523
	— 9. Bishop Hooper is burned at Gloucester	*id.*
	Dr. Taylor is burned at Hadleigh	*id.*
	March 30. Bishop Ferrar is burned at St. David's	*id.*
	May. William Featherstone pretends to be Edward VI.; is seized and committed to the Marshalsea as a lunatic; he is afterwards whipped and banished to the north	522
	— 31. John Cardmaker is burned at London	524
	June. John Bradford is also burned in London	*id.*
	Many others are burned in various parts of England for heresy	*id.*
	Sept. Philip quits England for the continent	526
	Oct. 16. Ridley and Latimer are burned at Oxford	525
	— 25. The Emperor resigns his crown to his son Philip of Spain	531
	Nov. 12. Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, dies, and is succeeded by Heath, Archbishop of York	526
1556	Forced loans are contracted	527
	Embargoes are laid on foreign goods	*id.*
	The Earl of Devon dies at Padua	521
	Cranmer having been formally condemned by the pope, is sentenced to be degraded and burnt	527
	He signs his recantation	*id.*
	March 21. He is taken to St. Mary's church, Oxford, to make a public declaration; he refuses; is burned near Baliol College	528
	— 22. Cardinal Pole is consecrated, and installed Archbishop of Canterbury	*id.*

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1556	June 18. A son of Lord Sandys is hanged in London for robbery	531
	— 27. Thirteen persons are burnt, at Stratford le Bow, for heresy	528
	Sir John Cheke is sent to the Tower; he recants his heretical opinions	530
	July 8. Peckham and Daniel are hanged and beheaded on Tower Hill, for concerting to rob the queen's treasury	531
1557	Feb. The emperor, Charles V., retires to the monastery of St. Just	*id.*
	March. King Philip II. of Spain revisits England	532
	Thomas Stafford and a few others land at Scarborough; attack and surprise the castle; they are made prisoners, and Stafford and others, one a Frenchman, are sent to London and tortured in the Tower	*id.*
	May 28. Stafford is beheaded	*id.*
	— 29. Saunders is pardoned, the others are hanged	*id.*
	June 7. Mary declares war against France	*id.*
	July 6. Philip departs from England	*id.*
	The Earl of Pembroke and Lord Robert Dudley go to the Low Countries with an army in aid of Philip	*id.*
	Anne of Cleves dies at Chelsea	*id.*
	The army of Philip gain a battle under the walls of St. Quintin	533
1558	Jan. 1. The Duke of Guise commences the siege of Calais; it is assaulted and taken in a few days	533, 4, 5
	— 13. He attacks and takes the town and fort of Guisnes	535
	April 24. Mary, queen of Scots, is married to Francis, the eldest son of the King of France	536
	Parliament grants money for the recovery of Calais; the Lord High Admiral, Lord Clinton, sails to join King Philip, with an English fleet	*id.*
	The English and Flemish fleets take Conquet and several other small places	536, 7
	The battle of Gravelines; the French are defeated	537
	Sept. Mary falls ill of the cold and hot fever	*id.*
	Nov. 17. She dies at St. James's	*id.*, 538
	Cardinal Pole dies the same day	538
	Queen Elizabeth's accession is acknowledged by both Houses of Parliament; she is proclaimed	539
	— 18. Sir William Cecil is appointed Secretary of State	*id.*
	— 23. The queen removes from Hatfield; proceeds to the Charterhouse	*id.*
	— 28. She enters London, and proceeds to the Tower	*id.*
	Dec. 5. She goes to Somerset House	*id.*
	— 13. The body of Queen Mary is buried in Westminster Abbey with Roman Catholic ceremonials	541
	— 25. Mass is performed in the great closet; the queen retires after the reading of the gospel	*id.*
1559	Jan. 12. The queen proceeds to the Tower before her coronation	*id.*
	— 13. Sir Henry Carey is created Lord Hensdon	*id.*
	— 14. The queen goes to Westminster	*id.*
	— 15. She is crowned by the Bishop of Carlisle in the ancient manner	542
	— 25. She meets the parliament; they restore the first fruits and tenths to the crown; they declare the queen supreme head of the church; the laws of Edward VI. relating to religion are restored; the book of Common Prayer re-established	543
	Dr. Story is kidnapped, brought to England, and executed	544

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1559	Parliament exhort the queen to marry; she declares her intention to live and die a virgin queen	544
	Philip II. offers his hand in marriage	*id.*
	April 2. General treaty of peace signed at Cateau Cambresis	547
	May 8. Parliament is dissolved	544
	— 10. The Queen Regent of Scotland summons the reformed clergy to Stirling	547
	— 11. John Knox preaches against Catholicism	548
	The Queen Regent enters into a treaty with the reformers	*id.*
	— 15. The clergy of England are admonished by the council to make their dependents conform to the statutes recently passed	544
	— 30. The oath of supremacy is tendered to Bonner; he refuses to take it; he is deprived, as are others who refuse	545
	The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity are strictly enforced, and the Protestant religion established throughout England	*id.*
	The queen publishes certain injunctions	546
	John Knox and the Scottish reformers form themselves into the Congregation of the Lord	548
	July 10. Henry II. of France dies; is succeeded by Francis II., the husband of Mary, queen of Scots	549
	A French army lands at Leith	*id.*
	Sir Ralph Sadler is appointed a privy councillor	550
	Aug. He is commissioned to settle matters on the Scottish borders	551
	— 28. The Queen Regent of Scotland appoints commissioners to treat with Sadler	*id.*
	Sept. 11. The commissioners meet on the borders	554
	The French fortify Leith	555
	The titles of King and Queen of France, England, and Scotland are assumed by Francis II. and Mary; a great seal is made bearing the arms of those countries	*id.*
	The Duke of Chatelherault and the lords of the congregation suppress the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dumfermline	556
	They march for Edinburgh; the queen regent retreats to Leith	557
	They call a parliament; deprive the queen regent of her authority; ask aid of England	*id.*
	Nov. 6. They attack Leith; they are defeated at Restalrig; they evacuate Edinburgh and fly to Stirling; the queen regent re-enters Edinburgh	559
1560	Feb. 27. Elizabeth concludes a treaty at Berwick with the lords of the congregation for mutual defence, to last during the marriage of Mary with the French king and a year after	*id.*
	March. An English fleet appears in the Frith of Forth	*id.*
	The French ravage the county of Fife	*id.*
	They retreat to Edinburgh; the queen regent takes refuge in Edinburgh Castle; the French army march to Leith	560
	The English fleet blockade the port of Leith; the army and the Scotch attack the town by land	*id.*
	June 10. The queen regent dies in Edinburgh Castle	561
	July 7. French commissioners execute the treaty of peace; the treaty of Edinburgh; Leith is surrendered to the lords of the congregation and the English	*id.*
	A separate peace is concluded between England and France, recognising Elizabeth's right to the crown of England, and agreeing that Mary shall not use the arms of England	562
	The Duke of Finland arrives in London to negotiate his brother, the King of Sweden's, marriage with Elizabeth	*id.*

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1560	The Duke of Holstein arrives to negotiate on behalf of the King of Denmark in the same matter	562
	Aug. 1. The Scotch parliament declare that the authority of the Roman church is an usurpation; pass a declaration of faith, renouncing the tenets and dogmas of that church, and disowning the authority of the pope	563
	Queen Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and refuses to assent to the statutes passed against the Roman Catholic religion	*id.*
	Dec. 5. Francis II. of France dies, and is succeeded by Charles IX.; Mary retires from court and resides at Rheims	*id.*
1561	Aug. Queen Mary embarks from Calais	565
	— 19. She arrives at Leith; proceeds to Holyrood	*id.*
	John Knox has an interview with her	*id.*, 566
	Mary removes to Stirling; issues proclamations banishing the monks and friars	568
	The presbyterian clergy preach against the mass, and dancing, and other amusements	*id.*
	The queen's chapel is broken into and the altar defiled; two offenders are indicted	568
	John Knox writes to the presbyterians to come armed to Edinburgh and release the prisoners; he is cited before the council; he defies them, and is discharged	*id.*
	Elizabeth pays off crown debts; regulates the coinage; increases the naval force	*id.*
	The Lady Catherine Grey, wife of the Earl of Hertford, and her husband, are committed to the Tower; their marriage declared unlawful, and their issue illegitimate	569
	The earl is fined 15,000*l.*	*id.*
	Sir Edward Waldegrave and his wife are sent to the Tower for hearing mass	515
	Ambrose Dudley is restored to the title of Baron Lisle	570
	Arthur and Edmund Pole are tried for high treason; they confess; are condemned; the queen grants them a pardon	545
	Parliament passes laws against prophecies and prognostications on coats of arms	570
1562	Elizabeth sends an army under Sir Edward Poynings to take possession of Havre, and to aid the protestants of France; Rouen is besieged and captured by the French	*id.*
	Lord Lisle is restored to the title of Earl of Warwick	*id.*
	He is sent with a reinforcement to Havre	*id.*
	The Huguenots under Condé and Coligni are defeated at Dreux; Elizabeth sends further aid	571
	The Earl of Arran is sent prisoner to Edinburgh Castle; Lord James Stuart, the half-brother of Queen Mary, is made Earl of Marr	571
	Queen Mary proceeds on a royal progress to the north	*id.*
	Inverness Castle holds out against her; it is taken; the governor is put to death	*id.*
	Lord James Stuart is appointed Earl of Murray instead of Earl of Marr	*id.*
	Oct. 28. A battle is fought at Corrichie by Murray, against the Earl of Huntley, who is beaten	575
	Huntley is killed; his son, Sir John Gordon, is captured and beheaded	*id.*
	Philip II. introduces the inquisition into the Netherlands	620
	Elizabeth proposes Lord Robert Dudley as a husband for Queen Mary	575
1563	Parliament meets: addresses the queen as to her marriage; the Duke of Wirtemburg proposes for her hand	571

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1563 An act is passed, "of assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions" 571
Persons are punished for conjuring and other offences 572
Feb. 24. The Duke of Guise is assassinated; peace is agreed on between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics . . . . *id.*
May. The French besiege Havre . . . 573
July 27. The Earl of Warwick is wounded . *id.*
— 28. Havre is surrendered to the French . *id.*
Sept. The plague rages in London . . 574
— 29. Lord Robert Dudley is created Earl of Leicester 575
1564 The attainder of the Earl of Lennox is reversed by the Scottish parliament . . . 579
1565 Henry, lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, sails for Scotland . . . . . *id.*
Feb. 16. He visits Queen Mary at Wemys Castle . . . . . *id.*
Elizabeth remonstrates against the marriage with Darnley 580
The Countess of Lennox and her younger son are committed to the Tower . . . . *id.*
The Earl of Murray joins Knox against Queen Mary; the assembly of the kirk demand that the queen shall conform to the Protestant faith, and abolish the Romish worship throughout Scotland 581
July 28. Darnley is married to Mary, and proclaimed king . . . . . *id.*
Murray, Chatelherault, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, take up arms . . . . . *id.*
The queen takes the field; the lords retreat into England; "the roundabout raid" . *id.*, 582
Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning proceed to London; the French and Spanish ambassadors remonstrate against the encouragement of the Scotch rebellion 582
Mary calls her parliament together; attaints Murray and others 583
The queen and Darnley quarrel 584
1566 March. The attainder of the Earl of Huntley is reversed 575
Darnley signs a bond to certain lords for the murder of Rizzio 586
— 9. Rizzio is murdered by Ruthven and other conspirators 586, 7
— 10. Murray and other banished lords return 587
Ruthven and Morton retire into England . *id.*
The queen is reconciled to Murray . . . 588
The Prince of Orange joins a confederacy against the inquisition in the Netherlands . . 620
June 19. Mary is delivered of a son . . 588
He is named James; Elizabeth is his godmother at the christening, and the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, godfathers . . . 589
The Earls of Morton, Ruthven, and others, are pardoned, and return to Scotland . 591, 5
Elizabeth declares to parliament that she will marry 590
The parliament press the question of the succession; she reprimands them . . . *id.*
Elizabeth remits part of the supplies voted by parliament 591
Nov. 9. Mary writes to Elizabeth to settle the succession . . . . . *id.*
Dec. A determination is come to to divorce Mary from Darnley 594
Darnley falls sick of the small-pox . . 595
1567 The Lady Catherine Grey dies in the Tower . 569
Jan. 14. Queen Mary arrives with the prince in Edinburgh 595
— 25. She is reconciled to Darnley at Glasgow *id.*
— 31. They enter Edinburgh together . . *id.*
Darnley is lodged at Kirk-a-Field . . *id.*
Feb. 10. Darnley is murdered . . *id.*, 596

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1567 Feb. 12. A reward is offered for the discovery of the murderers 596
— 16. The Earl of Bothwell and others are accused . . . . . *id.*
Mar. 17. The Earl of Lennox formally accuses them . . . . . *id.*
— 21. Bothwell gets possession of Edinburgh castle . . . . . *id.*
Apr. 9. Murray retires to France . . . 597
— 12. Bothwell is arraigned for the murder of Darnley, and is acquitted. . . . . *id.*
— 16. Mary appears personally in her parliament; the estates of Bothwell are confirmed to him; an act is passed renouncing the authority of Rome, and establishing the protestant religion . . . . . *id.*
Bothwell proposes to marry the queen; it is agreed to by many lords and others . . 598
Bothwell captures the queen at Foulbrigs, and takes her to Dunbar castle . . . . *id.*
— 29. He takes the queen back to Edinburgh castle . . . . . *id.*
May 7.—Applies for a divorce from his wife, which is granted 599
The queen appears before the session, and declares her forgiveness of Bothwell . . . *id.*
Bothwell is created Duke of Orkney . . *id.*
— 15. He is married to the queen . . *id.*
June 6. Morton and other lords attempt to seize the queen and Bothwell; they escape to Dunbar 600
The confederate lords assume the powers of government . . . . . *id.*
— 14. The queen marches against them; issues a proclamation; sleeps at Seton . . *id.*
— 15. Mary advances to Carberry Hill; she surrenders to the confederate lords; Bothwell departs for Dunbar 601
Mary is carried to Edinburgh, and from thence to Lochleven castle 602
Bothwell flies to Norway; is thrown into the castle of Malmoe . . . . . *id.*
The insurgent nobles assume the title of "Lords of the Secret Council" . . . . . *id.*
Captain Blackhadder and others are tried and executed for the murder of Darnley . . *id.*
July 24. Mary resigns the crown to her son . 604
— 29. Murray is appointed regent . . *id.*
— 29. The infant king is crowned at Stirling . *id.*
Aug. 11. Murray reaches Edinburgh . . *id.*
— 20. He visits Mary at Lochleven . . 605
— 22. He is proclaimed regent; obtains possession of Edinburgh castle . . . . *id.*
Sept. 30. Obtains possession of the castle of Dunbar 606
Raises Morton to high honours . . . *id.*
Dec. 16. Murray assembles a parliament; the acts against popery are revived; the deposition of the queen and the appointment of the regent are confirmed, and Mary declared guilty of the murder of Darnley . . *id.*
Elizabeth sends the Earl of Sussex on an embassy to Vienna respecting her proposed marriage with the Archduke Charles . . 622
1568 Jan. 3. Four servants of Bothwell are executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley . 606
Mar. 25. Mary attempts to escape from Lochleven castle . . . . . *id.*
May 2. She escapes, and is carried to Hamilton; an army is assembled for her defence . . 607
The regent marches against her . . . *id.*
— 14. Battle of Langside; the queen's forces are defeated; she flies to Dundrennan Abbey *id.*
— 16. She passes to Workington, in Cumberland . . . . . *id.*
She is conducted to Carlisle; is lodged in the castle as a prisoner . . . . . *id.*

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1568	Elizabeth refuses to see Mary till she is cleared of the murder of Darnley	608
	Ulster is vested in the English crown, and is colonized by English	651
	July 16. Mary is carried to Bolton castle	611
	Elizabeth seizes some Spanish ships with specie on board	626
	Oct. 4. A commission meets at York to arbitrate the differences between Mary and the lords	612
1569	The regent, who had appeared in person at York, returns to Scotland; Mary is detained a prisoner	616
	Jan. 26. Mary is removed from Bolton	618
	Feb. 2. The regent reaches Edinburgh	*id.*
	— 3. Mary is placed in Tutbury castle	*id.*
	The Duke of Norfolk proposes to marry Queen Mary	624
	Aug. Norfolk retires to Kenninghall	*id.*, 625
	Paris, a Frenchman, is executed in Scotland, for being concerned in the murder of Darnley	625
	Norfolk is invited to court	626
	Oct. 2. He is arrested at St. Albans	*id.*
	— 9. He is committed to the Tower	*id.*, 638
	— 11. The Bishop of Ross is committed to the Tower	*id.*
	An insurrection breaks out in York, Durham, and Northumberland; Dr. Nicholas Morton arrives in England as apostolical penitentiary	628
	Queen Mary is removed to Coventry	629
	Nov. 16. The insurgents march to Durham, burn the Bible and Common Prayer-book, and celebrate mass in the cathedral; they retreat to Raby castle; attack and take Barnard castle	*id.*
	They retreat towards the borders	630
	The Earl of Northumberland is sent to Lochleven castle	*id.*
	Queen Mary is recommitted to Tutbury castle	644
1570	Jan. 4. Many of the insurgents are executed	630
	Elizabeth issues a proclamation of pardon	*id.*
	She also issues a "Declaration of the Queen's proceedings since her reign"	*id.*
	— 22. The Regent Murray is shot at Linlithgow	632
	Chatelherault, Argyle, and Huntley assume the government of Scotland, as lieutenants of Queen Mary	*id.*
	April. Elizabeth sends two armies into Scotland; they ravage for a week, and then return	*id.*
	— 26. The armies again enter Scotland; take Hume and False castles	*id.*
	May 11. Another force marches into Scotland	*id.*
	A bull of excommunication is affixed to the gates of the Bishop of London's residence	*id.*
	— 25. John Felton is sent to the Tower for having a copy of the bull in his possession	633
	A conspiracy is entered into in Norfolk; the conspirators are seized, tried, and executed	*id.*
	Aug. 4. Felton is tried and convicted of treason	*id.*
	— 8. He is executed	*id.*
1571	The Earl of Lennox is made regent of Scotland; he seizes the castle of Dunbarton	645
	He hangs the Archbishop of St. Andrews at Stirling, without trial	*id.*
	Several persons are attainted in parliament for the murder of his son Darnley	*id.*
	The Regent Lennox is shot, and the Earl of Marr is nominated regent	646
	Apr. 2. Parliament meets; supplies are granted; it is declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown during the queen's lifetime	633
	Bailey, a servant of the Queen of Scots, is seized at Dover, returning from the Duke of Alva; he is sent to the Tower and tortured	637

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1571	Aug. 4. The Duke of Norfolk is removed to one of his town-houses	638
	Sept. 7. He is again committed to the Tower	*id.*
	His servants are put to the torture	*id.*, 639
1572	Jan. 14. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, is nominated lord high steward for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk	640
	— 16. The duke is tried for treason, and convicted	*id.*, 641, 2
	Feb. Mather and Barney are executed for treason	640
	Apr. Treaty concluded between England and France	646
	June 2. The Duke of Norfolk is beheaded on Tower Hill	641
	Parliament declare the Queen of Scots incapable of succeeding to the English crown	*id.*
	Queen Mary is removed to Sheffield castle	*id.*
	July. The Earl of Northumberland is landed at Berwick; is sent to York, and there beheaded without trial	645
	The Duke of Anjou is elected king of Poland	649
	Aug. 18. The King of Navarre is married to the Princess Margaret, sister of Charles IX.	646
	— 22. The Admiral Coligny is attempted to be assassinated in the streets of Paris	*id.*
	23. The massacre of St. Bartholomew	647
	The Huguenots take the field in France	648
	Oct. The Regent Marr dies at Stirling	*id.*
	Nov. 24. The Earl of Morton is chosen regent	*id.*
1573	Elizabeth sends an army to reduce Edinburgh Castle, which still holds out for Mary	648, 9
	May. The castle surrenders	649
	June 9. Maitland dies	*id.*
	Aug. 3. Kirkaldy is hanged and quartered as a traitor	*id.*
	Elizabeth sends secret aid to the Huguenots, and a fleet to attempt the relief of Rochelle	*id.*
	Walter Devereux undertakes to subdue and colonise the district of Clan-huboy in Ulster	651
1574	May. Charles IX. of France dies, and is succeeded by the Duke of Anjou, king of Poland, as Henry III.	649
1575	Henry III. detects his brother, the Duke of Alençon, in a conspiracy to assassinate him	*id.*
1576	A treaty is concluded, by which the Huguenots are to exercise their religion	*id.*
	Henry heads the Catholic league to protect the church from the Protestants	*id.*
	Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, dies at Dublin	651
	The Prince of Orange establishes the independence of Holland and Zealand	*id.*
	Bothwell dies at the Castle of Malmoe	602
1577	Feb. Henry III. annuls the privileges granted to the Huguenots; they take up arms	649
	Elizabeth, after rejecting the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, sends aid to the Netherlands; concludes a treaty offensive and defensive with the Orange party	*id.*
1578	A convention of Scotch nobility insist that King James shall undertake the government; the Regent Morton retires to Lochleven Castle; he obtains possession of the king's person, and resumes his authority	652
	Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigny, arrives from France; is created Duke of Lennox. Morton is sent to prison	*id.*, 653
	Morton is executed by "the maiden"	*id.*
	James assumes the government	*id.*
	The Earl of Gowrie takes King James, and keeps him prisoner at the Castle of Ruthven	654
	The Duke of Lennox flies to France. The Earl of Arran is thrown into prison	*id.*
	The king resumes the government.	*id.*
1579	The Earl of Leicester marries the widow of the Earl of Essex	650
	Pope Gregory XIII. sends Fitz-Morris with some troops to Ireland	651

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1580 A great rising takes place there; the rebels are defeated, and the Italian soldiers put to the sword, Ulster and Connaught are reduced to obedience 652
Alençon, now Duke of Anjou, arrives at Greenwich as a suitor to Queen Elizabeth . . 650
He returns; Elizabeth submits the question of her marriage to the council . . . id.
1581 An embassy arrives from Catherine de Medici; the queen agrees to the marriage with the Duke of Anjou in six weeks . . . id.
Anjou is elected King of the Netherlands; Elizabeth sends him supplies; he raises the siege of Cambray, and gains other successes; he returns to England . . . . id.
Stubbs and others have their right hands cut off for writing and publishing a pamphlet against the Duke of Anjou 651
Anjou returns to the Netherlands, the queen refusing to marry . . . . . id.
1583 The Earl of Desmond is killed; his head is sent to Elizabeth; it is placed on London Bridge 654
The Earl of Arundel, a Catholic, is arrested and sent to the Tower . . . . . id.
The Earl of Northumberland shoots himself . id.
Several papists are tortured and executed, charged with conspiracy against the government . . . . . id.
1584 The Throckmorton plot; Francis Throckmorton is put on the rack; he is executed at Tyburn 655
Parliament passes penal statutes against the Catholics; the jesuits, seminary priests, and English priests, are ordered to quit the kingdom in forty days on pain of treason . . id.
Dr. Parry is committed to the Tower for treason for speaking in the House of Commons against the bill . . . . . id.
1585 Feb. 25. Dr. Parry is tried at Westminster; he pleads guilty; he denies his guilt; is executed as a traitor . . . . id., 656
Elizabeth sends a large army into the Netherlands under the command of Leicester; he is made governor-general of the Low Countries; he attacks Zutphen; is defeated. Sir Philip Sidney is killed 656
Dec. Queen Mary is removed to Chartley Castle 658
1586 Babington's conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth is discovered; he is taken with many of his adherents; they are tortured . . . 657
Sept. 13. Some of them are tried and condemned . . . . . id.
— 20. They are executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields . . . . . id.
— 15. The remainder of the conspirators tried and condemned . . . . . id.
— 21. They are executed at the same place . id.
Leicester returns to England . . . . id.
Elizabeth issues a commission for the trial of Queen Mary 658
Mary is removed to Fotheringay Castle . . id.
Oct. 11. Thirty-six English commissioners arrive at the castle; they announce to Mary that she is to be tried for being accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and other treasons . . . . . id.
— 14. The trial commences; is adjourned to the 25th, at the Star Chamber at Westminster 660, 1, 2
— 25. Mary is pronounced guilty of treason, and sentenced to death 662
— 29. Parliament assembles . . . . id.
Nov. 12. Both houses address the queen, imploring her to order the execution of Mary . id.
Dec. 6. The order for her execution is proclaimed 663
1587 Feb. 1. Elizabeth signs the warrant for her execution 666

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1587 Dec. 7. The Earl of Shrewsbury, earl marshal, attended by the Earls of Kent, Cumberland, and Derby, arrive at Fotheringay Castle, and read the warrant to Mary . . id., 667, 8
— 8. Queen Mary is beheaded in the great hall of the castle 669, 670, 1
— 14. Davison, the secretary, is committed to the Tower; he is fined 10,000*l.* . . 671
Sir Robert Carey is sent to make excuses to King James for the execution of Mary . id.
Elizabeth apologises to the French ambassador for the same . . . . . id.
April 19. Sir Francis Drake sails into Cadiz roads, and destroys thirty ships . . 672
He takes or destroys 100 Spanish vessels; captures a large ship in the Tagus; performs other brilliant exploits . . . . id.
Nov. Elizabeth summons a great council of war; Sir Walter Raleigh advises that the expected invasion of the Spaniards be met at sea; vast preparations are made; a great camp is formed at Tilbury Fort; the queen reviews the troops at Tilbury Fort . 672, 3, 4
Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, is made master of the horse, knight of the garter, and captain-general of the cavalry . . . 678
1588 May 29. The invincible armada, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, sails from the Tagus; it is dispersed by a tempest off Cape Finisterre; Lord Howard of Effingham, the lord high admiral, sails for the Spanish coast; returns to Plymouth . . . 674, 5
July 20. It arrives in channel . . . 675
The battle commences, and is continued several days, from the 20th to the 26th of July; the Duke of Medina Sidonia sails for Spain; many of his ships are wrecked at the Orkneys and the coast of Norway; some of the Spaniards are made prisoners in Scotland, others are taken in Ireland and are put to death . . . . . 675—8
Aug. The camp at Tilbury Fort is broken up 678
Sept. The Duke of Medina arrives with the wreck of the armada . . . . id.
— 4. The Earl of Leicester dies . . id.
1589 Elizabeth fits out a large fleet under Drake, which sails against Spain; he proclaims Don Antonio king of Portugal; the fleet do great damage on the Portuguese coast; the army gain several victories; the expedition returns to England with great loss . . 678, 9
1590 Essex marries the widow of Sir Philip Sidney . 679
1591 He goes to France with a small army to aid Henry IV.; he gains some successes . . id.
1593 Henry IV. of France becomes a Roman Catholic . . . . . id.
1594 Rodrigo Lopez, physician to the queen, is examined on suspicion of a plot against the queen; he is discharged . . . id.
He is again accused with Ferreira and Manuel Lewis of treason, in attempting to poison the queen; they are tortured; confess; are tried and executed . . . . id., 680
1595 Drake and Sir John Hawkins die . . 680
1596 A fleet sails under the lord admiral to attack the Spanish coast . . . . . id.
June. The fleet sails into the bay of Cadiz; a sea-fight is gained by the English; Cadiz is taken . . . . . id.
Burleigh is dismissed from court . . id
1597 Essex is made master of the ordnance . .
July. A large fleet is fitted out to attack the coast of Spain; Essex captures three Spanish ships; he returns; is received by the queen with displeasure; he retires from court . 680, 1
Essex is made hereditary earl marshal . 681
A treaty of peace is signed . . . id.

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1598	June. The queen quarrels with Essex; he leaves the court	681
	Aug. 4. Lord Burleigh dies	*id.*
	Philip II. of Spain dies	*id.*
	Squires is accused of attempting to poison the queen; is put upon the rack; is condemned and executed as a traitor	*id.*
	The edict of Nantes is published	682
	Valentine Thomas accuses King James of hiring him to assassinate the queen	*id.*
	An insurrection breaks out in Ireland, headed by the Earl of Tyrone; he defeats the English at Blackwater	*id.*
1599	March. The Earl of Essex is appointed to command in Ireland; he leaves London with a large army; he effects nothing	683
	Sept. He returns to London, and appears at court without leave	684
	He is called before the council	*id.*
	He is delivered into free custody	*id.*
1600	Aug. He is released from custody	*id.*
	The Gowrie conspiracy; the Ruthvens attempt to assassinate King James	690, 1
1601	Essex encourages papists at his house, and corresponds with James about the succession	684, 5

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1601	He is called before the council	685
	Feb. 8. Essex, the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, and others, attempt an insurrection in London; he is captured, and with Southampton sent to the Tower	686, 7
	— 17. Lee is executed for treason	687
	— 19. Essex and Southampton are tried and condemned	686, 7, 8
	— 25. Essex is executed privately in the Tower	689
	— 28. Woodhouse is hanged for speaking against the execution of Essex	*id.*
	March. Several others are executed for the insurrection during the month	*id*
	Oct. The queen meets parliament; the commons demand a redress of grievances; the queen agrees to revoke patents for monopolies	692,3
	Dec. 24. Lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland, attacks the Spaniards in Ireland; he captures them	693
1602	The Earl of Tyrone surrenders to Mountjoy	*id.*
1603	March 21. The queen is confined to her bed	694
	— 22. She names James VI. of Scotland as her successor	*id.*
	— 24. She dies	*id.*

BOOK VII.

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1603	March 24. Sir Robert Carey posts to Scotland to inform King James of Elizabeth's death	2
	King James is proclaimed in the city of London	3
	— 26. Sir Robert Carey arrives in Edinburgh	2
	— 30. Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset arrive from the council to announce to James his accession to the throne	*id.*
	Sir Robert Cecil seizes eight hundred turbulent persons and sends them to serve on board the Dutch fleet	3
	April 6. King James sets out for Berwick	4
	Queen Elizabeth is buried at Westminster	*id.*
	Sir Robert Cecil meets the king at York	*id.*
	— 21. James orders a thief to be hanged at Newark-upon-Trent without trial	*id.*
	He knights a vast number of persons on his journey	5
	May 3. He arrives at Theobalds; the lords of the council do homage	*id.*
	— 7. He arrives at the Charter House; issues a proclamation suspending all monopolies till examined; that royal protections shall cease, and that the oppressions of purveyors to the court be put down	*id.*
	All persons are forbidden to kill deer and all kinds of wild fowl used for hunting and hawking	*id.*
	A conspiracy is formed for seizing the king and forcing him to change his ministers and to grant toleration; the "Bye plot" and the "Main plot;" Raleigh, Cobham, Grey of Wilton, and others are engaged	7, 8
	James proceeds to the Tower and thence to Greenwich	5
	June. The queen, Prince Henry, and the other children, except Prince Charles, meet the king at Windsor Castle	6
	Prince Henry is made a Knight of the Garter	*id.*
	July 6. Several of the conspirators are arrested	8
	— 25. King James is crowned at Westminster	6
	Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham are committed to the Tower	9
	The plague rages in London	6

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1603	Aug. 5. Thanksgiving for James's escape from the Gowry conspiracy	6
	— 10. General fast every Wednesday during the plague	7
	James appoints a master of the ceremonies	*id.*
	Raleigh, Cobham, Grey of Wilton, and others, are engaged in the plot to seize the king and force him to change his ministers and grant a general toleration	7, 8
	Nov. 15. The commoners in the "Bye Plot" are tried and convicted at Winchester	9
	Sir Walter Raleigh is tried for the "Main"	9, 10, 11
	He is found guilty of treason and condemned	12
	Grey and Cobham are tried by a commission of peers; they are both condemned for treason	12, 13
	— 29. Clarke and Watson are executed at Winchester	13
	Dec. 5. George Brooke is beheaded at the same place	*id.*
	Cobham, Grey, and Raleigh are sent to the Tower during the king's pleasure	14
	Markham, Brooksby, and Copley are banished	15
1604	Jan. 14-16. The king holds a meeting of the bishops and puritans at Hampton Court, acting as moderator; the king decides in favour of the bishops	16, 17
	— 18. The puritans obtain time to conform	17
	Whitgift dies; Bancroft is made Archbishop of Canterbury	*id.*
	The non-conforming clergy are persecuted and driven from their livings	*id.*
	The papists are also persecuted	*id.* 18
	March 19. Parliament meets; the king commands a conference between the two houses regarding the election of Sir Francis Goodwin	*id.* 19
	Commissioners abrogate all hostile laws between England and Scotland	35
	Parliament remonstrates against purveyance and monopolies; wardship and other abuses; tonnage and poundage is granted	19

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1604	Richard Haddock preaches before the king and some lords "in his sleep"	20
	Robert Catesby forms the gunpowder plot	20, 21
	Guido Fawkes is brought to England by Winter	21
	The conspirators meet and take the oath	*id.*
	Nov. 29. Mr. Pound, a Catholic, is tried in the Star Chamber; he is fined and imprisoned	22
	The gunpowder conspirators proceed in their work of mining under the houses of parliament	22, 3
1605	Jan. They are increased to the number nine	23
	May. A cellar is hired under the parliament-house and powder carried there	*id.*
	Aug. Fawkes goes to Flanders to win over Sir William Stanley and Captain Owen	*id.*
	Sept. Sir Edmund Baynham is sent to Rome to secure the favour of the pope	24
	Parliament is prorogued to the 5th of November	*id.*
	Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham join the conspiracy	*id.*
	Oct. 26. Lord Mounteagle receives a letter warning him to stay away from parliament	25
	He carries it to Secretary Cecil	*id.*
	— 31. King James comes from Royston; he reads the letter	26
	Nov. 4. The Lord Chamberlain Suffolk and Lord Mounteagle discover Fawkes	27
	— 5. He is apprehended; carried before the king	*id.*
	— 6. He is carried to the Tower; most of the other conspirators quit London	*id.*
	The Earl of Northumberland is committed to custody	32
	— 10. Fawkes on this and preceding days is tortured; he declares his associates	27
	Catesby, Winter, John and Christopher Wright, and Percy are killed	28
	Many others are captured, and with Tresham lodged in the Tower	29
	Lords Stourton, Mordaunt, and Montague are arrested	32
	Dec. 23. Tresham dies in the Tower	29
1606	Jan. 15. A proclamation is issued against three Jesuits, Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard	*id.*
	— 21. Parliament meets; passes severe laws against the papists; a new oath of allegiance is framed	32
	— 27. Digby, the two Winters, Rookwood, Grant, Fawkes, Keyes, and Bates, are tried; Digby pleads guilty; the rest are convicted; all are condemned to death as traitors	29,30
	— 29, 30. They are executed in St. Paul's churchyard	30
	Garnet, the Jesuit, is taken; his two servants, Owen and Chambers, and Oldcorn, a Jesuit, are also captured; all but Garnet are tortured; Owen kills himself	*id.*
	Oldcorn and others are tried and executed at Worcester	31
	March 3. Garnet is tried for treason at Guildhall; he is convicted	*id.* 32
	Blackwall publishes the pope's breve against the oath of allegiance; he is committed to prison	33
	May 3. Garnet is executed	32
	Cecil is made knight of the Garter	*id.*
	June. The Earl of Northumberland is tried in the Star Chamber for seeking to be head of the papists and a promoter of toleration; he is sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, to be deprived of his offices and imprisoned for life	*id.*

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1606	July. Christian IV., king of Denmark, visits England	33
	The Prince Vaudemont visits England	34
	Nov. 18. Parliament meets; Sir Christopher Pigot is expelled the House of Commons and committed to the Tower; parliament refuses to naturalise the Scots born before the accession of James; the king interferes with the liberties of the House of Commons	34, 35
	An ecclesiastical convention summoned by royal authority in Scotland appoint moderators of the presbyteries and the bishops to be *ex officio* moderators of provincial synods	65
1607	May. An insurrection is raised by the Levellers in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire	36
	They are defeated and executed as rebels	36, 37
	Dec. 24. Robert Carr is knighted	38
1608	The Earl of Tyrone goes to Spain, and from thence to Rome, and lives on a pension from the pope	39
	The Earl of Dorset dies; Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, is appointed treasurer	*id.*
1609	Monopolies are established and bartered	40
	A duty is laid on Cornish raisins; Bates, a Turkey merchant, resists payment; the barons of the Exchequer decide that the king has a right to levy taxes without the consent of parliament	*id.*
	The Consistorial Courts of Scotland are restored to the bishops	65
1610	Feb. 14. Parliament meets; Cecil asks the Lords for supplies; the Commons declare the decision of the Exchequer illegal; the king calls both Houses before him at Whitehall; the Commons insist upon the right of parliament to levy taxes	40, 41
	An arrangement of marriage between the Lady Arabella Stuart and William Seymour is discovered; they are summoned before the privy council; they are forbidden to marry without the king's leave	46
	July. Their marriage is detected; Lady Arabella is committed to custody at Lambeth; Seymour to the Tower; she is released and sent to Durham; escapes on the way; sails for France; is overtaken and sent to the Tower; Seymour escapes to France	46, 7
	The king erects the High Commission Courts in Scotland; one at St. Andrew's, another at Glasgow	65
	The authority of the bishops is confirmed by Parliament in Scotland	65, 6
	The Scottish bishops are summoned to London for consecration, and afterwards consecrate others in Scotland	66
	Ogilvy, a Jesuit, is executed	66
	The two houses confer upon Dr. Cowell's book on Prerogative; he is sent to prison and his book suppressed by proclamation	41
	The Commons petition against the High Commission Court and other grievances	42
	They agree to grant 200,000*l.* a-year revenue upon the king giving up the right of wardship, purveyance, and other privileges	43
	May 14. Henry IV. of France is assassinated; is succeeded by Louis XIII.	
	Convocation of the clergy of Canterbury grant a subsidy	45
	Nov. Archbishop Bancroft dies	44, 5
1611	Parliament is dissolved without passing one act	44
	Dr. George Abbot is made archbishop of Canterbury	45
	King James writes against Vorstius	47
	March. Robert Carr is created Viscount Rochester	49

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1612	March 1. Legate, an Arian heretic, is burnt in Smithfield	48
	April. Viscount Rochester is made a privy councillor and knight of the Garter	49
	— 11. Wightman is burnt for heresy at Lichfield	48
	May 24. Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, dies	45
	Carr is made Lord chamberlain	49
	Oct. 16. The Count Palatine, Frederic V., arrives in England to marry the Princess Elizabeth	
	— 24. Henry Prince of Wales falls sick	51
	Nov. 6. He dies	52
	Dec. The Princess Elizabeth is affianced to the Palatine	*id.*
1613	Feb. 14. They are married	*id.*
	April 21. Sir Thomas Overbury is committed to the Tower	53
	The Countess of Essex sues for a divorce; a commission of delegates is appointed by the king	*id.*
	Sept. 24. Sir Thomas Overbury dies in the Tower	54
	— 25. The marriage of the Earl and Countess of Essex is declared null and void	*id.*
	Nov. 4. Carr is created Earl of Somerset	*id.*
	Dec. 26. Somerset and the countess are married at Whitehall	*id.*
1614	The order of baronets is created; peerages are sold	54, 5
	April 5. Parliament is assembled; the Commons demand a conference with the Lords on the right of the king to tax the subject; the Lords demand the opinion of the judges; the judges, headed by Coke, chief justice, refuse to give an opinion; the Lords decline the conference	55
	The king demands supplies; the Commons refuse without a redress of grievances	56
	June 7. Parliament (the Addle Parliament) is dissolved	*id.*
	— 8. Five of the members of the late House of Commons are committed to the Tower	*id.*
	Lord Grey, committed for the gunpowder plot, dies in the Tower	15
	— 15. The Earl of Northampton dies; George Villiers appears at court; is made cupbearer to the king	57
1615	March. Sir Walter Raleigh is released from the Tower	73
	April 24. George Villiers is sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber; has a pension of 1000*l.* a-year	58
	— 25. He is knighted	*id.*
	The king grants a pardon to Somerset for all treasons and felonies; Ellesmere, the chancellor, refuses to put the great seal to it	*id.*
	Somerset is arrested by warrant from the lord chief justice; is committed to the Tower	*id.*
	Weston, Mrs. Turner, Franklin, and Elwes are tried for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury	58, 9
	They are all hanged at Tyburn	59
	Aug. 7. Edward Peacham is condemned for treason for writing a sermon blaming the king's fondness for sport	57
	Sept. 27. The Lady Arabella Stuart dies mad in the Tower	47
1616	May 24. The Countess of Somerset is arraigned; pleads guilty; is condemned to death	61
	— 25. Somerset is brought to trial; is declared guilty	61, 2
	Sir Edward Coke is disgraced; Montague is made chief justice	62, 3
	Nov. Lord Ellesmere is created Viscount Brackley	63
1617	Jan. 5. Villiers is created Earl of Buckingham	*id.*

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1617	March. Lord Brackley, the chancellor, resigns the seals, and soon after dies	63
	Francis Bacon is made lord keeper	*id.*
	— 28. Sir Walter Raleigh sails for the recovery of Guiana	74
	June. King James arrives in Edinburgh	66
	Calls a parliament; an act is prepared to declare that whatever should be determined by the king, with the advice of the bishops and clergy, relating to ecclesiastical affairs, shall be law; the clergy remonstrate; parliament is dissolved	*id.*
	James attends a great meeting of the clergy at St. Andrew's; Simpson, Ewart, and Calderwood, three of the remonstrants, are punished by the High Commission Court	*id.*
	James insists upon five articles at the meeting of St. Andrew's; the same are referred to a general meeting of the kirk; James returns to England	*id.*
	On his way back he publishes his Book of Sports, and appoints its reading in the churches	67
	Bacon, who had fallen into disgrace and quarrelled with Coke during the king's absence, is received into favour	68, 9
	Lord Coke's daughter is married to Sir John Villiers	70
	Coke is restored to the council-table	*id.*
	Nov. 13. Raleigh and his companions recover the land of Guiana	74
	Dec. Several disputes take place with the Spaniards; some on both sides are killed; the town of St. Thomas is burnt; Captain Keymis shoots himself	75
1618	Jan. 4. Bacon is made lord chancellor	70
	June. Sir Walter Raleigh anchors at Plymouth; he is arrested; is carried to London; attempts to escape; is lodged in the Tower	75, 6
	July. Chancellor Bacon is created Baron Verulam	70
	Villiers is created Marquis of Buckingham; made lord high admiral, warden of the cinque ports, &c. &c.	71
	Peerages are sold to or forced upon parties	70, 71
	Raleigh is examined in the Tower by the privy council	77
	The Earl and Countess of Suffolk are committed to the Tower	71
	They are brought before the Star Chamber and fined; recommitted to the Tower; and afterwards released	*id.*
	Oct. 28. Raleigh is taken by habeas corpus to the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment for the treason committed in 1603; "Execution is granted"	77, 78
	— 29. He is taken from the Gatehouse and beheaded in Old Palace Yard	78, 9
1619	Lord Cobham dies in the Minories	15
	Nov. 4. The Elector Palatine is elected King of Bohemia	81
	The synod of Dort is held	48
1620	James sends a force, under the command of the Earls of Essex and Oxford, and Sir Horatio Vere, to Holland to assist the new made king	*id.*
1621	Jan. 27. Bacon is created Viscount St. Albans	79
	— 30. Parliament meets; James asks supplies for the war in the Palatinate	81
	Feb. 15. The Commons vote the supplies; they attack the monopolists; they commit Sir Francis Mitchell to the Tower; the Lords adjudge him and his partner, Sir Giles Mompesson, to be degraded, fined, and imprisoned	82
	Yelverton is fined and imprisoned for life	*id.*
	Bacon is impeached for corruption	*id.*
	March. Philip III. of Spain dies; is succeeded by Philip IV.	89

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1621	April 24. Bacon confesses	82, 3
	May 3. The House of Lords deliver judgment; he is fined 40,000*l.*, and committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure	83
	Edward Floyde, a Catholic, is fined by the Commons	84
	The House of Lords increase the fine, and adds to the punishment whipping and imprisonment for life in Newgate	*id.*
	Bishop Williams is made Lord Keeper	85
	The King abolishes thirty-six of the monopolies and patents	*id.*
	May 24. Sir Robert Mansell sails to Algiers; burns some shipping, and returns home	*id.*
	The Earls of Oxford and Southampton, Selden, and others, are committed by the king to prison without trial	86
	Nov. Parliament reassembles; the king reproves the Commons for questioning his commitments, and for objecting to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta of Spain	87
	Dec. 18. The Commons enter a protestation of liberties on their Journals	87
	The king expunges it	88
1622	The king dissolves parliament by proclamation	*id.*
	He commits Coke and Sir Robert Phillips to the Tower; Selden, Pym, and Mallery, to other prisons	*id.*
	Some of the peers are called before the privy council, and committed to the Tower	*id.*
	The king pardons for recusancy all English Catholics who apply; others are released	89
	Sept. Vorstius dies	48
1623	Feb. 17. The Prince of Wales and Buckingham proceed to Spain	91
	The king releases all the seminary priests and Jesuits from the London prisons	*id.*
	Charles is received at Madrid by the royal family of Spain	93, 4
	Buckingham is made a duke	97
	The Infanta Donna Maria adopts the style of Princess of England	98
	Oct. 5. The prince and Buckingham land at Portsmouth	99
	— 6. They return to London	*id.*
	The prince refuses to marry the Infanta	100
	The Earl of Bristol is commanded to retire to his house in the country as a prisoner	*id.*
1624	Feb. 19. The Houses of Parliament assemble; the king asks for supplies for a Spanish war; supplies are voted, to be applied by a parliamentary committee; strict orders are issued against all Catholics	102
	The Earl of Middlesex is impeached; condemned by the Lords to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, and to be imprisoned during pleasure	103
	The Spanish ambassadors remonstrate with James	*id.*
	The king takes the Prince of Wales to Windsor; Buckingham retires to Wallingford; he is reconciled to the king	104
	Troops are raised and sent for the recovery of the Palatinate	105, 6
	Several Englishmen are massacred by the Dutch at Amboyna	105
1625	An embassy is sent to France to negociate a marriage between the Princess Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales	106
	The match is concluded, and liberty of conscience promised by James to the Catholics	107
	March 27. King James dies at Theobalds; the Prince of Wales is immediately proclaimed	108
	Accession of King Charles I.	*id.*
	— 28. Charles is proclaimed	*id.*
	The plague rages throughout London	*id.*

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1625	The council and officers of government are reappointed	108
	March 30. The king ratifies the treaty of marriage with France	109
	May 1. Henrietta Maria is married by proxy at Paris	*id.*
	June 7. The queen arrives at Dover with the Duke of Buckingham	*id.*
	— 8. The king meets her at Dover	*id.*
	Parliament meets; Charles asks for supplies; the Commons grant a sum; and the duties of tonnage and poundage for one year; the Lords reject the latter part of the bill	110, 11
	The Commons take Dr. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, into custody; the king interposes; the Commons refuse to release him till he finds bail; the king adjourns parliament to Oxford on account of the plague	111
	The king raises troops for the Palatinate by warrants of his own authority	*id.*
	Troops are sent against Rochelle	*id.*
	July. Ships are chartered in the king's name; they refuse to go against the Huguenots; the troops desert	112
	Aug. Parliament meets at Oxford; the Commons refuse to alter their former vote; they consider the various grievances; complain of the conduct of Buckingham	113
	— 12. The king suddenly dissolves parliament	*id.*
	Writs are issued for loans to the king; tonnage and poundage are levied, though the bill did not pass; other means are devised for levying money to make war on Spain	*i.l.*
	A large army and fleet are collected; the Dutch contribute sixteen ships; the expedition sails to the coast of Spain; fails; returns to Plymouth	*id.*, 114
	The commander, Lord Wimbledon, is called before the council	114
	Buckingham goes to Holland; pawns the crown jewels and plate	*id.*
	Charles issues orders against the Catholics; the popish lords are disarmed	116
	The king arbitrarily appoints seven members of the House of Commons to be sheriffs	117
1626	Feb. 2. The king is crowned at Westminster	*id.*
	— 6. Parliament assembles; Lord Keeper Coventry opens the business; a committee of the Commons draws up a list of grievances; the king commands them not to question his servants	*id.*, 118
	He agrees to submit to a secret committee the abuses of the state	119
	The Earl of Arundel is committed by royal warrant to the Tower	*id.*
	The Lords demand his liberation; he is released	*id.*
	Buckingham impeaches the Earl of Bristol at the bar of the Lords	*id.*
	Bristol impeaches Buckingham	*id.*
	May 8. The Commons impeach the duke	120
	10. Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Dygges are sent to the Tower	*id.*
	The Commons refuse to proceed to business; the two members are released	121
	The king commands the university of Cambridge to elect Buckingham chancellor	*id.*
	June 1. He is elected by a majority of three	122
	— 8. Buckingham answers the impeachment of the Commons; pleads a pardon of the king	*id.*
	— 15. Parliament is dissolved without supplies being voted	*id.*
	The Earl of Arundel is kept in custody in his own house; the Earl of Bristol is committed to the Tower	123
	A warrant is issued under the great seal for levying import and export duties; forced loans	

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	are directed; ships are commanded to be furnished by the ports; troops are levied by lords lieutenant	123
1626	Sir John Eliot and Hampden, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, are imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the loan	*id.*
	The clergy preach in favour of the loan, and against parliaments	*id.*
	Aug. The king banishes all the queen's French servants	124
	Sept. Marshal de Bassompierre is sent to England as special ambassador from France	125, 6
1627	May. Troops and ships are raised to aid Rochelle; the Duke of Buckingham is appointed to command	127
	July 11. The expedition lands, takes St. Martin, and performs other unimportant operations	128
	Nov. He returns to England	129
	The refusers to contribute to the loan are sent to London, and arbitrarily imprisoned . .	*id.*
1628	The king appoints commissioners to collect war-money; the commission is revoked; he orders duties to be levied on merchandise; the judges declare it illegal; the orders are revoked .	130
	Mar. 17. Parliament meets; some of the "refusers" are released; Bristol is discharged from the Tower	*id.*
	May 8. The commons resolve that the king has no right to commit without authority of law; that the habeas corpus writs cannot be denied; that forced loans are illegal	131
	— 28. The commons pray the king's assent to the "petition of right"	*id.*
	They question the conduct of Buckingham; the king interferes	133
	June 7. The king gives his assent to the "Petition of Right"	134
	— 12. The commons grant supplies; vote a remonstrance against Buckingham; the king prorogues Parliament	135
	Buckingham proceeds to Portsmouth to embark for Rochelle	136
	Aug. 23. He is stabbed by Felton . .	*id.*
	Sept. 18. He is buried in Westminster Abbey	137
	Felton is tried and executed	138
	Rochelle is taken by the French . . .	*id.*
1629	Sir Thomas Wentworth is created Baron and Viscount Wentworth	145
	Jan. 20. Parliament meets. The Commons take into consideration the invasion of the Petition of Right	*id.*
	— 20. The houses attend before the king at Whitehall	139
	The lords and commons confer upon the state of the church	*id.*
	Feb. 2. The commons present to the king their apology for delaying tonnage and poundage	140
	— 3. The king commands them to proceed with the bill	*id.*
	The commons complain of the growth of Arminianism; Cromwell joins the debate . .	*id.*
	25. The commons present a report entitled "Heads of Articles agreed upon, and to be insisted on by the House," directed against Laud and Arminianism	141
	The king adjourns the house	*id.*
	Mar. 2. The house meets; is again adjourned by the king	*id.*
	The house denies the king's right to adjourn them; they remonstrate; the commons hold the speaker in the chair; they pass a resolution; adjourn themselves to the 10th . .	*id.*, 142
	— 10. The king dissolves the Parliament .	142
	He commits seven members to the Tower .	*id.*
	They are cited before the Star Chamber, and are fined	143
	The king issues a proclamation	*id.*

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1629	The members apply for writs of habeas corpus; are defeated	144
	Nov. They appear to give bail; refuse to find sureties, and are recommitted to the Tower .	*id.*
	Richard Chambers is fined by the Star Chamber for uttering seditious words	145
	Sir John Eliot, Hollis and Valentine are fined and imprisoned during the king's pleasure by the court of king's bench for words spoken in Parliament	144
	Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, gains many victories in Germany in favour of the Protestants	146
1630	May. The queen gives birth to a son . .	151
	Alexander Leighton, a puritan preacher, is whipped, placed in the pillory, and imprisioned for life for sedition by the Star Chamber	*id.*
	Nov. Charles signs a treaty of peace with Spain	147
	He still continues to collect tonnage and poundage	150
	He revives several of the feudal customs; the monopolies are increased; the lands of former forests are seized, and other proceedings taken to raise money	*id.*, 151
	Many of the Puritans emigrate to America .	152
1631	Laud revives the mode of consecrating churches	158
	May. A commission is issued empowering the privy council to determine differences between the courts of justice	*id.*
	Sherfield is fined in the Star Chamber for removing a painted *window in a church* .	*159*
1632	The Countess of Somerset dies	62
	Wentworth is made lord president of the North	160
	Nov. 6. Gustavus Adolphus is killed at the battle of Lutzen	173
	The Prince Palatine Frederick dies at the same place	*id.*
	— 27. Sir John Eliot dies in the Tower .	212
1633	Charles pays a visit to Scotland . . .	156
	Wentworth is made lord deputy of Ireland .	168
	He calls a parliament; exacts implicit obedience to the king; erects a court similar to the Star Chamber; arbitrarily fines people; persecutes Lord Mountnorris for extortion, who is cashiered and sentenced to be shot 169-70-71	
	June 18. Charles is crowned in Edinburgh .	156
	A Scottish parliament is summoned; it votes supplies; the regulation for the vestments of the clergy are renounced by a majority; but the articles are declared by the king to be carried	*id.*
	— 28. The parliament is dissolved . .	*id.*
	The king appoints Edinburgh an episcopal see	157
	July 20. He returns to London . . .	*id.*
	Aug. 6. Laud is made archbishop of Canterbury	*id.*
	Sep. 19. He is installed	*id.*
	Oct. Chief justice Richardson and Baron Denham issue an order prohibiting noisy sports on Sundays	160
	— 18. The king issues a proclamation enforcing King James's Book of Sports	161
1634	Grotius publishes his book "Mare Liberum"	174
	Prynne is prosecuted in the Star Chamber for writing "Histrio Mastix;" is fined 10,000*l.*; is branded; his ears cut off; and his nose slit	152-5
	Mar. Laud is made lord high treasurer . .	161
	June 21. He establishes before the king in council his right as metropolitan of visitation of both universities	163
	Williams, the late lord keeper, is fined 10,000*l.* by the Star Chamber; and imprisoned in the Tower during pleasure; and 8000*l.* by the high commission court for writing "The Holy Table"	163-4-5
	Laud has the power of licensing all printed books	165, 6

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1634	Oct. 24. The first writ is issued by the lords of the council for levying ship-money	176
	The judges give an extra-judicial opinion that the king may levy it	177
1635	Selden publishes his book "Mare Clausum"	174
	Prince Charles Louis, and Prince Rupert, sons of the Palatine, come to England	173
	The queen is delivered of a daughter	*id.*
	Writs for ship-money are sent into the inland counties	176
1636	The king sends a fleet under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, and they sink some Dutch vessels in the northern seas	174
	The Dutch give 30,000*l.* a year for liberty to fish	*id.*
1637	Feb. The Emperor Ferdinand the 2nd dies, and is succeeded by Ferdinand the 3rd	*id.*
	The Princes Charles Louis, and Rupert, go to Holland with a force for the recovery of the Palatinate; they are defeated; Rupert is captured and sent to the Castle of Vincennes	*id.*
	June. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Burton are prosecuted in the Star Chamber for libels on the church; are fined 5000*l.* each; branded and otherwise mutilated; sent to solitary imprisonment	166
	July 23. The Book of Services for the Church of Scotland is read in St. Giles's kirk, Edinburgh, by the Bishop of Edinburgh; a riot takes place; the bishop is attacked	182, 3
	— 24. A proclamation is issued against the rioters	183
	The council, by order of Charles, issue a decree banishing the clergy who refuse to read the Book of Common Prayer	184
	The king sends down orders for moving the session and the council from Edinburgh, and a proclamation commanding the Presbyterians to disperse	185
	Nov. 6. The question of ship money in the case of Hampden is argued before the whole judges of England	179, 180
1638	Jan. Lilburne and Warton are cited before the Star Chamber for printing without licence	167
	Feb. 13. They are fined 500*l.* each; Lilburne is whipped; both are set in the pillory and committed to the Fleet	*id.*
	— 19. The Scotch Presbyterians having demanded the removal of the liturgy, the book of canons, and the abolition of the High Commission Court, Lord Traquair issues a proclamation against meetings on pain of treason	186
	Lords Hume and Lindsey issue a counter proclamation	*id.*
	They are joined by vast numbers	*id.*
	March 1. The Presbyterians hold a meeting at St. Giles's kirk, of which they take possession; they swear to the Covenant	187
	June 3. The Marquis of Hamilton proceeds to Dalkeith to meet the covenanters; he proceeds thence to Holyrood House; they demand the total establishment of the covenant throughout Scotland	189, 190
	— 12. Judgment is given in favour of the king by a majority of the judges in the case of Hampden	181
	Sept. 22. The liturgy, the High Commission Court, and other grievances in Scotland are abolished by the king's proclamation at Edinburgh	193
	Mary de Medicis, queen dowager of France, visits England	247
	Oct. The covenanters demand a warrant for citing the Scotch bishops as criminals before the general assembly at Glasgow	195
	Nov. 21. The general assembly takes place there	*id.*

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1638	The bishops deny the jurisdiction of the assembly	195
	The assembly proceed; excommunicate the bishops, and abolish episcopacy throughout Scotland	199
1639	Feb. 15. The king writes to the nobility and gentry commanding them to raise troops and meet him at York on the 1st of April	200
	The queen issues a circular to the Catholics calling upon them to aid in the Scottish war	201
	March. General Leslie takes Edinburgh Castle for the covenanters; other strong places are taken	203
	Leslie and Montrose defeat the Marquis of Huntley, and take him to Edinburgh Castle	203
	The Marquis of Hamilton lands with a large force on the Isle of May	*id.*
	— 23. The king begins his journey towards the north	*id.*
	— 30. He arrives at York	*id.*
	He exacts an oath from all to be faithful and obedient, and to have no correspondence with the covenanters; Lords Saye and Brook refuse	204
	April 29. He marches from York; appoints the Earl of Arundel his general, the Earl of Essex lieutenant-general, and the Earl of Holland general of the horse	*id.*
	The royal army encamps near Berwick	*id.*
	May 30. Leslie, with the Scottish army, advances across the borders, and takes up a position within a mile of Charles	*id.*
	June 20. A treaty is concluded between the covenanters and the king	205
	— 24. Both armies are disbanded; the king takes up his quarters at Berwick	*id.*
	Aug. 1. The king returns to London	206
	— 6. The Earl of Traquair is appointed commissioner to treat with the general assembly at Edinburgh	*id.*
	— 12. The convocation meets; adopts all the acts of the assembly at Glasgow; the commissioner signs the covenant; the assembly is dissolved	*id.*
	Edinburgh and twenty other castles are given up by the covenanters in pursuance of the treaty	207
	— 20. The Scottish parliament meets; is prorogued	*id.*
	Lord Loudon is sent to London by the covenanters; is seized and sent to the Tower for writing a letter signed "Au Roi"	*id.*
	A Spanish fleet is beaten by Van Tromp and De Witt near Dover	208
	Wentworth is sent for from Ireland; he and the other members of the council advise the calling of a parliament	209
	He is made lord lieutenant of Ireland	*id.*
1640	Jan. 12. He is created Earl of Strafford; he returns to Ireland; calls a parliament	*id.*
	Mar. 17. The Irish parliament grants large supplies	*id.*
	April. Strafford returns to England	*id.*
	— 13. The English parliament assembles	210
	The first petition is presented to the House of Commons against ship-money, monopolies, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, and other grievances	212
	— 18. The Commons refer the case of Sir John Eliot and Mr. Hollis to a committee; order the record in the case of Hampden to be brought into the house	213
	March 20. They resolve that the adjournment of the house by the speaker by the king's command is a breach of privilege	213
	— 21. Both houses are summoned before the king; he allows the Commons to enter into their grievances after they vote supplies, and	

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	declares that he never intended to make ship-money an annual revenue	213
1640	The Lords and Commons confer; the Lords declare that they have voted that supply should precede the question of grievance	215
	The Commons vote this a breach of privilege	*id.*
	April 30. The House of Commons resolves itself into a grand committee on ship-money; the Lords demand an immediate conference; the Commons refuse	*id.*
	May 1. The two houses confer; the Commons continue their committee	*id.*
	— 2. The king sends a message hastening the supplies	*id.*
	May 4. Sends another message; offers to give up ship-money if supplies are voted, and will then consider the question of grievances	216
	The Commons reply that they will resume the question on the morrow	*id.*
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— 7. They meet in the Painted Chamber . *id.*
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— 13. A council of state is formed . . *id.*
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1660	May 10. The Lords have the Book of Common Prayer read before them; parliament prepares many measures for punishing the regicides	664
	— 25. King Charles and the Dukes of York and Gloucester land at Dover	662
	— 29. Charles enters London; makes Monk a knight of the Garter and a privy councillor; is addressed by both houses of parliament	*id.*
	Measures are taken by parliament for the prosecution of the regicides: a bill of indemnity is passed excepting many persons: tonnage and poundage are granted to the king for life	665, 6
	Milton is committed to custody of the serjeant-at-arms	666
	July 7. Monk is created Duke of Albemarle	664
	— 9. The Commons vote that the settlement of religion shall be left to the king	667
	The Duke of Gloucester dies of the small-pox	677
	Sept. 13. Parliament is adjourned	668
	Oct. 9. The trial of the regicides takes place	670-6
	— 13 and 15. Ten of them are executed	666, 7
	Meeting of the clergy on "the healing question"	*id.*
	— 25. The king publishes "The Healing Declaration"	669
	The Queen-mother Henrietta Maria arrives	677
	The marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde is publicly acknowledged	*id.*
	The Princess of Orange dies of the small-pox	678
	Nov. A bill for making the king's "Healing Declaration" law is thrown out.	*id.*
	Dec. 8. Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton are attainted	
1661	Jan. 6. Venner, a Fifth-monarchy man, raises a riot in London	679
	— 9. The riot is suppressed; many rioters are killed; others are taken	*id.*
	— 30. The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton are disinterred, and hanged and otherwise misused	678
	The bodies of Cromwell's mother-in-law and daughter, of Dorislaus, May, Pym, Blake, and others, are exhumed and thrown into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard	*id.*
	Some of the officers of the old army are put under arrest	679
	The Marquess of Argyle, head of the Covenanters, is lured to Whitehall; he is sent to the Tower	680
	The Earl of Glencairn, chief of the Cavaliers of Scotland, is sent to Edinburgh to restore the committee of estates as existing in 1650	*id.*
	General Middleton is created Earl of Middleton, general of the army, and king's commissioner for holding parliament; the Earl of Lauderdale is made secretary of state in Scotland	681
	The Marquess of Argyle is tried at Edinburgh; he is condemned for treason	681, 2
	He is executed	682
	Several Covenanters are hanged	*id.*
	Sharp is made archbishop of St. Andrew's	683
	Other bishops are consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and sent to their sees in Scotland	*id.*
	All persons are required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; the Earl of Cassilis, and Leighton, bishop of Dunblane, refuse	*id.*

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1661	Acts are passed in the Scottish parliament for compelling persons to take oaths against the covenant	684
	May 8. The English parliament meets; the "Pension Parliament;" the Solemn League and Covenant is ordered to be burned by the hangman; an oath of "non-resistance" established	*id.*
	The bishops are restored to their seats in the House of Lords; a "Conformity act" is passed; a hearth and chimney tax is granted to the king *for ever*	*id.*, 685
	— 20. Catherine of Braganza arrives at Portsmouth	685
	June 2. Sir Henry Vane is tried in the Court of King's Bench; he is convicted of treason	687, 8, 9
	— 14. He is beheaded on Tower Hill	689
	Lambert pleads guilty to a charge of treason, and is imprisoned for life; Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead are executed for treason	690
1662	The Act of Uniformity is enforced; upwards of two thousand ministers are thrust out of their livings	691
	Dunkirk is sold to the French	692
	Dec. 26. A declaration of indulgence is put forth by the king	691
1663	Feb. 18. The parliament meets; a bill to give the king a dispensing power without consent of parliament is opposed by the bishops, and abandoned	693
	The Earl of Bristol impeaches the chancellor; the charges are declared illegal; Bristol absconds	*id.*
	A riot takes place at Farnley Wood, in Yorkshire; is suppressed	*id.*
1664	March 16. Parliament re-assembles; repeals the Triennial Act; passes the Conventicle Act	694
	The Scotch parliament passes a similar act	*id.*
	Archbishop Sharp puts it in force against the Presbyterians	*id.*
	War is declared against the Dutch	695
	Aug. Mr. Lisle is shot on going to church at Lausanne	690
1665	The plague ravages London	695
	June 3. The Duke of York gains a victory over the Dutch fleet off Lowestoffe; Admiral Opdam is killed	*id.*, 696
	The Earl of Sandwich attacks a Dutch fleet at Berghen, in Norway; is repulsed	696
	The Court removes to Oxford on account of the plague	*id.*
	Oct. Parliament at Oxford passes the "Five Mile Act"	*id.*
1666	Feb. The plague in London disappears	697
	The court returns to Whitehall	*id.*
	June 1, 2, 3, and 4. Great battle between the English and Dutch fleets off the coast of Dunkirk, under Monk and Prince Rupert and the Dutch admiral De Ruyter	*id.*, 698
	July. They again fight De Ruyter, and drive him into the Texel	698
	Sept. 2. The fire of London commences near London Bridge	699
	Herbert, a Frenchman, is hanged	*id.*
	— 21. Parliament again meets; a bill passes for appointing commissioners to examine the accounts of persons who received money raised for the war	700, 1

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1666	The Duke of Buckingham is deprived of all his places	701
	Nov. 13. An insurrection of the Covenanters breaks out in the West of Scotland	*id.*
	— 28. The Covenanters are defeated on the Pentland hills; many are hanged, others are tortured by order of Archbishop Sharp	*d.*
1667	June. De Ruyter destroys Sheerness and a great quantity of English shipping	*id.*, 702
	Aug. Treaty of Breda concluded; peace made between England, France, and Holland	702
	The Lord Chancellor Clarendon is desired to resign the great seal	*id.*
	The great seal is taken from him and given to Bridgman	703
	Oct. 10. Parliament meets; the king is thanked for the removal of Clarendon	*id.*
	Nov. 12. Clarendon is impeached by the Commons; the Lords refuse to commit him	705
	He escapes to France; a bill for banishing him for life passes both Houses	*id.*
	The "Cabal" engross the powers of the government	*id.*
1668	The "Triple" alliance is formed between England, Holland, and Sweden	706
	Feb. Parliament meets; the king recommends toleration; the Conventicle Act is continued; the Commons vote the supplies	*id.*
	May 8. Parliament is adjourned	*id.*
	Oct. It is dissolved	*id.*
	James Mitchel fires at Archbishop Sharp; wounds the Bishop of Orkney	713
1669	Lauderdale holds a parliament in Scotland; the government of the church is transferred to the king; the Scottish army is enacted to be kept up, and to march anywhere in the kingdom they may be ordered by the king	*id.*
1670	Feb. 14. The houses of parliament meet; the king goes to open the session with a guard	707
	May 22. Secret treaty with France; "The Dover Treaty"	*id.*
	Colonel Blood attempts to hang the Duke of Ormond	708
	Oct. Parliament votes an extraordinary supply for the navy; Sir John Coventry makes remarks in the House of Commons on the king's amours	707
	He is set upon by some of the guards, who cut off his nose	*id.*, 708
	Parliament passes the Coventry Act	708
1671	Colonel Blood attempts to steal the regalia from the Tower	709
1672	Jan. 2. The king, by the advice of the Cabal ministry, shuts up the exchequer	*id.*
	May 3. De Ruyter attacks the English and French fleets at Solebay; the Earl of Sandwich is killed	*id.*, 710
	Louis XIV. marches into the United Provinces; overruns three; he attacks Amsterdam; the Prince of Orange defeats the French in several engagements	710
	Charles issues a declaration of Indulgence	711
1673	Lauderdale publishes a pardon for all offences against the Scotch Conventicle Act	713
	Feb. Parliament meets; remonstrates against the indulgence; the king withdraws it; the Test Act is passed	711
	Nov. 4. Parliament is prorogued; the Cabal ministry is dismissed; the Danby administration succeeds	*id.*
	Louis XIV. gives a title and estates to the Duchess of Portsmouth	707
1674	Jan. 7. The king declares in Parliament that he has no secret treaty with France	711
	Feb. 28. Peace with Holland is proclaimed	712
	Mitchel is executed for firing at Archbishop Sharp	729

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1675	April. The Session of Parliament opens; Commons demand the recall of the Eng under the Duke of Monmouth	
	The Lords pass a bill imposing an oath that it is unlawful on any pretence to take up arms against the king and for the security of the Protestant religion; the Commons refu parliament is prorogued	*id.* 713
	Oct. The Commons vote 300,000*l.* for building ships	713
	Nov. 22. Parliament is prorogued for three months	*id.*
1676	War is general in the Low Countries, in Spain, Sicily, on the Upper and Lower Rhine, in Sweden, and in the German Provinces in the Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Baltic	*id.*
	Louis XIV. gives Charles 100,000*l.*, and engages to send over troops; Charles writes and signs a treaty with Louis	71
1677	Feb. 5. Parliament meets; Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Wharton, and Shaftesbury are committed to the Tower	*id.*
	The Lords originate a bill to settle the succession; it is dropped; they bring in a bill to punish popish recusants; the Commons throw it out and pass another; the Lords waive their assent; the writ de hæretico comburendo is abolished	*d.*
	The Commons vote 600,000*l.* for ship-building	*id.*
	Parliament is prorogued	715
	The king receives 200,000*l.* from Louis	*id.*
	The four Lords make submission and are released	*id.*
	The Prince of Orange marries Mary, daughter of the Duke of York	*id.*
	A treaty is entered into with the States-general: Louis stops Charles's pension	*id.*
1678	Parliament votes money for ships, and an army of 30,000 men for a war with France	
	Charles agrees to break with the States-ge for a sum of money	
	The Commons vote money on condition the army be paid and disbanded	*id.*
	The war continues	*id.*
	Aug. 12. Kirby informs the king of a plot to assassinate him	*id.*
	The plot is sworn to before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey	718
	Sept. 28. Titus Oates is summoned before the council; declares the popish plot	*id.*, 719
	Oct. 18. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is found murdered	720
	His body is buried, being attended by seventy-two Protestant divines in full canonicals	721
	Oct. 21. Parliament reassembles; Oates called before both Houses; they commit the Catholic lords Stafford, Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis, to the Tower, and various persons to other prisons; grant Oates a pension	*d.*
	The king commands the Duke of York to from the council	*d.*
	A bill passes, excluding Papists from Parliament, with a saving proviso for the Duke of York	
	Bedloe appears before the council; accuses the Lords Powis, Bellasis, and Arundel, before the House of Lords, and makes other revelations	*id.*, 722
	Nov. 28. Oates accuses the queen of high treason at the bar of the House of Commons	723
	The five lords in the Tower are impeached	
	Stayley, a banker, is tried and executed at Tyburn	723
	Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, are convicted and executed	724

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1678 Prance is seized; accuses Hill, Green, and Berry, of the murder of Godfrey; he is examined before the king; denies his evidence; they are tried, convicted, and executed at Tyburn 724, 5
Mr. Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, returns to England without leave . 725
He is returned to the House of Commons as member for Northampton . . . 726
His papers are seized; the House remonstrates; he produces other papers to the Commons criminating Danby; the latter is impeached; the Lords refuse to commit him to the Tower *id.*
Dec. 30. The king prorogues parliament . *id.*
1679 Jan. 24. Parliament is dissolved by proclamation . . . . . *id.*
The king formally declares the Duke of Monmouth illegitimate 728
The Duke of York retires to the continent . *id.*
March 6. Parliament meets; the king informs the two Houses he has granted a pardon to Danby, but dismissed him; he absconds . *id.*
April 10. Danby surrenders, and is sent to the Tower . . . . . *id.*
A new council of thirty is formed; Shaftesbury is at the head; the Commons pass resolutions against the Duke of York and the papists . . . . . *id.*
The king recommends to the parliament the prosecution of the parties engaged in the popish plot; the disbanding of the army, and providing a fleet 729
The Commons pass a bill of exclusion of the Duke of York . . . . . *id.*
The Habeas Corpus Act is passed . . *id.*
May 3. Archbishop Sharp is put to death by Balfour and other Covenanters at Magnusmuir 730
— 29. The Covenanters burn the acts of parliament hostile to the kirk, and affix a declaration upon the market-cross of Rutherglen . *id.*
Defeat Graham of Claverhouse; take Glasgow; the Duke of Monmouth routs them at Bothwell Bridge . . . . . *id.*
Five Jesuits are convicted for the popish plot, and executed . . . . . *id.*
The Duke of York returns; quarrels with Monmouth; the former is sent to Scotland, the latter to Holland 731
Shaftesbury is dismissed . . . . *id.*
Dangerfield gets up two plots, but fails . *id.*, 732
1680 The Duke of York is recalled from Scotland; the king declares the illegitimacy of Monmouth before the council 732
Shaftesbury presents a bill to the grand jury against the Duke of York as a popish recusant; the judge discharges the jury . . *id.*
The Duke of Monmouth returns to London; the Duke of York is sent to Edinburgh . *id.*
Oct. 21. The session of parliament opens; Dangerfield accuses the Duke of York of instigating him to murder the king . . . . *id.*
Nov. 11. The bill of exclusion of the Duke of York passes the Commons . . . . *id.*
— 15. Lord Russell carries it up to the House of Lords . . . . . *id.*
The Lords throw out the bill . . . . *id.*
Lord Stafford is tried before the Peers; he is condemned; the king alters the sentence to beheading; the Commons and sheriffs question his authority . . . . . *id.*
Dec. 29. Lord Stafford is beheaded . . 733
1681 The king refuses to sanction the Exclusion Bill *id.*
Jan. 5. The Commons vote that no supplies be granted without the Exclusion Bill . . *id.*
— 6. The Commons pass votes against the Duke of York and the papists; are summoned to the House of Lords; the king prorogues parliament 733
1681 Jan. 6. Parliament is dissolved, and a new one appointed to be held at Oxford on the 21st of March . . . . . *id.*
The king receives further supplies from Louis . *id.*
March 21. Parliament meets at Oxford, both parties coming armed; the Bill of Exclusion is still insisted on . . . . . *id.*
— 28. The parliament is dissolved . . *id.*
Shaftesbury is committed to the Tower . . 734
Stephen College and John Rouse are arrested . *id.*
College is tried at Oxford and executed for treason . . . . . *id.*
Oliver Plunkett, titular Romish Archbishop of Armagh, is executed for treason . . . 735
The Prince of Orange visits England . . *id.*
Cameron and other Covenanters are defeated . *id.*
July 27. Donald Cargill and other Covenanters are executed for treason . . . . *id.*
The Duke of York, as king's commissioner, opens the Scotch parliament; proposes a test to be taken by all to maintain the supremacy of the king, and for passive obedience; Fletcher of Saltoun opposes and modifies the oath 736
The Duke calls upon Argyle to take the test; he does, but adds an explanation . . . . *id.*
Argyle is committed to Edinburgh Castle for treason . . . . . *id.*
Dec. 12. He is condemned . . . . *id.*
He escapes from the Tolbooth 737
The Scotch parliament passes an act declaring it to be treason to maintain the lawfulness of the exclusion of the Duke of York . . *id.*
The Duke of York comes to England . *id.*, 738
He is nearly wrecked on his return to Scotland 738
Violent measures are enacted against the Covenanters and Cameronians . . . . *id.*
The Duke of York returns to England; is reappointed Lord High Admiral; the Duke of Monmouth returns; makes a progress through the kingdom . . . . . *id.*
The Duke of Monmouth is arrested; he is admitted to bail 739
North and Rich are illegally appointed sheriffs of London . . . . . *id.*
The Duke of York brings an action *de scandalis magnatum* against Pilkington . . . *id.*
A verdict with 100,000*l.* damages is returned against him 740
The Rye House Plot is concerted . . . *id.*
Nov. Shaftesbury retires to Holland . . *id.*
George, son of the Elector of Hanover, visits England 759
1683 June 12. Keyling informs Lord Dartmouth of the Rye House plot . . . 741, 2, 3, 4
— 26. A proclamation is issued for the apprehension of the Duke of Monmouth, Lords Grey and Russell, and Armstrong, Walcot, and others 745
Lord Russell is apprehended . . . *id.*
He is examined before the council and committed to the Tower . . . . . *id.*
Lord Grey is committed, but escapes to Holland . . . . . *id.*
July 9. Lord Howard is apprehended; he confesses 746
Algernon Sidney, the Earl of Essex, and Hampden, are committed to the Tower . . *id.*
Walcot, Rouse, and Hone, are tried and convicted . . . . . *id.*
The Earl of Essex commits suicide in the Tower 747
— 13. Lord Russell is tried at the Old Bailey, and convicted . . . . . *id.*, 748

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1683	July 19. Prince George of Denmark arrives in England	760
	— 24. He marries the Princess Anne, daughter of the Duke of York	*id.*
	The Earl of Bedford offers 100,000*l.* to save his son's life; Russell petitions the king; writes a letter to the Duke of York	748, 9
	— 30. Walcot, Rouse, and Hone, are executed	746
	— 31. Lord Russell is beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields	749
	The University of Oxford publish their judgment and decree against certain damnable doctrines, &c.	751
	A judgment of Quo Warranto is given in the Court of King's Bench against the City of London	*id.*
	Eight of the Aldermen are deprived	*id.*
	Aug. 23. Spence and Carstairs are tortured at Edinburgh	756
	Sept. 5. Carstairs confesses a plot for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; many persons are taken and tortured	*id.*
	— 7. Algernon Sidney is brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench; he is convicted	751, 2, 3
	Oct. The Duke of Monmouth has an audience of the king	754
	Nov. 23. Sidney is called up for judgment; is sentenced to death as a traitor	753, 4
	Gordon of Earlston goes mad for fear of the torture	756
	— 25. Monmouth surrenders; confesses before the king and the Duke of York	754
	Dec. 8. Sidney is beheaded on Tower Hill	*id.*
	Monmouth receives a pardon; denies his confession; readmits it; flies to Holland	755
	The English settlement at Tangier is abandoned	760
1684	Hampden is tried for a misdemeanour; is convicted and fined 40,000*l.*, and imprisoned till the fine is paid	755
	Holloway and Sir Thomas Armstrong are tried and executed for the Rye-House Plot	*id.*
	Many persons are executed at Edinburgh for the same	*id.*
	Others are tortured in various parts of Scotland	757
	The Covenanters and Cameronians are imprisoned at the Bass Rock, Dumbarton Castle, and other places	*id.*
	Sir Samuel Barnardiston is condemned for libel and fined 10,000*l.*	758
	Danby, Arundel, Powis, and Bellasis, are released from the Tower	*id.*
	The Duke of York, notwithstanding the "Test Act," is again admitted to the privy council	*id.*
	Titus Oates is condemned in 100,000*l.* damages, under the act *de scandalis magnatum*, for a libel on the Duke of York	*id.*
	Judge Jeffreys proposes the release of the recusants	*id.*
1685	Feb. 2. The king is taken suddenly ill	*id.*
	— 5. He confesses, receives absolution, the communion of the Romish church, and extreme unction	762
	— 6. He dies	*id.*
	Accession of James II.; he immediately calls the council and addresses them, promising to support the government in church and state	763
	He is proclaimed	*id.*
	He retains the late government	764
	He publicly attends mass in state	*id.*
	He orders the publication of the fact of the late king having died a Roman Catholic	*id.*
	A proclamation is issued for levying the excise and other duties without authority of parliament	765
	All papists and dissenters are discharged from prison by royal warrant	*id.*

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1685	James receives money from Louis XIV.	76
	April 23. He and the queen are crowned by Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury	id.
	May 7. Titus Oates is tried for perjury; is convicted, fined, whipped, and put in the pillory	76
	Dangerfield is convicted of libel; fined, whipped, and put in the *pillory*	76
	Frances, a barrister, is tried, convicted, and executed, for murder	id.
	— 22. The king opens parliament; renews his promises; the Commons vote him 1,200,000*l.* for life	id.
	The Earl of Argyle lands in Scotland; declares he comes to re-establish the covenant; he is routed by Lord Dumbarton near Glasgow	76
	June 2. Argyle is captured and taken to Edinburgh Castle	id.
	— 4. The Duke of Monmouth lands at Lyme, declaring he comes to secure the protestant religion, and to deliver the country from the tyranny of James Duke of York	77
	June 20. He assumes the title of king	77
	He proceeds through several parts of the west	773, 4, 7
	— 30. Argyle is beheaded; Richard Rumbold is executed	769, 76
	July 5. Battle of Sedgemoor	77
	— 7. Lord Grey is captured	776
	— 8. The Duke of Monmouth is captured	id.
	— 13. They are both brought to London	id.
	They are carried before the king at Whitehall	id.
	The king compels Monmouth to sign a paper, admitting that Charles II. was not married to the duke's mother	id., 777
	Monmouth is committed to the Tower	777
	A bill of attainder passes both Houses	id.
	— 14. He writes to the king for a respite; it is refused	id.
	— 15. He is beheaded on Tower Hill	778
	Lord Grey, also attainted, is respited for life	779
	Colonel Kirk executes many prisoners taken at Sedgemoor	id.
	Aug. 10. Kirk is summoned to court to give an account of the state of the west	780
	Colonel Trelawney executes many without trial	id.
	— 27. Jeffries and three other judges open a commission at Winchester	id.
	Mrs. Alicia Lisle is tried for harbouring two of the fugitives of Sedgemoor	id.
	Sept. 3. She is beheaded at Winchester	781
	Jeffries is made Lord Chancellor	id.
	— 16. Thirty-eight rebels are executed at Dorchester	id.
	Some are sold as slaves	id.
	At Exeter many are executed after pleading guilty	id.
	At Dorchester 239 are executed	782
	Many are sent as slaves to the West Indies; some are sold to courtiers for the same purpose	id.
	— 30. Jeffries returns to court and is thanked by James	783
	Cornish is tried at the Old Bailey for the Rye House Plot and executed	id.
	Elizabeth Gaunt is burnt at Tyburn, and Lindsay hanged on Tower Hill	id.
	The quarters of Rumbold are brought from Scotland, and exposed in different places	id.
	Lords Brandon, Delamere, and Stamford, are proceeded against for high treason	id.
	Nov. 9. The session of parliament opens; John Kok is committed to the Tower; both Houses address the king to discharge all officers who refuse to take the Protestant test	784
	— 20. James prorogues the parliament	id.

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1686	Catherine Sedley, the king's mistress, is created Countess of Dorchester	785
	The king asserts a dispensing, suspending and repealing power over acts of parliament	*id.*
	Papists are openly admitted to all the offices of the state; Protestant soldiers are cashiered	*id.*
	Similar proceedings take place in Scotland and Ireland	*id.*
	The king issues letters mandatory to the English bishops forbidding the clergy to preach on controversial points, and establishing an ecclesiastical commission	*id.*
	Compton, Bishop of London, is suspended	786
	Fifteen thousand soldiers are encamped on Hounslow Heath. Samuel Johnson, a clergyman, is fined, put in the pillory, and whipped	*id.*
1687	The governors of the Charter House refuse to admit a papist without the oath	*id.*
	The king issues a declaration of liberty of conscience	787
	The University of Oxford refuses to acknowledge the right of Petre to name fellows of Exeter College	786
	Cambridge refuses to make Francis a master of arts	*id.*
	Pechell, the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, is suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commission Court	*id.*
	The fellows of Magdalen College refuse to elect a papist their master	*id.*
	The king cites the fellows before him at Oxford	787
	The pope's nuncio is publicly introduced at court	788
	Oct. 20. Parker is appointed master of Magdalen College by the commission, and How elected by the fellows displaced	787
	Dec. Further proceedings are taken	*id.*
	— 23. The queen's pregnancy is announced in the Gazette	789
1688	April 27. The king publishes a new declaration of indulgence, and commands the clergy to read it in the churches	*id.*
	May 18. Several of the bishops petition the king against the declaration	*id.*
	— 20. The first day of reading the declaration, only seven clergymen comply	790
	June 8. The bishops who signed the petition are summoned before the council; they are committed to the Tower	*id.*
	— 10. The queen is delivered of a son	793
	— 15. The bishops are brought before the Court of King's Bench for a misdemeanour; they are enlarged on their own recognisances	792
	— 29. They are tried for "censuring the government, and giving their opinion about affairs of state"	*id.*
	Orders are issued for inserting the name of the Prince of Wales in the Common Prayer Book	793
	May 30. The bishops are acquitted	792
	Several noblemen go to the Prince of Orange	793, 4
	A correspondence is opened with him	794
	The Prince of Orange collects large land and naval forces	*id.*
	James does many acts to appease the Protestants	796
	Oct. 3. The Archbishop of Canterbury and eight bishops wait on the king with a letter of advice	*id.*
	The prince is baptised according to the Romish rites	*id.*
	James calls a great council; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Marquess of Halifax and Lords Clarendon and Nottingham refuse to sit at the board with papists	*id.*
	An examination takes place as to the birth of the prince	*id.*
	Oct. 16. The Prince of Orange embarks for England, but puts back to Helvoet	*id.*
	A *manifesto* by him is circulated in London	797
	Nov. 1. The Prince of Orange again sets sail	798
	— 5. He lands at Torbay; marches to Exeter	*id.*
	James goes to the camp at Hounslow; several of his officers desert	798, 9
	— 16. The king calls a council of war at Whitehall; the Prince of Wales is sent to Portsmouth	799
	— 19. The king sets out for Salisbury; Churchill and the Duke of Grafton desert to the Prince of Orange	*id.*
	— 25. Prince George of Denmark and the Duke of Ormond abandon James	*id.*
	The Princess Anne proceeds to the camp of the Prince of Orange	799, 800
	The Prince of Wales is brought back to London	800
	The queen and Prince of Wales go to Calais	*id.*
	James quits London; is seized at the Isle of Sheppy and sent to Faversham	*id.*
	Jeffries is maltreated at Wapping; is carried before the Lord Mayor and committed to the Tower	801
	A provisional council is formed; the Prince of Orange is invited to London; James returns to London; invites the Prince to a conference at Whitehall, which is refused	*id.*
	James goes to mass and dines in public	*id.*
	Four battalions of Dutch guards and a squadron of horse are marched to Westminster	*id.*
	The king is required to go to Ham House	*id.*
	He goes by the consent of the Prince of Orange to Rochester	802
	Dec. 23. He embarks in the Medway	*id.*
	— 24. He reaches a fishing smack hired for his use	*id.*
	— 25. Lands at Ambleteuse	*id.*

BOOK IX.

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1688	Dec. 25. The House of Lords request the Prince of Orange to take upon himself the administration of affairs, and to issue writs for a convention	2
	— 26. The members of the House of Commons of Charles II., the aldermen and common council of London, do the like	*id.*
1689	Jan. 22. The Convention meets in the houses of parliament; speaker chosen for each House	*id.*
	They address the prince to take upon himself the administration of affairs	3
	— 28. The Commons vote that James has abdicated	4
	— 31. The Lords vote that the throne is vacant	*id.*
1690	Lord Mountjoy goes to James at Paris; he is imprisoned in the Bastile	11, 12
	Feb. 1. James leaves St. Germains	12
	— 5. He arrives at Brest	*id.*

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1690	Feb. 12. Both Houses agree that the Prince and Princess of Orange shall be king and queen	5
	Mary arrives at Whitehall from Holland	*id.*
	— 13. The crown is tendered to William and Mary	*id.*
	They are proclaimed king and queen	*id.*
	— 17. King William III. publishes his list of the privy council	9
	— 18. He makes his first speech from the throne	*id.*
	— 19. The Convention declared to have been a legal parliament	*id.*
	March 1. A new oath of allegiance is framed and tendered; the Archbishop of Canterbury and seven bishops refuse the oath; four hundred of the clergy do the like; "non-jurors"	9, 10
	The Commons suspend the Habeas Corpus Act	10
	The hearth-tax is abolished	*id.*
	The attainders of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney are reversed	11
	— 12. James lands at Kinsale; proceeds to various places; is acknowledged by the Catholics	12
	— 14. The Scottish convention of estates meet at Edinburgh; the union of the two kingdoms is proposed, but abandoned	8
	April 4. They resolve that James has forfeited the crown	*id.*
	The crown is offered to William and Mary by the deputies from the Scottish convention	8, 9
	Naval action between Admiral Herbert and the French fleet	12
	James forms a council of government in Dublin; he issues various proclamations; summons a parliament to meet in Dublin on the 7th of May	13
	He commences the siege of Londonderry	17
	May 7. The Irish parliament meets; the Act of Settlement, by which the English and Scotch Protestants hold their lands in Ireland, is repealed	*id.*
	Attaints the adherents of the Prince of Orange, and votes supplies, and passes an act for liberty of conscience	14
	Lord Dundee raises an insurrection in Scotland in favour of James; Lord Murray's men desert to Dundee; General Mackay's troops are defeated by Dundee and his Highlanders near the pass of Killikraukie; Dundee is killed	15
	William III. relieves Londonderry; the siege is raised	17
	General Mackarty is defeated before Inniskillen	*id.*
	Aug. 13. Marshal Schomberg lands at Carrickfergus with a large army of English, Dutch, French, Huguenots, and others	18
	Schomberg takes Belfast, Carrickfergus, Newry, and Dundalk	23
	He is brought to a stand by James; entrenches himself by Dundalk	*id.*
	Sligo is taken by the Catholics	*id.*
	Oct. 19. William opens the session of parliament	19
	Nov. 8. James returns to Dublin	23
	— 16. The Bill of Rights and the Land-tax Act are passed	19
	The Princess Anne has an allowance of 50,000*l.* a-year granted by parliament; the king's revenue is settled for one year	*id.*
	Jan. 27. The Convention parliament is dissolved	*id.*
	Feb. The Duke of Berwick attacks Schomberg at Belturbet, but is repulsed	23
	March 20. A new English parliament meets	20

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1690	March 27. The Commons agree to a supply for the war with France and for the reduction of Ireland	26
	— 28. The revenues vested in the crown in 1688 declared to be vested in William and Mary; and other matters relating to the revenue resolved by the Commons	*id.*
	The Whigs in the Lords introduce the Abjuration Bill, by which all persons in employment are to take an oath abjuring James and his title to the crown	21
	The bill is thrown out by the Tories in the Commons	22
	A bill is passed calling for the fine of 500*l.* incurred by unqualified persons being in office	*id.*
	The queen is authorised to act during the king's absence; the quo warranto judgment against the city of London is reversed; a general pardon is passed; thirty-one persons are excepted	*id.*
	June 2. Parliament is prorogued	23
	— 14. William lands at Belfast	*id.*
	— 16. James marches from Dublin	24
	— 29. He crosses the Boyne and takes up a position on the right bank	*id.*
	— 30. William arrives on the left bank; is slightly wounded by a cannon-ball	*id.*
	An action is fought off Beachy Head by the English and Dutch fleets against the French	27
	July 1. Battle of the Boyne; William passes the river	25, 6
	Marshal Schomberg is killed	26
	King James embarks for France	*id.*
	July 2. Drogheda surrenders	*id.*
	— 8. William enters Dublin	*id.*
	Various places surrender	*id.*
	Aug. 9. William commences the siege of Limerick	*id.*
	— 30. He raises the siege and returns to England	*id.*
	Sept. 21. The Earl of Marlborough lands at Cork; he and the Duke of Wirtemburg besiege Cork and Kinsale; both are taken; the Duke of Grafton is killed	28
	Oct. 2. The king opens parliament; supplies are voted	*id.*, 29
	The Earl of Marlborough returns to England; the Duke of Berwick goes to France	28
	Dec. 20. The Commons vote four millions for the support of the army and the fleet	29
	They vote 500,000*l.* more for building ships	30
	Episcopacy is abolished in Scotland	43
1691	Jan. 5. William takes leave of the parliament and adjourns it to March 31	30
	— 6. William proceeds to the Hague; gets to Canterbury; is obliged to return	*id.*
	— 16. He again proceeds; gets off the Dutch coast; goes in an open boat and reaches Goree	*id.*
	— 26. Enters the Hague; the confederate princes meet him	*id.*
	March 5. He leaves the Hague for Loo	31
	The French besiege Mons	32
	April 20. The town and garrison capitulate to the French	*id.*
	William returns to England; Tillotson is made archbishop of Canterbury and the sees of the nonjuring bishops filled up	*id.*
	May 1. The king leaves London for Holland	*id.*
	— 2. Sails from Harwich; various military operations	*id.*, 33
	June 18. General Ginckel attacks Athlone	33
	— 19. Passes the Shannon and captures the town	*id.*
	July 12. Battle of Aghrim; the Irish and French are defeated	*id.*, 34

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1691	Aug. 26. General Ginckel lays siege to Limerick	34
	Sept. King William goes to Loo; returns to England	33
	A proclamation is issued by the Scotch government, offering a pardon to all who take the oaths to the new government before the 1st of January, 1692	45
	Oct. 1. Limerick surrenders; a treaty is executed, and an end put to the Irish war	34
	Ginckel is created Baron Aghrim and Earl of Athlone	*id.*
	— 22. The king meets parliament; supplies are voted for carrying on the war and for increasing the army and navy	35
1692	A poll-tax act is passed	*id.*
	The massacre of Glencoe	46
	Feb. 29. Parliament is prorogued	35
	The Princess Anne quits the court	36
	March 5. William embarks for the continent	*id.*
	May 5. The Earl of Marlborough is committed to the Tower	37
	— 21 and 22. Battle of La Hogue	38, 9
	June 16. The Earl of Marlborough is released	39
	— 23. He is dismissed from the privy council	*id.*
	— 30. Namur surrenders to the French	36
	William attacks Mons; battle of Steinkirk; he is defeated	*id.*, 37
	De Grandval is shot for a plot to assassinate William	37
	Oct. 19. William returns to London	39
	Nov. 4. He opens parliament	*id.*
	He dismisses Admiral Russell	40
	Dec. 13. The Whigs in the Commons pass the "Place Bill"	*id.*
	— 22. It is rejected in the Lords	*id.*
	A bill for triennial parliaments, providing for annual sessions and elections every three years passes both Houses; William refuses the royal assent	*id.*, 41
1693	March 14. William prorogues parliament; appoints Somers lord keeper; other Whigs to various places	41
	April. He again joins the allied army	
	June 17. The Smyrna fleet is attacked; the French beat the English and Dutch fleets	42, 3
	July 29. William fights the battle of Landen; is defeated	41
	Heidelberg is taken by the French	*id.*
	Nov. William returns from the continent; establishes a Whig government	46
	Admiral Russell is restored	47
	The Dukes of Leeds, Bedford, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, and the Marquess of Normanby are created	*id.*
	The Earl of Sunderland is taken into favour	*id.*
	— 7. Parliament meets; large additions are voted to the army and navy; Lord Falkland is removed, and Admiral Russell placed at the head of the Admiralty	*id.*
	Lord Bellamont is dismissed from the privy council; Lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter, the lords justices of Ireland, against whom the Commons complain, are pardoned	47, 8
1694	Feb. Admiral Wheeler's fleet in the Mediterranean is destroyed by a tempest	48
	April. William again joins the army; the military operations are continued	49
	Jan. 7. Lord Berkeley with a fleet appears off Brest; the army lands under General Tollemache; they are wholly defeated. Tollemache is killed	48, 9
	Lord Berkeley bombards and destroys Dieppe and Havre de Grace	49
	Admiral Russell sails to the Mediterranean with an English and Dutch fleet; clears it of the French; relieves Barcelona; blockades Toulon, and gains other successes	49
1694	Nov. 9. William lands at Margate; is met by the queen	*id.*
	— 12. He meets the parliament; five millions of supplies are voted; the Triennial Bill passes both Houses	*id.*
	Dec. 22. The royal assent is given to the "Triennial Bill"	*id.*
	Dr. Tennison is made archbishop of Canterbury	50
	— 28. Queen Mary dies of the small-pox	*id.*
	William is reconciled to the Princess Anne	51
	Crosby and Parker are committed to prison during this year as agents of James; Crosby is liberated on bail; Parker escapes from the Tower	64
1695	The secretary of the Treasury is dismissed and sent to the Tower, and Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the House of Commons, is expelled for corrupt practices; Mr. Paul Foley is elected speaker	51
	Many other persons are punished for similar offences; the Duke of Leeds (Danby) is impeached; William prorogues the parliament	52, 3
	May 12. William again embarks for the allied army	55
	The Earl of Breadalbane is sent to Edinburgh Castle by the Scottish parliament for the massacre of Glencoe	53
	A bill passes the Scottish parliament for colonising the Isthmus of Darien	54
	The Irish parliament pass many acts against the papists; they are rendered incapable of being guardians; the law of inheritance for papists is altered, and they are rendered incapable of holding land for more than thirty-one years; the Romish rites are forbidden and priests are banished. (These acts were passed between 1692 and 1705)	55
	July. William commences the siege of Namur	56
	Sept. 5. Namur capitulates	58
	Lord Berkeley bombards Dunkirque, Calais, and St. Malo, and destroys the town of Grandeval	*id.*
	Oct. 20. William returns to England; dissolves parliament by proclamation	*id.*, 59
	William makes a progress to the north	
	Nov. 22. A new parliament assembles; Foley is chosen speaker	*id.*
	An act is passed regulating trials in cases of treason; and one regulating the expenses of elections	60
	The Commons petition against the extensive grants made by the king to the Earl of Portland; the king recalls them and makes others	61
	The lords remonstrate against certain acts passed in the Scottish parliament relating to trading charters	*id.*, 62
1696	Jan. 26. The Commons also attack the Scotch trading charters	62
	The Marquess of Tweedale, the lord high commissioner, and two secretaries of state for Scotland, are dismissed	*id.*
	The Commons carry a motion for an act to create a board of trade; the king takes offence at it	*id.*
	Feb. 11. Captain Fisher discloses to the Earl of Portland a plot to assassinate William	66
	The invasion plot	62, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	— 14. Prendergast gives further information	66
	— 24. William declares the discovery of the plot to parliament; a proclamation is issued against the conspirators	*id.*
	March. Admiral Russell bombards Calais	72
	— 11. Charnock, King, and Keys are tried	

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	and convicted of high treason at the Old Bailey	68
1696	March 18. They are executed at Tyburn	*id.*
	Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranburn are also tried, convicted, and executed	69
	Parliament suspends the Habeas Corpus Act; vote the banishment of all papists from London and Westminster, and propose a protestant association for the defence of King William	71
	A bond of association that William is by law entitled to the crown, and that James, his son, or any other have no right, is signed by both Houses, and generally throughout the country	*id.*
	The clergy sign a somewhat similar one	72
	An act is passed for the better security of his majesty's person and government	*id.*
	April 27. The session of parliament is closed	*id.*
	May. William arrives on the continent	73
	June. Sir John Fenwick, engaged in the invasion plot, is arrested	74
	Aug. 10. He makes a confession, implicating many persons	*id.*
	Oct. William returns to England	*id.*
	— 20. Opens parliament; supplies are voted; money is proposed to be borrowed upon state counters or exchequer tallies, bearing interest and secured upon supplies voted in succeeding sessions	*id.*
1697	Jan. Admiral Russell lays the confessions of Fenwick upon the table of the House of Commons; Fenwick is summoned; the papers voted false, and an act of attainder brought in against him	76
	The bill passes both Houses, and receives the royal assent	*id.*
	28. Fenwick is beheaded on Tower Hill	*id.*
	The Earl of Monmouth is sent to the Tower	*id.*
	April 16. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	The king creates Admiral Russell Earl of Orford; Somers, Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham and lord chancellor, and makes Sunderland lord chamberlain; he appoints a council of regency and goes to the continent	77
	Preliminaries of the treaty of Ryswick are arranged	78
	Sept. 20. The treaty of Ryswick is signed	79
	Nov. 16. William enters London	80
	Dec. 3. Parliament meets; the king proposes keeping up a land force; the Commons pass a resolution for the disbanding the army raised since 1680; Sunderland retires; parliament votes a revenue of 700,000*l.* a-year to the king for life	*id.*, 81
	Some acts are passed injurious to Ireland	81, 2
1698	The Commons complain of the standing army	82
	July 5. William prorogues parliament	*id.*
	— 7. Dissolves it by proclamation	*id.*
	The treaty of partition	86-92
	— 26. Paterson sails from Leith Roads with 12,000 men for Darien	95
	Oct. They reach Darien, land at Acta; establish New St. Andrew's and New Edinburgh	96
	Dec. 4. William returns to London from Loo	92
	— 6. Opens the new parliament	*id.*
	The Commons pass resolutions for disbanding the army, except 7000 in England and 12,000 in Ireland, natural born subjects; they send a bill up to the Lords	92
1699	The bill passes the Lords	93
	Feb. 1. The king gives the royal assent	*id.*
	He requests that the Dutch guards may remain; it is refused by the Commons	94
	The Earl of Orford resigns his places	95

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1699	The Commons pass a bill of supply with a clause for taking an account of the Irish forfeited estates in order that they may be applied	93
	April. The king issues a proclamation against the Scottish settlement of New St. Andrew's in the Isthmus of Darien	97
	The colonists are reduced to great necessity; the remainder re-embark for Scotland	98
	Captain Campbell and a new set of adventurers arrive; they attack the Spaniards at Tubucantee; rout them; the Spaniards besiege them in New St. Andrew's; they capitulate; he returns to Scotland with the few remaining of his followers	*id.*, 99
	May 4. The Lords pass the bill of supply with its clause, and the king assents	95
	The king goes to Loo	*id.*
	Sept. The Scottish Company remonstrate upon the conduct pursued in regard to Paterson and his followers	99
	Oct. William returns to England	101
	Nov. 16. He opens the session of parliament	*id.*
	The Commons receive the report of the commissioners for taking the account of the Irish forfeited estates	103
1700	Lady Orkney's grant is brought into question	*id.*, 101
	Sir Richard Levinz is committed to the Tower	104
	The Commons pass the Resumption Bill, and tack it to a money bill; the Lords amend it; the Commons reject the amendments; the Lords pass the bill	104, 5
	April 11. The king gives his assent and prorogues parliament	105
	Lord Somers is removed; Sir Matthew Wright is made lord keeper	106
	July. The king departs for Loo	*id.*
	Sir George Rooke with the English and Dutch fleets drives the Danish fleet into Copenhagen	108
	A treaty of peace is signed between Sweden and Denmark	*id.*
	The Second Partition Treaty	108-112
	— 30. The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, dies	112
1701	Feb. 10. Parliament assembles; Robert Harley is elected speaker	*id.*
	The king recommends a settlement of the succession	*id.*
	The States General abandon the Partition treaty	114, 115
	An intercepted letter from Lord Melfort to the Earl of Perth is read in both houses of parliament, proposing measures for the restoration of James	115
	Parliament votes large supplies for the army, the navy, and the garrisons	116
	The House of Lords appoints a committee to consider the two partition treaties	117
	The Commons resolve to impeach the Earl of Portland for negotiating the partition treaties; Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, and Lord Orford are also impeached for having advised the signing of it	120. 1
	The "Kentish Petition" is presented	122
	All the petitioners are sent to the Gate House	*id.*
	The Legion memorial is presented to the House of Commons	124
	May 19. The impeachment of Lord Somers is carried up to the House of Lords	125
	— 24. He sends his answer	*id.*
	The Succession Bill passes	226, 7
	Lord Somers is acquitted	127, 8
	Orford is acquitted; the Lords dismiss the charges against Portland and Halifax	128
	June 24. The king prorogues parliament	*id.*
	He embarks for Holland	*id.*

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1701	Sept. 7. "The Second Grand Alliance" is signed at the Hague	128, 9
	— 16. James II. dies at St. Germain	130
	Nov. 4. William returns from Holland	133
	— 11. He dissolves parliament	*id.*
	Dec. 30. The new parliament assembles	135
1702	Jan. 1. The supplies are voted for the maintenance of the army and for carrying on the war	135, 6
	— 2. A bill of attainder passes the Commons against James II.'s son	137
	Feb. 21. The king fractures his collar bone	*id.*
	— 28. He sends a message to parliament recommending a union between England and Scotland	*id.*
	The royal assent is given to the Attainder Bill	138
	March 7. The royal assent is given by commission to the Abjuration and Malt-tax Bill	*id.*
	The sign manual is affixed by a stamp	*id.*
	— 8. King William III. dies	139
	Queen Anne is proclaimed	140
	The late king's ministry is continued	*id.*
	— 11. The Earl of Marlborough is made knight of the Garter	141
	— 12. He is appointed captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad	*id.*
	He is made master of the ordnance; Prince George of Denmark is made lord high admiral and generalissimo	*id.*
	Lady Marlborough is made mistress of the robes; her two daughters ladies of the bedchamber; the Earl of Sunderland's pension is continued	*id.*
	The Tories come into power	142
	Sir George Rooke is appointed vice-admiral of England	*id.*
	— 28. Marlborough is sent ambassador to the Hague; is appointed to the chief command of the allied armies; returns to England	143
	May 4. War is declared against France	144
	The Earl of Rochester is dismissed	143
	The Commons vote the queen 700,000*l.* a-year for life	144
	— 12. Marlborough departs for Holland; places himself at the head of the army; begins military operations	*id.*, 145
	Aug. Rooke and Ormond make an unsuccessful attack upon Cadiz	146
	They attack Vigo Bay; destroy the Spanish galleons and capture several ships and great wealth	*id.*
	Sept. 23. Venloo surrenders	145
	Oct. 7. Ruremond and Stevenswaert are captured	*id.*
	— 20. Parliament meets	146
	— 29. Liege with its garrison surrenders to Marlborough	145
	Marlborough is captured on a canal, but liberated	*id.*
	Proceeds to the Hague and returns to London	*id.*
	The occasional conformity Bill is passed in the Commons, but lost in the Lords	147, 8
	Dec. 14. Marlborough is created a duke	148
	The queen gives him 5000*l.* a-year during her life; an annual revenue is settled on Prince George of Denmark of 100,000*l.* for life	149
1703	Lord Ranelagh is expelled the House of Commons	*id.*, 150
	The two Houses quarrel concerning Lord Halifax	150
	Feb. 27. The queen prorogues parliament	*id.*
	The two houses of convocation disagree	*id.*
	March 9. Marshal Villiers reduces the town of Kehl	151
	May 15. Cologne capitulates to the allies	152
	The allies carry on various military operations	153

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1703	Oct. 31. The Duke of Marlborough returns to England	154
	The King of Spain (the Archduke Charles) arrives in England	*id.*
	Nov. 9. Parliament meets; the queen announces the intention to recover the monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, and restore it to that of Austria	*id.*
	Supplies are voted; the army and navy increased; the occasional Conformity Bill is again carried in the Commons, and again rejected by the Lords	155
	Dec. 17. The queen informs the Commons of a plot going on in Scotland (Fraser's plot)	*id.*, 156, 7
	The Lords examine some parties; commit them to the custody of the black rod, who takes them out of the custody of the queen's messenger, but they are again given into his keeping	*id.*
	The Commons address the queen upon the invasion of her prerogative; both Houses quarrel	*id.*
1704	Jan. 19. The Duke of Marlborough arrives at the Hague	163
	— 29. The Earl of Nottingham produces by order of the queen the papers concerning Fraser's plot; the Lords are dissatisfied; continue their inquiry by committee; the Commons address the queen; an union between England and Scotland is proposed	157
	The case of Ashby against White, on elections, is determined by the Court of Queen's Bench; is carried by appeal to the House of Lords; the judgment of the Queen's Bench is reversed	158
	The Commons declare that the bringing the action is a breach of privilege in all parties concerned; and that all matters relating to elections belong to the House of Commons	*id.*
	The Lords pass resolutions declaring the decision of the Commons an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of parliament, and an attempt to subject the law to the will of the Commons	*id.*
	Feb. 4. The queen, who has revived the Order of the Thistle, gives a green ribbon to the Duke of Argyll	161
	— 7. The Queen proposes to give up first fruits and tenths for the augmentation of four benefices	159
	Queen Anne's bounty is established	*id.*
	The Earl of Nottingham retires; Harley is made Secretary of State	160
	The bill for recruiting the army, after a quarrel between the Houses, passes for a year	*id.*
	— 24. Marlborough returns to England	161
	April 3. The queen prorogues parliament	161
	— 4. David Lindsay is brought to trial for high treason; he is carried to Tyburn; sent back to Newgate	*id.*
	Marlborough rejoins the allied army	164
	July 2. The battle of Schallenberg or Donawert	167, 8
	— 6. The Scottish parliament assembles	161
	They pass a bill called the Scottish Security Bill for regulating the succession to the Scottish throne, and for disbanding the army; the queen gives her assent	162, 3
	An attempt is made to place the Archduke Charles on the throne of Spain	174
	— 23. Admiral Rooke takes Gibraltar	175
	Aug. 13. Battle of Blenheim	170, 1, 2
	Sea fight off Malaga between the English and Dutch fleets, under Rooke, and the French fleet under the command of the Count of Toulouse	175
1705	Feb. The queen grants the manor and honour of Woodstock to the Duke of Marlborough;	

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	the Commons grant money to pay off the incumbrances; the queen orders the erection of Blenheim House	176
1705	Feb. Admiral Rooke is dismissed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel appointed to the command of the fleet	177
	The case of Ashby against Wright is again agitated; the burgesses of Aylesbury are sent to Newgate; writs of Habeas Corpus are granted; a writ of error is removed to the House of Lords; the prisoners are removed into custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms	*id.*
	The House of Lords passes resolutions that the appeal to courts of law is no breach of privilege	178
	March 14. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	April 5. It is dissolved by proclamation	*id.*
	Marlborough again joins the allies, retakes Huy; the campaign closes in May	*id.*
	The Emperor Leopold dies; is succeeded by Joseph	*id.*
	The war is carried on in Spain	179
	The Earl of Peterborough gains many battles	179, 80
	Oct. The new parliament meets; the Whigs have a majority in the House of Commons	180
	A Regency Bill, in case of the queen's death, is passed	182
	Mr. Cæsar is committed to the Tower	183
1706	March 19. The queen prorogues parliament	*id.*
	April. Marlborough again leaves England	*id.*
	May 23. Battle of Ramilies	184
	Prince Eugene beats the French between the Doria and the Stura	185
	King Philip of Spain besieges Barcelona; the siege is raised by Peterborough	*id.*
	June 24. Galway takes Madrid	186
	Oct. 3. The commission is opened for the Union between England and Scotland	187
	Disturbances take place in Edinburgh	191
	The Treaty of Union is passed by the Scottish parliament	196
1707	March 4. The Act of Union receives the royal assent	199
	The Duke of Marlborough's titles are limited to his eldest daughter and her heirs male; 5000*l.* a-year is settled on his widow and descendants	200
	— 25. The last Scottish parliament rises	196
	April 24. The last separate English parliament rises	200
	Battle of Almanza	202
	— 28. The Duke of Marlborough and Charles XII. of Sweden meet	201
	Oct. 12. Capture of Lerida	203
	— 22. Sir Cloudesley Shovel is wrecked off Scilly	204
	— 23. The first parliament of Great Britain meets	210
	The privy council for Scotland is abolished	211
	Dec. 17. Capture of Morella	203
	Siege of Toulon; the Austrians gain possession of the kingdom of Naples	203, 4
	— 23. Both Houses address the queen to continue war till the whole of the Spanish territories are restored to the House of Austria	211
1708	William Grey is hanged for high treason	214, 15
	Marlborough and Godolphin absent themselves from the council	215
	Harley is dismissed	216
	March. The queen announces to parliament an intention in Scotland to reinstate the Stuarts	*id.*
	The Habeas Corpus Act is suspended	*id.*
	A proclamation is issued against the Pretender and his adherents	*id.*
	The Duke of Hamilton and twenty-one other Scottish lords and gentlemen are arrested	*id.*

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1708	Troops are marched to Scotland; Sir George Byng is sent with a fleet to Dunkirk, where the Pretender is ready to embark for Scotland	216
	He captures the Salisbury, one of the French ships, with Lord Griffin, two sons of Lord Middleton, and some Irish officers and French companies on board	217
	Lord Griffin is sent to the Tower; condemned, but reprieved	*id.*
	The Pretender returns to France	218
	None of the prisoners taken are executed	*id.*
	April 1. Parliament is prorogued, and soon after dissolved	219
	Marlborough goes to the Hague	*id.*
	May. An attempt at insurrection is made in Ireland by Father O'Connor	*id.*
	Commodore Wager takes several Spanish galleons	222
	The French take Ghent, Ypres, and invest Oudenarde	219
	July 11. Battle of Oudenarde	220
	Sept. Admiral Leake conquers the Island of Sardinia	221
	— 30. The fortress of St. Philip in Port Mahon is taken by General Stanhope, and Admiral Leake; the Island of Minorca is taken by the English	*id.*
	Oct. 22. Lisle is taken by Marlborough and Prince Eugene	220
	Prince George of Denmark dies	222
	The Earl of Pembroke is made Lord High Admiral	*id.*
	Nov. 16. The second parliament of Great Britain meets	223
	Dec. 1. The citadel of Lisle surrenders	220
	Ghent, Bruges, and other places are retaken, or surrender	*id.*
	The French gain many successes in Spain	221
1709	A new treason act for Scotland is debated and passed	226, 7, 8
	An Act of Grace is issued for all offences before the signing the bill, except offences on the seas	228
	An act is passed, defining the privileges of ambassadors	230
	A new scheme for invading Scotland is agitated at Versailles, but is abandoned	228, 9
	The House of Lords resolves that no peer of Great Britain, whether English or Scotch, having a seat, shall vote for representative peers for Scotland	231
	The Commons exclude the eldest sons of Scottish peers from seats in the House of Commons	*id.*
	Conferences take place, and preliminaries are made at the Hague for a peace	231, 2, 3, 4, 5
	June. Prince Eugene and Marlborough take the field	235
	July 7. They besiege Tournay	*id.*
	— 30. Tournay surrenders	*id.*
	Sept. 3. The citadel surrenders to Prince Eugene	*id.*
	— 12. Battle of Malplaquet	236
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	— 9. He issues a declaration calling on the people to arm, and assumes the title of lieutenant-general to King James	*id.*
	The Earls of Hume, Wigtown, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, Lockart of Cornwath, and Hume of Whitfield, are apprehended and sent to Edinburgh Castle	*id.*
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	Sir Richard Vivian is sent in custody to London	313
	Oct. 6. General Pepper arrives in Oxford with an army; he arrests several suspected persons; Colonel Owen escapes	*id.*
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	— 12. Lord Kenmure proclaims the Pretender at Moffat	*id.*
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	The insurgents march to Lancaster; they are joined by the Roman Catholics; they advance to Preston	*id.*

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	— 13. Battle of Dunblane; the insurgents, under the Earl of Mar, are routed by the Duke of Argyll; the banner of the Stuarts called "The Restoration" is taken	*id.*, 318, 19
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	— 26. The Septennial Bill passes	330, 31
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	The Prince of Wales is ordered to quit St. James's	343
	Nov. The Spaniards conquer Sardinia	342
	— 21. Parliament assembles; Mr. Shippen is committed to the Tower	344
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1718	James Sheppard is executed for treason	*id.*
	March 21. The parliament is prorogued	*id.*
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	— 19. A bill passes for strengthening the Protestant interest	351
1719	March. A bill is introduced into the House of Lords to limit the creation of peers, but is withdrawn	*id.*, 352
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	18. Fuenterabia surrenders to the French	355
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	— 25 The bill for limiting the peerage is again introduced into the House of Lords; it passes on the 30th	*id.*
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1720	April 7. The South Sea Company Bill is passed	*id.*, 372
	May. The king is reconciled to the Prince of Wales	372
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	Aug. The South Sea stock rises to above 1000 per cent.	*id.*, 373
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	The Prince of Wales becomes a governor of the Welsh Copper Company, but withdraws	*id.*
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	Nov. 9. The king lands at Margate	374
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	Dec. 8. Parliament meets	*id.*
	— 12. The South Sea directors are ordered to lay their accounts before parliament	*id.*
	— 21. Walpole brings in a bill to transfer part of the South Sea stock into the Bank and part into the East India Company's stock	375
1721	Walpole's bill is passed	*id.*
	Four members of parliament, directors of the company, are expelled the House, taken into custody and their papers seized	*id.*
	Feb. 4. A violent debate takes place in the House of Lords; the Earl of Stanhope is taken suddenly ill in the House	*id.*
	— 5. He dies	*id.*
	— 16. The secret committee of the Commons present their report on the South Sea scheme	*id.*
	Ainslabie is expelled and sent to the Tower	376
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	The property of the directors is confiscated	*id.*
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	He introduces a new bill for remedying the mischief of the South Sea scheme	377
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	July 10. Walpole's new bill receives the royal assent	*id.*
	The parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	Oct. 19. Parliament again meets	378
	Dec. 18. Matthew Prior dies	308
1722	March 7. Parliament is again prorogued, and dissolved on the 10th	378
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	May. Walpole receives intelligence of a new plot to restore the Pretender; several arrests take place; a camp is formed in Hyde Park, and other precautions taken	380
	Lord Orrery and the Duke of Norfolk are sent to the Tower; after a short time are liberated	*id.*
	June 16. The Duke of Marlborough dies; his body is deposited in Westminster Abbey, the king and Prince of Wales attending; it is afterwards removed to Blenheim	379
	Aug. 24. Bishop Atterbury is arrested and sent to the Tower	380
	Sept. 20. The Pretender issues a declaration at Lucca calling on the king to give up the throne	381
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1723	Mr. Layer is tried, convicted, and executed, for enlisting troops for the Pretender	*id.*
	Bills of pains and penalties are passed against several persons	*id.*
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	— 19. The king returns to London	*id.*

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1725 Jan. 15. Don Louis succeeds to the Bourbon title to the Spanish crown on the abdication of King Philip; he dies in seven months . . 387
Peter the Great, czar of Russia, dies . . 388
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Sept. 3. A treaty is signed at Hanover between Great Britain, France, and Prussia; Denmark and Holland accede soon after . . *id.*
1726 Jan. 1. The king embarks for Harwich . . 389
— 4. He arrives at Rye . . . . *id.*
— 9. He reaches St. James's . . . *id.*
— 20. Parliament meets; the treaty of Hanover is approved by a large majority; supplies are voted . . . . . *id.*
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May. The widow of Peter the Great dies . *id.*
— 31. Preliminaries of peace are signed between England, France, Holland, and Russia 391
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— 10. The king is seized with a fit of apoplexy . . . . . *id.*
— 11. He dies on the road to Osnaburgh . *id.*
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— 14. News of the king's death is brought to Walpole 395
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— 15. George II. is proclaimed . . . 396
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— 9. The same is agreed to, and 100,000*l.* a-year is settled on the queen for life . . *id.*
— 17. The king prorogues parliament . . *id.*
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The king appoints Queen Caroline regent, and departs for Hanover . . . . . *id.*
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It is rejected by the Lords . . . . *id.*
The East India Company's charter is prolonged to 1766 . . . . . *id.*
1731 A bill passes for all pleadings and processes in courts of law to be in English . . . 405
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— 31. The Duke of Wharton dies at the convent of Poblet 401
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1734 Jan. 17. Parliament meets . . . . *id.*
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April 16. Parliament is dissolved . . 413
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1735 Jan. Parliament meets; an increase of the army and navy is voted, and a subsidy is voted to Denmark 415
The Prince of Wales marries Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha 421
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	Sir John Norris with a fleet is sent to the Tagus	*id.*
	The king returns from Hanover	417
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	Mar. A bill to repeal the Test Act is thrown out by the Commons, and one for the relief of the Quakers by the Lords	*id.*, 418
	May 26. Parliament is prorogued	418
	The king goes to Hanover	*id.*
	A riot takes place in Edinburgh; Captain Porteous and his soldiers fire on the mob and kill several	*id.*
	Captain Porteous is tried and convicted of murder	*id.*
	He is respited	*id.*
	Sept. 7. A riotous mob attack the Tolbooth and hang Captain Porteous	419
1737	Potter, bishop of Oxford, is made archbishop of Canterbury	418
	Feb. 1. Parliament meets; the corporation of Edinburgh are fined by act of parliament for the benefit of the widow of Porteous	420
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	The Princess of Orange comes to England; is ordered by the king to Bath, and thence sent back to Holland	429
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	More than four millions of supplies are voted	439
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1740	The Empress Maria Theresa succeeds; her title guaranteed by all Europe except Bavaria under the Pragmatic Sanction	440
	Nov. 18. The king opens parliament	441
	Dec. 15. The King of Prussia crosses the frontier into Silesia; Breslau, Namslau, and Ohlau open their gates to him	*id.*
	A Jacobite association is entered into at Edinburgh by some noblemen and gentlemen	469.
1741	Feb. 11. Walpole misquotes in the House, and pays a bet of a guinea to Pulteney	442
	Sandys moves an address for the removal of Walpole; the motion is rejected	*id.*, 447
	Lord Carteret makes a similar motion in the House of Lords, which is also rejected	447
	March. *Anson's store-ship, the Wager,* is wrecked at Cape Horn	472
	April 8. The king announces to parliament his intention to support the Empress Maria Theresa	448
	— 10. Battle of Molwitz	449
	— 13. A subsidy of 300,000*l.* is voted for her	*id.*
	— 25. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	May 4. The King of Prussia takes Breig	449
	— 7. The king embarks for Hanover	448
	Negotiations are opened with the King of Prussia	450
	King George concludes a year's neutrality for Hanover	*id.*
	Carthagena is unsuccessfully attacked by the English	452, 3
	Cuba is attacked with no better success	454
	The King of Prussia takes Prague, Breslau, and gains other victories	451
	June. Anson arrives at Juan Fernandez	472
	Sept 11. The empress summons the Hungarian nobles at Presburg; they declare in her favour	451
	The Elector of Bavaria is crowned king of Bohemia, and elected emperor by the title of Charles VII.	*id.*
	The king returns from Hanover	454
	Dec. 4. He opens parliament	*id.*
	Walpole consents to the omission of a paragraph relating to the Spanish war in the address	455
	He is defeated on the appointment of chairman of committees	*id.*
1742	Drummond of Bochaldy arrives in Edinburgh, and meets "The concert of gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland," with news of aid from the French in the invasion of England	469
	The king offers the Prince of Wales an additional 50,000*l.* a-year to his income; he refuses so long as Walpole is in power	455
	Jan. 21. Pulteney makes a motion against Walpole; it is lost on a division	456
	— 28. Walpole is defeated on the Chippenham election petition by a majority of one, and finally of sixteen	*id.*
	Feb. 1. He tenders his resignation to the king	457
	— 3. The Houses adjourn	*id.*
	— 9. Walpole is created Earl of Orford	*id.*
	— 11. He formally resigns all his places	*id.*
	Wilmington is made first lord of the Treasury, Sandys chancellor of the exchequer, Carteret secretary of state, and the Marquess of Tweedale secretary for Scotland	458
	— 14. The Emperor Charles VII. is crowned	451
	March 9. Lord Limerick moves in the House of Commons for a *secret* committee to inquire into Walpole's administration; it is negatived	460
	— 23. He renews the motion limited to ten years; it is carried	*id.*

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1742	Paxton, the solicitor of the Treasury, is committed to Newgate	460
	A bill of indemnity for witnesses passes the Commons, but is rejected by the Lords	461
	The secret committee bring up their reports	*id.*
	A grant of 500,000*l.* is made to the Queen of Hungary (the empress); 5,000,000*l.* are voted to carry on the war	461
	Battle of Czaslau; Bohemia is surrendered to Prussia	462
	Peace is concluded between the empress and the King of Prussia	*id.*
	June. Marshal Belleisle retreats across the Rhine	462
	July 15. Parliament is prorogued	461
	Pulteney is created Earl of Bath	459
	The war is carried on in Italy by the Spaniards	462
	Battle off St. Christopher's; the Spanish ships are beaten	*id.*
	The Spaniards attack the colony of Georgia, but are defeated by Oglethorpe	463
	Nov. 16. Parliament meets; the address is voted	*id.*
	Anson reaches the bay of Canton	473
	Dec. 10. A motion is made for payment of the Hanoverian troops; it is resisted, but carried in both Houses	463
1743	The Cardinal Fleury dies	464
	Jan. Lord Bolingbroke returns to England	465
	The act called the "Gin Act," passed in 1731, is repealed	464
	Six millions of supplies are voted	*id.*
	April 21. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	Wilmington, first lord of the Treasury, dies; is succeeded by Pelham	467
	The king and the Duke of Cumberland go to Germany	464
	June 20. Anson captures a Spanish Galleon at Manilla	473
	— 27. Battle of Dettingen; the Duke of Cumberland is wounded	466
	The treaty of Worms	467
	The king returns to England	*id.*
	Dec. 1. Parliament opens; the debates are strong concerning keeping the Hanoverian troops in pay	468
	— 23. The old Pretender signs a proclamation at Albano to be published on his son's landing in England, and a commission appointing him his regent and *alter ego*	470
1744	Jan. 9. Prince Charles, the young Pretender, leaves Rome	*id.*
	— 20. He arrives in Paris	*id.*
	He goes to Gravelines	*id.*
	The quadruple alliance between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony	476
	Feb. 18. The king announces to the Houses the preparation for an invasion by the young Pretender	*id.*
	The Habeas Corpus Act is suspended for two months	469
	The sons of the Pretender are attainted if they attempt to land; other precautions are taken	*id.*
	Supplies to the amount of ten millions are voted	*id.*
	The young Pretender sails from France; is met by the Channel fleet; retires, and his fleet is dispersed by a hurricane	471
	March. Admirals Matthews and Lestock engage the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean; Lestock is sent home; Matthews is recalled; both are tried, and Matthews dismissed	472
	May. Parliament is prorogued	469
	The Earl of Barrimore and Colonel Cecil are arrested	*id.*
	Louis XV. takes the command of the army in Flanders	473

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1744	June. The Young Pretender returns from Gravelines to Paris; six thousand Dutch troops are landed at Gravesend	471
	— 15. Anson arrives at Spithead	473
	Troops are raised and ships are equipped	472
	War is declared between England and France	*id.*
	July 4. The treasure taken by Anson is carried in procession from Portsmouth to the Tower	473
	Sept. The King of Prussia takes Prague	*id.*
	Oct. The Duchess of Marlborough dies	474
	Nov. 1. Don Carlos drives the Austrians out of the kingdom of Naples	*id.*
	A coalition ministry is formed	475
1745	Parliament votes an additional subsidy to Maria Theresa	476
	The Emperor Charles VII. dies	*id.*
	March 18. Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, dies	*id.*
	May 11. Battle of Fontenoy	477, 8
	Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Dendermond, and Oudenard surrender to the French; Ostend is also captured	47[illegible]
	June 3. Battle of Hoher Friedberg	47[illegible]
	July 2. The Young Pretender embarks at Nantes	480
	— 15 to 25. Sails on board the Doutelle in company with the Elizabeth; they are engaged by the Lion, an English ship; the Young Pretender lands in Scotland with seven noblemen and gentlemen, "The seven men of Moidart"	480-2
	Aug. 8. The council of regency offer a reward for the apprehension of Charles Edward	485
	— 16. Four companies of the regular troops are taken by the Highlanders	*483*, 4
	— 19. The Young Pretender raises the royal standard, and publishes his father's proclamations	484
	Sir John Cope puts himself at the head of the royal troops near Stirling	*id.*
	— 26. The rebels begin their march southward	*id.*
	— 25. Cope arrives at Dalnacardoch	486
	— 26. Arrives at Dalwhinnie	*id.*
	— 29. Having altered his course reaches Inverness	*id.*
	— 30. Charles Edward reaches Blair Castle	*id.*
	— 31. King George arrives in London	501
	Sept. 4. Charles Edward enters Perth	487
	The King of Prussia gains the victory of Soor	479
	— 11. The Young Pretender reaches Dunblane	488
	— 12. He crosses the ford of Frew	489
	— 13. The husband of Maria Theresa is elected Emperor (Francis I.)	479
	— 15. Charles Edward quarters his troops at Linlithgow	489
	— 16. He enters Edinburgh; his father is proclaimed	491, 2
	— 19. Cope marches from Dunbar	493
	Battle of Prestonpans; the royal army is routed	495, 6
	Colonel Gardiner is killed	497
	Dutch, Danish, and English troops, under the Duke of Cumberland, arrive from Flanders	503, 4
	— 29. The rebels blockade Edinburgh Castle	504
	Oct. 4. General Guest, governor of the castle, bombards the town	505
	Several Highland gentlemen join the Young Pretender at Edinburgh	*id.*
	— 9 and 10. He issues various proclamations	507
	— 18. Parliament assembles; the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended; new soldiers are put upon the footing of the old army; many regiments are ordered to be raised	502, 3
	Nov. 1. Charles Edward appoints Lord Strathallan to command in Scotland, and marches south	508
	— 8. Crosses the Esk and occupies Reddings in Cumberland	509

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1745	Nov. 10. Summons the city of Carlisle; lays siege to it	509
	— 15. The town and castle surrender	*id.*
	— 17. Charles Edward enters Carlisle	510
	— 22. He arrives at Penrith	511
	— 27. The rebel army reaches Preston	*id.*
	— 28. They reach Wigan; part enter Manchester	*id.*
	The royal army lie at Newcastle under Wade, and at Lichfield under the Duke of Cumberland	512
	Dec. 1. The rebel army crosses the Mersey near Stockport	*id.*
	Enters Macclesfield; Captain Weir is taken	513
	— 4. Charles Edward enters Derby	*id.*
	The Old Pretender is proclaimed	514
	A council of war is held	515
	— 6. The rebel army commence their retreat	516
	The royal army advances after them	*id.*
	The Young Pretender precipitately retreats	517
	— 10. Leaves Manchester	*id.*
	— 13. Arrives at Lancaster	*id.*
	Lord John Drummond, with the advanced guard, is set upon by the people between Penrith and Kendal	*id.*
	— 16. The rebel army lies at Penrith	*id.*
	— 17. The Duke of Cumberland and General Oglethorpe advance to Kendal	518
	A skirmish takes place near Clifton Moor	*id.*
	— 19. The rebels re-enter Carlisle	519
	— 20. Cross the Esk and re-enter Scotland	*id.*
	— 29. The authorities at Edinburgh determine to resist the rebels	521
	30. The garrison of Carlisle surrenders	519, 20
1746	Jan. 3. The Duke of Cumberland leaving the command to General Hawley, sets out from Carlisle for London	520
	The rebels besiege Stirling Castle	521
	— 16. Charles Edward encamps at Falkirk	522
	— 17. Battle of Falkirk	*id.*, 523, 4
	Æneas MacDonald is accidentally shot	526
	Linlithgow Palace is burnt	*id.*
	— 19. General Hawley, with the royalist army, reaches Edinburgh	525
	— 28. The siege of Stirling Castle continues	527
	— 30. The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Edinburgh	*id.*
	— 31. He places himself at the head of the army	528
	Feb. 2. He enters Stirling; Jenny Cameron is sent to Edinburgh Castle	529
	The Pelham administration is displaced and restored	530, 31
	— 26. The Duke of Cumberland arrives at Aberdeen	531
	The rebels besiege and take Fort George	*id.*
	They take Fort Augustus	532
	They gain various other successes	*id.*
	March 25. A ship with money for the Pretender is driven on-shore by an English ship on the coast of Sutherland, and taken	533
	April 14. The royal army reaches Nairn	*id.*
	— 17. Battle of Culloden	535-39
	May 13. The House of Commons grant the Duke of Cumberland 25,000*l.* a-year	541
	Flora MacDonald secures the Young Pretender's flight as far as Mugstole	543, 4
	He goes to the Island of Rasay	545
	Flora MacDonald is captured and sent to London	*id.*
	Colonel Townley is hanged on Kennington Common	548
	Executions take place in various places	*id.*
	The Earl of Derwentwater is beheaded	*id.*, 549
	July 28. The Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, are tried in Westminster Hall	549

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1746	Cromartie and Kilmarnock plead guilty; Balmerino is condemned	549
	Lord Cromartie is pardoned	550
	Aug. 18. Balmerino and Kilmarnock are beheaded	*id.*, 551
	Sept. 20. The Pretender embarks at Lochmagh	548
	— 29. Reaches Morlaix in Brittany; proceeds to Paris	*id.*
	Philip V. of Spain dies, and is succeeded by Ferdinand VI.	554
	Nov. 18. Parliament reassembles; the Habeas Corpus Act is further suspended	*id.*
1747	March 9 to 16. Lord Lovat is tried and condemned	551, 2
	April 9. He is beheaded	553
	Flora Macdonald is released	*id.*
	The House of Lords bring the printers of the Gentleman's and London Magazines to their bar for breach of privilege in printing the proceedings of Lord Lovat's trial	554
	A new subsidy of 100,000*l.* is voted for Maria Theresa	555
	June 17. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	July 2. The allies are beaten at Lauffeld	*id.*
	Bergen-op-Zoom is taken by the French	*id.*
	Marshal Belleisle's brother is defeated and killed at Exilles	*id.*
	Admiral Anson defeats the French fleet off Cape Finisterre; Admiral Hawke off Belleisle captures six ships, and Commodore Fox takes forty French ships richly laden from the West Indies	*id.*
	The younger son of the old Pretender is made a cardinal	559
	A congress is proposed and agreed upon at Aix la Chapelle	556
	The king returns from Hanover	*id.*
	Nov. 10. A new parliament assembles; the Commons vote fifteen millions of supplies; Lord Chesterfield recommends schools and villages to civilise the Highlands	*id.*
	Dec. 11. The Young Pretender is forcibly expelled from France	560
1748	Feb. 6. Lord Chesterfield resigns his office as Secretary of State	556
	March 11. The congress of Aix la Chapelle commences	557
	May 13. Parliament is prorogued	556
	Oct. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle is concluded	558
1749	A clause is introduced into the Mutiny Bill for subjecting officers on half-pay to martial law, and for enforcing an oath of secrecy upon all members of court-martial	560
	The army is reduced; the four per cents are reduced to three and a half	*id.*, 561
1750	Many bills are passed for the encouragement of trade and internal improvement	561
	April 12. The parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	The king goes to Hanover appointing Lords Justices	*id.*
	A British colony is established in Nova Scotia	*id.*
	A settlement is commenced by the English and Scotch, on the Mosquito coast, in the Gulf of Mexico	*id.*
	Oct. A commercial treaty with Spain is concluded at Madrid	*id.*
	The King returns from Hanover	562
1751	Jan. 17. Parliament meets	*id.*
	Inflammatory papers called "Constitutional queries" are circulated	*id.*
	— 22. The Lords order them to be burnt by the hangman	*id.*, 563
	Crowle, a lawyer, is reprimanded by the speaker for using disrespectful language concerning the House of Commons	563

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1751	Feb. 8. Mr. Murray, a member, is sent to Newgate	563
	March 20. The Prince of Wales dies	565
	Prince George is created Prince of Wales	567
	April 2. Mr. Murray is ordered to be removed to the custody of a serjeant at arms; he refuses to go	564
	— 26. A Habeas Corpus is moved for in the Court of King's Bench; he is remanded	*id.*
	May 8. The Regency Bill passes both Houses	567
	June 25. Parliament is prorogued; Murray is released	564
	Oct. The Prince of Orange dies	568
	Nov. 20. The case of Mr. Murray is again debated in the House of Commons; a proclamation issues, offering a reward for his apprehension	564, 5
	The printer and publisher of "Mr. Murray's case" is tried; the jury find a verdict for the defendant	565
	Dec. The Queen of Denmark dies	568
	In the course of this year the Gregorian calendar is adopted	569
1752	Jan. 7. Parliament meets; the treaty with Saxony, made by the king, is debated in both Houses	*id.*, 570
	— 28. A bill passes both Houses annexing to the crown the estates forfeited in Scotland by the late rebellion, and making provision out of the rents for establishing colonies and trade, and industry, in the Highlands	571
	March 11. The city of London petition parliament that the privileges of naturalization of foreigners may be limited to the time of their residence in this country; a clause to this effect is introduced into such bills	571, 2
	An order is made for printing the Journals of Parliament on the motion of Mr. Pelham	572
	A bill is passed consolidating the several classes of annuities into five stocks	*id.*
	— 26. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	Nov. Disputes occur in the establishment of the Princess Dowager of Wales	*id.*, 573, 4
	Dec. Lord Waldegrave is appointed governor of the Prince of Wales	575
1753	Matters relating to the education of the Prince of Wales are debated in the privy council	*id.*
	A bill for naturalising foreign Jews passes	577
	A new Game Act passes	*id.*
	A new Marriage Act is passed	578
	Parliament votes 20,000*l.* to Mr. Harrison for his improvement in chronometers; an act is passed for the purchase of the Harleian MSS. and Montague House	579
	June 7. Parliament is prorogued; Dr. Archibald Cameron is executed	*id.*
	Nov. 15. Parliament reassembles; the Duke of Newcastle moves to repeal the Jews' Naturalisation Bill; a similar motion is made in the Commons; the bill is repealed	580
1754	March 6. Mr. Pelham dies suddenly; the Duke of Newcastle is appointed First Lord of the Treasury	*id.*
	May 31. Parliament meets	*id.*
	The French make encroachments in Canada; the Indians attack and compel Major Washington to capitulate at a fort on the Ohio	581
	Nov. 14. Parliament re-assembles	*id.*
1755	The king goes to Hanover, leaves the Duke of Cumberland one of the regency	582, 3
	March. Ministers announce to parliament that a war is inevitable	581
	A million is voted for the defence of our American possessions; Admiral Boscawen is sent with a fleet to the Gulf of St. Lawrence	*id.*
	Captain Howe and Captain Andrews take two French ships of the line	582

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1755	The French ambassador at London is recalled	583
	The English ambassador at Paris is recalled	*id.*
	July. Sir Edward Hawke starts with a fleet on a cruise	*id.*
	Sept. The king returns from Hanover	583
	Oct. Admiral Byng sails with a large fleet	582
	Many important operations take place in Canada and other parts of North America	*id.*
	Nov. 13. Parliament meets; Pitt, paymaster of the forces, Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, oppose the ministry and speak for war	583
	— 20. They are both dismissed	*id.*
	Mr. Fox is made Secretary of State	584
1756	Large votes pass for the army, navy, and supplies; 8000 Hanoverian and Hessian troops are allowed to be brought into England	585
	May. Parliament is prorogued	*id.*
	— 18. Admiral Byng approaches Minorca	586
	— 19. An action is fought with the French in which Admiral West is engaged, but Byng is not	*id.*
	The French fleet supplies the army besieging Minorca and returns to Toulon	587
	Admiral Byng returns to Gibraltar without attempting the relief of Fort St. Philip	*id.*
	July. General Blakeney surrenders the fort	*id.*
	Admiral Hawke supersedes Byng, who is placed under arrest and sent to Portsmouth	*id.*
	He is put in custody at Greenwich Hospital	*id.*
	Calcutta is taken by Sujah-u-Dowlah; the black hole	599
	Oct. Mr. Fox resigns	587
	The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke resign	588
	The Duke of Devonshire is made prime minister	*id.*
	Pitt is made secretary of state, and Legge reappointed chancellor of the exchequer	*id.*
	The King of Prussia effects great conquests; France, Sweden, and Russia, declare against him	589
1757	Lord Clive retakes Calcutta, and gains great victories in the East Indies	599
	Admiral Byng is removed to Portsmouth and tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot	590
	Endeavours are made to save him	*id.*, 591
	Feb. 28. The Lords of the Admiralty issue their warrant for his execution	591
	A bill is introduced to absolve the members of the court-martial from their oath of secrecy	*id.*
	The execution is respited for a fortnight	*id.*
	The bill passes the Commons but is thrown out by the Lords	592
	March 14. Admiral Byng is shot	*id.*
	Temple and Pitt are dismissed	593, 4
	Lord Waldegrave is made prime minister	595
	The Pitt administration is reinstated	596
	Lord Waldegrave is made a knight of the garter	*id.*
	Sir Edward Hawke is sent with a fleet to attempt the capture of Rochfort	597
	Sept. 7. The Duke of Cumberland is defeated; the Convention of Closter-Seven	*id.*
	— 23. Captain Howe takes the Isle of Aix	*id.*
	Oct. 3. The whole expedition returns	*id.*
	The Duke of Cumberland returns to England; resigns his commands	599
	Nov. 3. Battle of Rossback	598
	Various other military operations of the Prussians and French	*id.*
	Dec. 1. Parliament meets; a subsidy is voted for the King of Prussia	601
	— 5. Battle of Lissa	598
	Riots take place at various places in England	600
1758	June 1. A large fleet sails for the French coast	601

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1758	Some important operations are effected, and the expedition returns	602
	Aug. 8. The English take Cherbourg	*id.*
	Sept. The French destroy a part of General Bligh's army at St. Cas	*id.*
	Various military and naval operations in America, India, and the West Indies	603
	Battle of Custrin	*id.*
	Battle of Hochkirchen	*id.*
	Battle of Crevelt	
	Nov. 23. Parliament re-assembles; twelve millions of supplies are voted	604
	Dr. Shebbeare is placed in the pillory for a libel, and imprisoned three years	*id.*
	Dr. Florence Hensey is convicted of treason and pardoned	*id.*, 605
	An amendment of the Habeas Corpus Act is introduced in the House of Lords, but withdrawn	605
1759	Several engagements take place between the English and French fleets	606
	July 31. Battle of Minden	610
	Aug. 8. Admiral Boscawen gains a victory over the French fleet off Cape Lagos	606
	Sept. 12. Battle on the Heights of Abraham; Wolfe is killed	609
	— 17. Surrender of Quebec	*id.*
	Oct. 13. Parliament meets	611
	Nov. 13. Temple resigns	*id.*
	— 20. Sir Edward Hawke gains a victory over the French fleet in Quiberon Bay	606

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1759	Colonel Coote conquers Arcot	609, 10
	Battles of Zullichau and Frankfort	611
	Parliament votes fifteen millions	612
1760	Lord George Sackville demands a court-martial	*id.*
	Feb. Thurot takes Carrickfergus, which he plunders; he puts out to sea; is attacked and killed, and his three ships taken	607
	— 28. The king sends a message to the Commons, saying that Lord George Sackville had been put under arrest	612
	April 3. His trial is concluded; he is dismissed	613
	The king strikes his name out of the list of privy councillors	*id.*
	An act requiring every member of the Commons to produce a schedule of his qualification passes both Houses	614
	The French under M. Levi lay siege to Quebec	*id.*
	May 9. Lord Colville raises the siege	*id.*
	June 23. Battle of Torquet	*id.*
	The Austrians destroy Breslau	*id.*
	Aug. 15. The King of Prussia cuts his way through the imperial army at Liegnitz	*id.*
	He drives the Austrians out of Berlin	615
	Sept. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick crosses the Rhine, takes Cleves, and invests Wesel	*id.*
	The English under Prince Ferdinand defeat the French at Warburg	*id.*
	Oct. 25. King George II. dies suddenly	615

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ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 360, col. 2, line 18; and p. 369, col. 2, line 37; for "Edmund Ironside" read "Edward the Outlaw."

„ p. 743, col. 1, line 45, for "father" read "grandfather."

„ „ „ line 47, for "grandfather" read "great-grandfather."

Vol. III. p. 804, col. 2, line 24, for "loadstones" read "loadstars."

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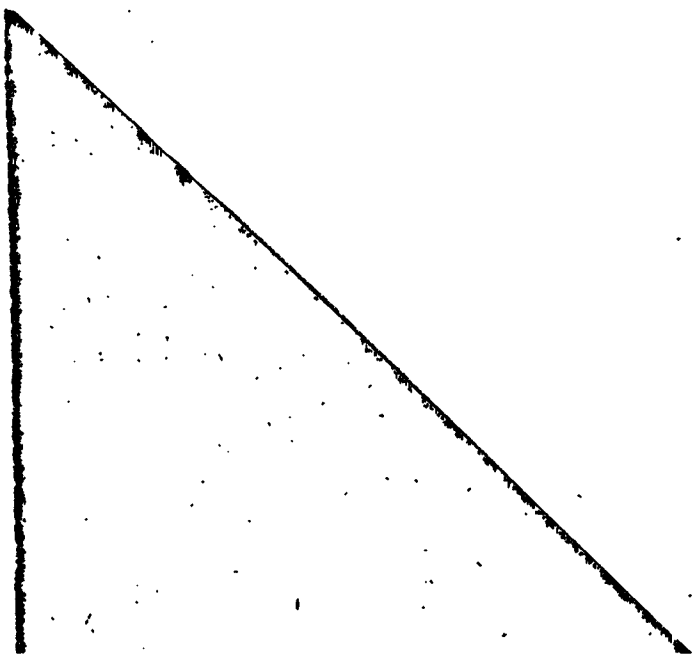

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